

## THE MINDE OF

THE FRONT.

Rom. Death and darke Oblivion (neere the fame)
The Mistresse of Mans life, grave. Historie,
Raising the VV orld to good, or Ewill same,
Doth vindicate it to Æternitie.

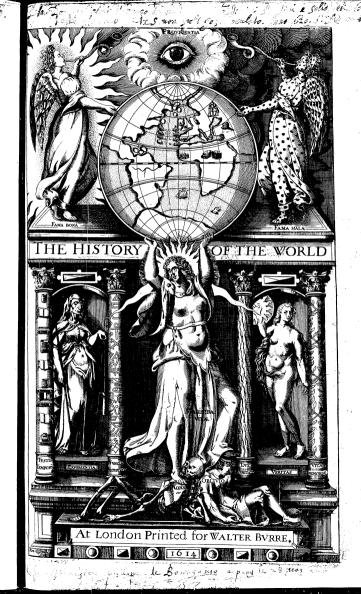
High Prouidence would so: that nor the good Might be defrauded, nor the Great securd, But both might know their wayes are understood, And the reward, and punishment assurd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand Of Truth, which fearcheth the most hidden springs, And guided by Experience, whose streight wand Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things:

Shee chearefully supporteth what shee reares; Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne, Some note of which each varied Pillar beares, By which as proper titles shee is knowne,

Times witnesse, Herald of Antiquitie, The light of Truth, and life of Memorie.







# THE PREFACE. Thur to hote Praga in letter was not the reason in letter was not the for harnes for

Ow confit, and how conworthy a choice I have made of my (elf, to condertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, bath sufficiently resolved, me. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open

it selfe to my yonger yeares: and before any wound received, either front Fortune or lime: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkeneffe of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation: I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned Iland of Great Brittaine. I confesse that it had better sorted with my dissability, the better part of nee the next time. whole times are runne out in other trauailes; to have let together ( as I could) the unioynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the coniuer [all: in whome had there beene no other defect, (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soulepeircing wounds, which are ever aking while vncured: with the defire to fatisfiethole few friends, which I have tried by the fire of advertice; the former enforcing, the latter personading; have caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the Subject of every opinion wise or weake.

To the world I present them, to which I am nothing indebted : neither baue others that were, (Fortune changing) (ped much better in any age. For, Prosperity and Adversity have ever-more tied and ontied vulgar affections. And as we fee it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies barke at those they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so is it with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which wee call Honesty in all men, and that especiall eift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemne, without hearing; and wound, without offence given : led there-vnto by vncertaine report only; Demonolog, 1: which his Maiesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame 3.6.1. no man ( faith Siracides ) before thou have inquired the matter : vn-Ecclett.v.7

derstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res fine teste,

fine iudice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without iudge, malicious and deceineable. This wanity of vulgar opinion it was that Emiliaria bonnis gaue St. Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good tions, 3 and men, and detested that of the euill. And heereinno manhath given a better telior. Sen deira. L. rule, then this of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum benè merearis. Let vs sarissie our owne consciences, and not trouble our selues with same; be it never

foill, it is to be despised so we descrue well.

For my selfe, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prised it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack, and the contrary no other harmethan an our ragious tempest after the port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my sidelity towardes Her, whom I must still bonor in the dust , though further than the defence of Her excellent person, I neuer persequeted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: He that is the Supreame Judge of all the world, bath taken the accompt; lo as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delcear.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath beene begotten for them: I canneither enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine orone mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars,

To labour other latisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope: feeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travaile the world without apaffeport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility, to persuade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which GOD hath cast upon Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we reade and heare, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hathreceived a severall picture of face, and euerie one a diverse picture of minde; every one a forme apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in d similitude. From whence it commeth, that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many naturall and connaturall; wife, foolish; manly, and childish affections, and passions in Mortall Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to him [ fe : yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree ; so doe the

### The Preface.

outward workes of men ( so farre as their cogitations are acted ) give vs whereof to gueffe at the reft. Nay, it were not hard to expreffe the one by the other, very neare the life : did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the thinges that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diffemble their owne natures. Neither can any man (faith Plutarch ) so change himselfe, but that his heart may be sometime seene at his

In this great discord and disimilitude of reasonable creatures, if wee direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus index est vulgus, The common people are cuill ludges of honest things, and whose wisdome ( saith Ecclesiastes ) is to bee despised; if to the better fort; every understanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both cenfureth other men, and valueth it (elfe. And therefore conto mee it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torne with Rats: feeing the flouthfull Censurers of all ages, have not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrifie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glorie. But of these na-Eccl.c. 11. tures, which lie in wayt to finde fault, and to turne good into evill, feeing with facilities. Salomon complained long fince: and that the very age of the world ren- quanterel ders it every day after other more malitious; I must leave the professors to their easie waies of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more

To me it belongs in the first part of this praface, following the common and approved custome of those who have left the memories of time past to after ages; to give, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet feeing therein I should but borrow other mens wordes : I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath beene honored; in this one it triumphethouer all humane knowledge, That it hath given ws life in our wnderstanding, fince the world it selfe had life and beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over time, which befides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast & denouring space of so many thousands of yeares, and given so faire and peircing eies to our minde; that we plainely behould living now, as if we had lived then, that great World, Magni Delfapiens opus, the wife worke (faith Hermes) of a great GOD, as it was then, when but new to it felfe. By it I fay it

is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againer epeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have flor/fled and fallen; and for what vertue and piety GOD made prosperous; and for what vice and desormany he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe conto History, that it hath made we aquainted with our dead ancestor; and, out of the depth and darkenesse of the earth, delivered us their memory and same. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries, with our owne likee, rours and ill describes.

But it is neither of Examples the most lively instructions, nor the words of the wises men the terror of survey coments, that hath yet of wrought in our bland and stupssed of GOD doth peirce through all our preteness; as to make vs remember, That the instruction of GOD doth require none other accilers than our owne coasciences; which neither the sale beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formallities, which to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on scaninany, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that Heavhen wisdome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true GOD. If any sale is trouble it from the cuertasting gods, he thinkses nor well

To repeat GODS indgements in particular, ppon those of all degrees, which have plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples bath no bottome. The markes, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed, and have not seene the fall of others, doe not feare their come faults. GODS judements opposithe greater and greatest; have beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their evertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells into Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wife working of Pharao, when be flue the Infants of Ilrael, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iezabel, in covering the Murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law: with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleffe proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farr-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practise, perill, bloudshed, and

cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exerciled. taken on them, and committed; to make them-selues and their issues maisters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Perfia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the reft, no fruit, flower, graffe, nor leafe, springing vpon the face of the Earth, of those seedes: No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine. Omnia que manu hominum fada funt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt : All that the hand of man can make, is either ouerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing confumed. Thereasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes and States byue fallen ( lay the Politicians ) by outward and forraine force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both: Others obferue. That the greatest have funck downe under their owne weight; of which Liuie hath a touch : eo creuit, vt magnitudine laboret fina; Others, That the divine providence (which Cratippus objected to Porepey ) hath fet downe the date and period of every estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my felfe a day out to resolue.

For feeing the first bookes of the stollowing story, have round recknished discourse of the strip Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible the stort life of a Preface, to trauaile after and over-take farr-off Annauty, and to indee of it; I will, for the present, examine what prosses bath beene gathered by our owne Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the succession indesire, invision, and cruelties, have (notwithstanding) planted after the same patternes.

True it is that the indgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred upp a-like with examples of like nature: But energy ne is touched most, with that which most neerely seems that to touch his owne prinate; Or otherwise best sueth with his apprehension. But the indgements of GOD are for our verchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long processe of time, and won to gine his blessing in one age, to that which he hash our sed in another. Wherefore those that are wish, or whose wisdome, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policie; as well among those examples that are found in ages removed sarre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no self expeare by evident proofe; than by assentiation, That ill doing bath alwaise beene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of preface, runne over some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached;

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a fingular and most remarkeable example of Gods instice, opon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft, and crueltie, hee had disposest, ouer-reacht, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne some Some Lords of this Land : GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with above a hundred and fiftie others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearely beloued.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the Murder of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out; and that so often, and in such aboundance, as all our Princes of the Masculinerace (pery few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more then suspitious : yet in that hee after wards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whome the Earle as then supposed to beeliuing; (the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which your indeed treason in him-felfe, had his Vncles intelligence beene true this I saymade it manifest, that hee was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it other wise: though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable judgement of GOD revenved, on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried runder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsailours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee aiwaies tooke him selfe for ouer-wife, to bee taught by examples. The Earles of Huntington and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought them selves as great posititians in those daies, as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully then did that Duke. And as for the King him selfe ( wlo in regard of many deedes, omworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot bee execused, as the disauowing him-selfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents ) He was in the Prime of his youth deposed; and murdered by his Colea-germane and valfall, Henry of Lancaster; afterwards Henry

the fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, and his obtaining the Crownetraiterous: who brake Faith with the Lordes at his landing, protesting to intend only the recouerie of his proper Inheritance; brake faith with Richard him(elfe; and brake Faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should line. After that he had enjoyed this Realme some few yeares; and in that time had beene set open on all sides by his Subjects, and neuer free from conspiracies and rebellions: he saw (if Soules immortall see and discerne any thinges after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henrie the fixt, and his Sonne the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which he had caused so much blood to bee powed out ) transferred from his race; and by the Issues of his Enemies worne and enioyed: Enemies, whom by his owne prastife hee supposed, that he had left no lesse powerlesse, than the succession of the Kingdome questionlesse; by entailing the same ropon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could have iudged no other wife, but that thefe cautious provisions of the Father, feconded by the valour and fignall victories of his Sonne Henry the fift, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despaire of alreconquest and recourry. I say, that bumane reason might so have judged: were not this passage of Casaubon also true; Dies; hora, momentum, cuertendis dominationibus sufficit, quá adamantinis credebantur radicibus else fundata; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henrie the fixt, woon whom the great storme of his Grandfathers greeuous faults fell, as it formerly had done woon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward : although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauatre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom hee was affianced (by which match hee might have defended his Inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Aniou, (by which he loft all that hee had in France) so as in condiscending to the conworthy death of his Vnckle of Glocester, the maine and strong pillar of the house of Lancaster; Hee drew on himselfe and this kingdome the greatest joynt-losse & dishonor that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henriethe Third of France, Quil estoit vn. fort gentil. Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps, That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reign happened in a very vnfortunate scason.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolke were the practifers and contrivers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queen had bin absolute sthe Queene, in respect of her personall wound, spretaque iniuria

hath it neuer yeelded fince the world was.

And now came it to Edward the fourthsturne (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted cupp; One onely Earle of Richmond excepted: phome also hee had once bought of the Duke of Britaine, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward (uch aplantation, as could any way promife it selfe stability. For this Edward the King ( to omit more than many of his other cruelties ) beheld and allowed the flaughter, which Gloucester, Dorset, Haftings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that escaped the judgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which ( befides the execution of his brother of Glarence, for none other offence then hee him-felfe had formed in his owne imagination ) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the fixt, his predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his orone fonnes and Successors Edward and Richard. Forthose Kings, which have fold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the fame price.

To Edward the fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Maister in mischeife of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedie, hee had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, then all the rest; yet hee so well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly wpon the affections of Hastings, and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred: as hee The Preface.

easily allured them to condiscend that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternill Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first ) bee seuered from him : secondly bee prought their confent to bauethem imprisoned, and lastly (for the a voyding of future inconvenience ) to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercife that common precept, which the Deuill bath written on every post, ribus tuenda namely, To depresse those whome they had grieved, and to destroy those whom sent de dem. they had deprest; Hee orged that argument so farre and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yong king himselfe, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, ween souer the king or his brother, should have able yeares to exercise their power; they would take amost sewerereienge of that curelesse wrong, of ered to their uncle and brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Maisters sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Divell, who never diswades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so hee did. But when bee found by Caresby, who founded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolved to kill him fitting in councell: wherein having fayled with his [word; He fet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his apperite; He caused his head to be stricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater judgement of GOD, than this ropon Hastings, I have never observed in any storie. For the selfe same due that the Earle Rivers, Grey, and others, were ( without triall of Law, or offence given ) by Hallings advice executed at Pomfret : I lay Hastings him-selfe in the same daie, and (as Itakeit) in the same houre, in the same law lesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration per funded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for rew.rd, besides the high bobe of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grienous vexations of minde, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered op by his trustiest servant; He had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peeres. And what successe had Richard himselfe after all these mischefes and Murders, policies. and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time, as with a most mercilesse hand hee had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords; other than the prosperity of so bort a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke over and discerne it? the great outcrie of innocent bloud, obtayning at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of theme and dilbonor both to his friends and enemeis.

This cruell King, Henry the seauenth cut off; and was therein(no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS instice. Apoliticke Prince bee was

if ever there were any, and who by the ingine of his wisdome, beat downe and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after hee ware the crowne as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he ever left the raines of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies wayed his condertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. Hee had well observed the proceedings of Loys the eleventh, whome hee followed in all that was royall or royal-like, hur hee was farre more inst, and begun not their processes whome hee hited or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

Hee could neuer indure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wise, for what so over him-selfe gaue, hee him-selfe received back the thanks and the love. Innowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing to reddely as by benefits) were traynes that better became great Kings, than great subjects. On the courtary, in what so ever hee greeted his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found sit ministers for such actions. How-so-ever, the taking off, of Stanles head, who set to crowne on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, some to George D. of Clarence, shows, as the successed of the errors of his Ancesters, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand children, as that of Edward the third and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and Patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did hee aduance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more defert gaue hee aboundant flowers from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Haruest burnt them in the Hiue? How many wives did hee cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whome our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? Yea, in his very deathbed, and when he was at the point to have given his accompt to GOD for the aboundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolke the Father; and executed the Earle of Surrey the some; the one; whose defernings he knew not how to value, having neuer omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour, and the Kings service; the other, never having committed anything worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised; the other, no lesse valiant than learned; and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which hee heaped opon the Fatherlesse, and widdowes at home : and besides the vaine enterprises abroade, wherein it is thought that hee confumed more Treasure, than all our victorious

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Kings did in their feuerall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell warres did he make voon his owne Nephew King lames the fift & What Lawes and Wills did be deuile, to establish this Kingdome in his owne illues ? when his Sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut do sone those branches, which sprang from the same roote that him-selfe did. And in the end (not withstanding these his fo many irreligious provisions) it pleased GOD to take away all his owne, without increase, though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these wondes of Samuel to Agas King of the Amalekites, have beene verified room many others : As thy fword hath made other women childlesse: so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that bloud, which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, GOD hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence His Maiesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whome I may say it truely, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discerne in His life, even to this daie, any one of those foule spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect ) have beene defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent bloud on the foord of his justice, with which the most that fore-went him, have stayned both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England; it may truely be a wowed, That he hathreceiued it euen from the hand of GOD, and hath stayed the time of putting it on how soeuer he were proudked to hasten it : I hat Hee neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that fought to put him befide it. : That Heerefused the asistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princesse did, That His Maiesty entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right let open; and into which, by a generall loue and Obedience, Hee was received. And howfoever His Maiesties praceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes ( witnesse the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare, 1559 ) yet hee neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that reno woned Lady, his Pradeceffor; no, notwithstanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought weet of orget, or neglect our thankefulnesset of OD for the vaniting of the Northerne parts of Britany to the South, to wit of Scotland to Bngland, which though they were sewered but by small brookes and banks, yet by reason of the long contine wed warre, and the cruckies exercised upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely sewered. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maickly bath brought with him runto this Land: No, the all our petty greenances together, and heap them up to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mole-bil, compared with the Mountaine of this concord, And if all the Hisforiens since

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then; have acknowledged the coniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse, (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from GOD, certainely the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our british bloud, heretofore and during the difference so often & aboundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdom more inabled to recover her auntient honor and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588, joyned the army which hee commanded soith that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; and had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against ros in the north: it is eahe to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur have bought this vinion at a farre greater prife than it hath fince cost rus.

It is true, that there was never any Common-weale or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world and not aboue it. They are not infinite to examine every mans cause, or to releiue euery mans wants . And yet, in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice ) His Maiesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne Coffers. Of whome it may be said, as of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis: Which if other men doe not conderstand in Sal. 1. K. 4. with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it bee better spoken of His Maiesty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in Divine, as Humane winder standing, bath

exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, without flatterie; did I not feare the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queene Elizabeth, made by conskilfull and common Painters; which by her owne Commandement, were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall: and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to posterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Printes (of whome for that purpose I have inserted this breife discourse) with His Maiesties temperate, revengelesse, and liberall disposition : I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them instly, and with an even hand: and withall, but bestoweuery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man which hath so inst cause to complaine, as the King him-selfe hath.

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Now as we have told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is every where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the osurpation, and connatural cruelty of Henry the first, and of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations : so dealt He with the sonnes of Loys Debonaire, the some of Charles the great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eies of Bernard his Nephew, the some of Pepin, the eldest some of Charlemain, and beire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robest his elder brother : there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poysonings, imprisonments, and civill warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished.

And though Debonaire, after he had rid himfelfe of his Nephero by a violent death ; and of his Bastard Brothers by actuill death (bauing inclosed them with sure gard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monasteries) held him-selfe secure from all opposition: Yes GOD raised out against him ( which hee suspected not ) his owne sonnes, to vexe him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his owne sonnes, with whome (to satisfie their ambition) hee had shared his estate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yeahis eldeft some Lothaire (for hee had foure, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to witt, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That he had wsed violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen, and that he had suffered his Nephew (whome hee might haue deliuered) to be flaine, co quod, faith the Text, fratti-sup Peffuine bus et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit. Because hee vsed violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffred his Nephew to be slain whom he might have delivered.

Tet did hee that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his crueltie. For among many other things, which hee performed in the Generall Assemblie of the States, it followes, Post hac autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosij exemplum, pænitentiam 209. Widen spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat. After this hee did openly confesse him-selfe to haucerred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodofius hee vnder-went voluntary penance as, well for his other offences, as for that which hee had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

This hee did : and it was praise-worthie. But the bloud that is uniustly spilt, is not againe gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

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This King, as I have faid, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldes he gave the Kingdome of Italy; as Charlemain, his Father, had done to Pepin the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire... To Pepin the feather is and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, kingdome of Bauier: and to Charles, whome hee had by a second wife, called Iudith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his some Pepin out of A quitaine; thereby to greaten Charles: which, after the death of his some Pepin, he prosequence to effect, against his Grandchild bearing the same name. In the meane while, heing inuaded by his some Loys of Bauier, he dies for greife.

Debonaire dead : Loys of Bauier, and Charles afterwards called the bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, joyne in league against the Embergio Lorhaire their eldest Brother. They fight neare to Auxerre the most bloudy battaile that ever was strokenin France : in which, the maruelous loffe of Nobility, and men of warre, gaue courage to the Saracens to inuade Italie; to the Hunnes, to fall rupon Almaine; and the Dancs, to enter expon Normandy. Charles the Bald by treason seizeth pon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster, Carloman rebells against his Father Charles the Bald, the Father burnes out the eies of his some Carloman; Bauire inuades the Emperour Lothaire his Brother, Lothaire quits the Empire. Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne. conscience, for his rebellion against his Father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monestarie. Charles the Bald the Vncle oppresseth his Nethewes the lonnes of Lothaire, hee veur peth the Empire to the prejudice of Lovs of Bauire his elder Brother, Bauiers armies and his sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of greife, and the V furper Charles is poy foned by Zedechias a lew his Phisitian, his sonne Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Car-Ioman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the vounger is flaine by a wild Bore; the some of Bauiere had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in (porting with his companions. Charles the groffe becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germanie, where with not contented, hee inuades Charles the simple, but being for saken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, hee dies a distracted begger. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes, and lastly being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to die in the prison of Peron: Loys the some of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in Chafing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whome Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes him-felfe. King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire: who after hee had once apparrelled iniustice with authority, his somes and successour stocke cop the fashion; and wore that Garment so long without other proussour, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggers. It were the successe they had, (sath a learned French-man) showers, què en ceste moris y avoit plus du sait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la instice that in the death of that Prince, to wit of Bernard the sonne of Pepin, the true heire of Charlemaine, men had more medling, than either GOD, or Instice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fast ) that ever the French-men had, did neuer enioy him-selfe; after hee had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Prouence, which poore people were there-upon burnt, and murdered; men, weemen, and children. It is true, that the faid King Francis repented him felfe of thefact, and gaue charge to Henry his some, to doe instice opporthe Murderers; threatning his some with GODS indgments, if hee neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry him-felfe was flaine in sport by Montcomerie; we all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And not-with-standing their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Maßacres, opon those of the religion, and great effusion of bloud; the Crowne was set on his head, whome they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were ; and hold to this day more strong citties than euer they had.

Let vs now seeif GOD be not the same GOD in Spaine, as in England and France. Towards whome we wil looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Calille: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Euan Vassilowich of Moscouia, were but pettie ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, bauing beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his owne bloud and Nobility which hee caused to hee slaine in his owne Cours and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis the great Maister of Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don Iohn of Arragon, whome he cutt in pecces and cass into the streets, denying him Christian burial! Is y besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great commander of Castile; Hee made away the two Insants of Arragon his Cosen germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquerques, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes

de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all his Kindred, and a world of others. Neither did be spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whome after hee had kept in clole prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived fixteene yeares, and the other, fourettene; hee murdered them there. Nay hee spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon, Lastly as he caused the Arch bishop of Toledo, and the Deane, to bee killed of purpose to enioy their treasures : so did he put to death Maho-Bigo. of Spaine met Aben Alhamar King of Barbarie, with seauen and thirty of his Nobilitie; that came onto him for succour, with a great summe of mony, to leay (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to resurne withall. Yea he would needs afift the Hangman with his wee hand, in the execution of the old King; in fo much as Pope Vrban declared him an enemie both to GOD and Man. But what was his end? Having beene formerly beaven out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster : He was stabled to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who disposses all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.

If wee can p. rallell any man with this King, it must bee Duk: Iohn of Bur; oigne: who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancelour of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reurend Church men, the Earle of gran Prè Hector of Chattres, and (in essential of the Ossilian of the Chamber of Accompts, Treassure, and Request, (with fixteene hundred others to accompany them) to bee suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while hee hoped to gouerne, and to have maistred France: Hee was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, which is a the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his mildeeds, presently slaine. These were the Louers of other mens misse-

ties: and milerie found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the fewenth, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first: and the sirst that layd the foundation of the present Austrian greatnesse. For this King did not content him-selfe to hold Arragon by the cosmod for the same flow, and to fasten there-conto the Kingdome of Castille and Leon, which slabel his wise held by strong hand, and his a solistance, from her own Necesthe Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and crastily, without all colour or pretence of right, H.e also cast his owne Neces out of the Kingdome of Nauarre; and, contravie to faith, and the promise that bee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so was she telled, as there was no meanes left for any army to intende it.. This King I jay, that ber ayed also Ferdinand and Frederick

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Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tied onto him; fold them to the French: and with the same drmy, sent for their succour ounder Gonsaluo, cast them out; and shared their Kindgome with the French, whome afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politique King, who fold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make bis sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: fam him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter married runto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A iust indeement of GOD ropon the race of lohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the flaughter of their children; but had formerly flaine, with his owne hand, the some and onely comforte of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Duchesse of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole; and died mad and deprined. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, Hee says cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Callice to the French, and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude : all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand have maisters of a new name; and, by a strange familie are governed and poffest.

Charles the fift, some to the Arch-duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises upon the French's upon the Almans, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian shouldiers, and renowned captaines, were consumed: who gave the while amost perilous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christian on the taken; was in conclusion chaced out of France, and in a fort out of Germany; and less to the French, Metz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire; shole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Aless by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to smallow up all those dominions, wherein hee concosted nothing save his owine disgraces. And having, after the stangener of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in either: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred Muba. His. thousand Duckets by the yeare to his some Philip; from whom he very slow. 1-1612313.

His Sonne againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland (wrested by his Ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princesses) and to possesses accermance other Provinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischeiuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor by the Nobility of these countries, not

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onely forgot the present, made him woon his entrie, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot, that bee had twice most 18:10 : of the folemnly sworne to the Generall states, to maintaine and preserve their auncientrights, priviledges, and customes, which they had enjoyed onder their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constraine them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquifition, and then to impoweriff them by many new deviled and intollerable Impositions; He lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make him-felfe not onely an absolute Monarch over them, like onto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread onder his feete all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eafily obtained from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true cause of all the warre and bloudshed fince then \ and after he had tried what hee could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobility, under the government of his base fifter Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinall Granuile; Hee employed that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom he first saughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare; and Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, and the Marquis of Bergues; and cut off in those fixe yeares (that Alua gouerned ) of Gentlemen and others, eighteene thousand and fixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, befides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministery when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished endes, having it in his hope to worke that by subtlety, which he had failed to perfourme by force: Hee (ent for gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But hee, vsing the same papall advantage that his predecessors had done: made no scruple to take Oath wpon the Holy Euangelists, to observe the treaty made with the generall states; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers, therein garrifond. Towards whose Pay and Pasport, the Netherlands strained them-(elues to make payment of fixe hundred thou (and pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp and Nemeures: not doubting (being consuspected by the States) to have possest him-selfe of all the maistring places of those Provinces. For whatsoever hee overtly pretended: Hee held in secret a contrary councell with the Secretarie Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practifed, and now againe intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this periurie, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. First for him-selfe; after hee had murdered so many of the Nobilitie; executed (as a forefaid) eighteene thousand fixe hundred

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in fixe yeares; and most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zurphen, Naerden, and other places: and after bee had confumed fixe and thirtie millions of treasure in sixe yeares; notwithst anding his Spanish vant, That hee would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milke-tubbs: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation 3 leaving his maisters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriuall. For Don John, whose haughty conceipt of him selfe ouer-came the greatest difficulties; though his judgement were over-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealousie and distrust; with the ontimely death that seized him, even in the flowre of his youth. And for Escovedo his (harpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maister both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine ropon some new project, He was at the first arrivall, and before any accesse to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his \ rudely murdered in his owne lodging. Lastly, if wee consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile, and successe in this bufinesse; there is nothing left to the memorie of man more remarkeable. For hee hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, and the lives of aboue foure bundred thou and Christians, for the loffe of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; and for revenue, did equall his West Indies; for the loffe of a Nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despiable of all his forces become free Estates, and farre more rich and powerfull, than they were, when hee first began to impouer ifb and oppresse them.

Oh by what plots, by what for wearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisoments, tortures, poylonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subtelties, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD vponthem-feliues, vpontheirs, and expontheir prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrarie to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselues; and the other neuer have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever beene made. GOD hath faid it and performed it ever : Perdam fapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisdome of the wife.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eies of the liuing, the fal and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, wil still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull: and either we bope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope , that there is nothing after them to bee hoped for.

For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or prejuade our felues, that GOD hath einen vs letters patents to purfue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so wee neither looke behind vs what hath beene, nor before vs what shall bee. It is true, that the quantitie which wee have, is of the body: wee are by it iogned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and wee inhabitit. The Heavens are high, farr off and on lear cheable: wee have lense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No meruaile then that our thoughts are also earthlie: and it is lesse to bee wondred at, that the words of worthlesemen cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost wouch safed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet Esai cryed out long agone, Lord, who hath beleeved our reports? And out of doubt, as Elai complained then for him selfe and others: so are they lesse beleeved, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, bee in every mans mouth, yea in the discourse of every woman, who for the greatest num-PauletoThus ber are but Idolls of vanitie: what is it other than an oniver (all disimu-Estive. 10. lation? Wee professe that weeknow GOD: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitude doth not confift in the knowledge of divine things, but in a diuine life: for the Deuills know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinorum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to bee admired, and more to bee lamented, than the privat contention. the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual warre, masfacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof bath to occupied the World, as it bath well neare driven the practife thereof out of the world. Who would not soone resolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Time or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, befides the discourse & outward profession, the foule hath nothing but hypocrifie. Wee are all (in effect) become Comadians in religion: and while we act in gesture and voice, divine vertues, in all the course of our lines wee renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charitie, Iustice, and Truth, have but their being in termes, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdome, which Salomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word; but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches cheifly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. The Preface.

These indeed bee the markes, which ( when wee have bent our consciences to the highest ) wee all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest aboundance, wee our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For therest; Hee that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told we that this is the wfe: When goods increase (fath Salomon) they also increase that eat them; and what good com- Ecologis. 10. meth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes ? As for those that devour the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe for lake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Maister Dannet, and wie his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the fift, after the resignation of his Estates, stayed at Vlushing for winde, to carrie him his last iournie into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embatladour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his servants, and no bodie answering him (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest a sleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle him-felfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the refistance that Seldius could make. And when Hee was come to the flaires foot, He said thus vnto him : Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when hee shalbe dead and gone, That Him, whome thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of fouldiors, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forfaken, yea euen of his owne domesticall servants. &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vonto them by all forts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their instice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the outcrie of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please them-selves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever beene applauded; the most vertuous (if conprosperous) have ever beene despised. For as Fortunes manrides the Horse, so Fortune her-selferides the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and

Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other with equal libertie.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whome wee leave behind vs. Certainly, of those which conceive that their (oules departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be (aid of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes funt in restulta. For when our spirits immortall shalbe once seperate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other forrow for their pouertie, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth up a Beegars cotage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui etiam 3. Aug. de cura eorum filij quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non interfunt. The dead though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the foules of those departed, are not conversant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of lob; who tells vis, That wee know not if our fonnes fhalbe honorable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shalbe of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confermeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth him-selfe in vaine : hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who thall gather them. The liuing (faith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all, for who can shew vinto man, what shalbe after him vinder the Eulosie 12. Sunne? Heetherefore accompted is among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the sworld; not knowing after death, swhether a foole or a wife man should enjoy the fruits thereof: which made mee ( saith hee) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. And what can other menhope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death GOD bathreserued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope; jeeing the Prophet Esai confes-(eth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and !frael knowes vs not. But hereof wee are affured, that the long and darke night of death: of whose following day we shall never behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed oner it \ shall couer ws oner till the world bee no more. After which, and when wee shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the feats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the bleffed bee exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or leffe joy nor any returne of foregone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whome whether wee shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any fort distinguish them: no man can assure ws; and the wifest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retaine any of those faculties, which the foule exercifed in amortall body; wee shall not at that

time (o divide the loyes of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory

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of their felicities which remains in the World. No; beetheir estates greater than ever the World gave, wee shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs \ euen detest their consideration. And what soeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast the same will consist in the charitie, which we exercised living: and in that Pietie, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of rus, and receive rus. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as winnecessarie and vaine? certainlie no. For that infinite wildome of GOD, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath given greater and lesse light, and beautie, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: created the Eagle and the slie, the Cedar and the Shrub : and among flones, given the fairest tincture to the Rubie, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Indees, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posteritie, for amarke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: 6, seeing Siracides preferreth Death be-Sirac40, v. 28 fore Beggerie: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pittie; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care : Provided, that worldly goods bee well gotten, and that wee raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For as Plato doth first preferrethe perfection of bodilie health; secondly, the forme and Pla. deleg.1.2. beautie; and thirdly, Diuitias nulla fraude quæsitas: fo Hieremie cries, Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and torning. their chambers without equitie: and Esai the same, Woeto those that spoyle and were not spoyled. And it was out of the true wildome of Salomon, that bee commandeth vs, not to drinke the wine of vio-Productions, of Oatomon, some community and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, some states are states and not to swallow them vp aline, so the swallow them vp aline, so the swallow them vp aline, so the swallow the whose riches wee couet : for such are the wages ( faith hee ) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

And if wee could affoord our selves but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing init: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when wee were not, or by that time which is to come in which wee shall abide for ever: Is ay, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing ; it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that wee so much prise the one, which hath (in effect ) no being: and so much neglect the other, which bath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selves after the world were

But let every man value his owne wildome, as hee pleafeth. Let the

Galt.4.7. Pet.1.4.

Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his aboundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that have not troden downe their opposites; the Policician, all groffe, that cannot merchandize their faith: Tet when wee once come in light of the Port of death, to which all winds drive vs; and when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can never be weighed againe, the Nauigation of this life takes end : Then it is I say, that our owne cogitations (those sad and seuere cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicitie) returne againe, and pay os to the ottermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that wee crie out to GO D for mercie; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty towards others : and it is onely then, that wee are struckenthrough the soule with this terrible fentence, That GOD will not be mockt. For if according to Saint Peter, The righteous scarcely bee saued: and that GOD spared not his Angells : where shall those appeare, who, having ferued their appetites all their lives, presume to thinke, that the severe commandements of the All-powerfull GOD were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which wee draw when death presseth ws, if wee can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy ( without any kinde of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith areuerend Father, Cum hac spe ad eternos labores & bella descendunt : I confesse that it is agreat comfort to our friends, to have it [aid, that wee ended well : for wee all defire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what [hall wee call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if those men doe not appole him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for GOD, to aske him for givenesse at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malitious breath? For what doe they other-wife, that die this kinde of well-dying, but say onto GOD as followeth? Wee beseech thee O GOD, that all the fallboods, for swearings, and treacheries of our lines past, may be pleasing out thee; that thou wilt for our sakes ( that have had no leisure to doe any thing for thine ) change thy nature (though imposfible) and forget to bee a just GOD; that thou wilt love injuries and oppresions, call ambition wildome, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall prajudice my sonne (which I am resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to have beene consust (which I am too proud to doe ) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out anew GOD; or have made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which, when he had caused any that he feared or hated to be killed thee would take it from his head and kiffeit: befeeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last, which, (as at other times ) hee did; when by the practife of a Cardinall and a falfified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnack to bee stabbed to death mockeries indeed fit to be weed towards a Leaden, but not towards the

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euer-liuing GOD. But of this composition are all the deuous louers of the world, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practises of their opposites, and their pery whisperings: they seare the opinions of men which beat but upon shadowes: they state and or they feare the prosperous and unprosperous, be they friends or Kings yeathey dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble stone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they show an obstinate and Gant-like valour, against the terrible independents of the ship-powerfull GOD: yeathey show themselves gods against GOD, and shave towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike voten.

Now for the rest : If wee truly examine the difference of boch conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whome wee call fortunate; and of the poore and oppressed, whome we account wretched: wee shall finds the happinesse of the one, and the milerable estate of the other, so tied by GOD to the rery instant, and both so subject to interchange (wirnesse the suddaine downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy oprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so oncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that hee may be deprived of either or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est, What the cuening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet yee cannot tell (faith Saint Iames) what shalbe to morrow. Jamas Is To day he is fet vp, and to morrow hee shall not bee found for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasset adversitie, be very obscure: yet therein wes better discerne GOD, than in that shinning light which enuironeth worldly glorie; through which, for the clearenesse thereof, there is no vanitie, which efcapeth our fight. And let aduer sitie seeme what it will; to happie men, ridiculous, who make them-selues merrie at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the crosse greinous : yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For see it that wee have lived many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee have reloyced; or bee it that wee baue measured the same length of daies, and therein have ever-more forrowed: yet looking backe from our prefent being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the iou and the woe, ayled out of fight; and death, which doth pursue ws and hold ws in chace, from our infancie, hath gathered it. Quicquid atatis retro est, mors tenet: What-so-euer of our age is past, death holds it. So as whoso-euer hee bee, to whome Fortune hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truelie examine what it hath reserved, either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saued,

that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of what ever else the amorous Spring-time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then unualuable; and hee (ball finde that all the art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavie, sceret, and sad fighes. Hee Ib.ill finde nothing remaining, but those forrowes, which grow up after our falt-thringing youth; over-take it, when it is at a stand; and over-topit rutterly, when it beginnes to wither: in lo much as looking backe from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poore, diseased, and captive creature, but as little sence of all his former miseries and paines; as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For yohat-so-ener is cast behind us, is instnothing : and what is to come, decciptfull hope hath it. Omnia qua euentura funt, incerto iacent. Onely those few black Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly evanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memorie of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glorie.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrowes of this life, are but of two forts; whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first wee complaine to GOD against our selves, for our offences against bim; and confesse, Ettu iustus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O'Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second spee complaine to our felues against GOD: as if hee had done we wrong, either in not giving vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs, having had them; forgetting that humble and just acknowledgment of lob, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt hee is either a foole or congratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane so-euer his estate bee, that the Same is yet farre greater, than that which GOD oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe so-euer his afflictions bee, that the same are yes farre lese, than those which are due onto him. And if an Heathen wife man call the advertities of the world but tributa vivendi, the tributes of living: a wife Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them man-like, and resolvedly. not as those whining souldiors doe, qui gementes sequentur imperatore.

For feeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written one for ws, and appointed w all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their diftribution, beene partiall to the most might princes of the world; That gaue wino Datius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most missing water of an Enemie,

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to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet to play the Gran Signior of the Turkes in the morning, and in the same day the Footstoole of Tamerlane ( both which parts Valerian had also playd , beeeing taken by Sapores) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captaine, and lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but of the least wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolue, That the change of fortune on the great Theater is but as the change of garments on the leffe. For when on the one and the other enery man weares but his owne skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weaknes, prife the passages of this world other wise (for faish Petrarch, Magni ingenii est reuocare mentem a senfibus ) it is by reason of that conhappie fantase of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto hee is subject: Thereinit is, that Misfortune and Advertitie worke all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what soener Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnes in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all finkes but the Sorrow, to faue it. That were, as Seneca (aith, Fortuna fuccumbere, quod triffius est omni fato, to fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to found a retrait; and to defire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued me to draw the picture of time pass (which we call Historic) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the first divine. Histories being nothing else hue a continuation of such examples) have personal and to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though the serve glorrous actions of the Almightie be so neare, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation, inferring Providence: (for what Father for saketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation) Tet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldy wisedome, have gone about to dissoyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation & Providence, hue granting that the world had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this dollrine of Faith, southing the Creation in time, for by Faith we vnderstand, that the world was made by the word of Godyle too weighty a work for Artistoiles rotten ground to heare vop, whon which he hath snow with said mighounded the Defences & Fortresses of all his Verball Dollrine: Tet that the necessitie of instinct power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary even in the independent of Naturals reason, wherein hee beleeved, had not better instormed him; it is greatly to be

maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge ( leing Aristotle hath fayled in this maine poynt; and taught litle other than termes in the rest ) have so retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected them-selves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching. in the fearch of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall. or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are rundoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that ipfi dixerunt, doth make them to bee such ? certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason bath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in every question of Nature, and finite power, may bee approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledg. For faith Charron in his Booke of wisdome, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite que l'autre, fi la raison n'on fait la difference : Euery humane proposition hath equall authoritie, if reason make northe difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the wpright and conpartiall judgment of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lastantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They negle& their owne wisdome, who without any judgment approue the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer them-selves, after the manner of Beafts, to beeled by them. By the advantage of which flouth and dullnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophie, Phisick, and Divinity, in a Pillory; and written ouer the first, Contra negantem Principia; ouer the second, Vertus specifica; and over the third, Ecclefia Romana.

But for my felfe, I shall never bee perswaded, that GOD hath shut of all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Atistotles braines; or that it mas euer said vonto him, as vonto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: that GOD hath given invention but to the Heathen; and that they onely have invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That thefe and thefe bee the causes of these and thefe effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience, without Art. The Cheefe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Runnet doth coagulate her milke into a curde. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophie, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason The Preface.

for the Graffe winder his feete, sohvit should bee greenerather thenred, or of any other colour: that could never yet discover the may and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himlelfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heavens them (elves: Man ( (aith Salomon) that can hardly different the things that are youn the salomon, t.o. Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; that hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner beginnes to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his onderstanding, nothing trulie; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wifest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle bee hee) could never To much as define, but by the Action and effect, telling we what it workes (which all men know as well as hee) but not what it is, which neither hee, nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (for though I were perfect, yet I know not my foule, faith Iob. ) Man I fay, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the art of GOD increating the World; of GOD who (faith Iob) is so excellent as weeknowe him not; and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Job. 26. Man-kind had a beginning of being. Hee will disable GODS power to make a world without matter to make it of. He will rather give the mothes of the Aire for a cause; cast the worke on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; maket wo powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make him-selfethe Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours have mainetained it; paratiac conjurati, quos seguuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or foone after, Moses, Zoroaster, Museus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliflus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cle-Latt.5. anthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exaustitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessitie of invincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the vniversall. Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidentiam vnam effe consentiant: fiue enim Natura, fiue Ather, fine Ratio, fine mens, fine fatalis necessitas, fine dinina Lex; idem elle quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions ( saith Lastantius ) though vncertaine, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same bee Nature, or light, or Reason, or understanding, or destinie, or divine ordinance; that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainely, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they some times hide them-selves for a while under ground, and seeme to be lost in Sea-like

Lakes; doe at last finde, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humaine capacitie hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiositie; in the necessitie of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.

As for others, and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternall, and that God did not create the world ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weake, as is hardly worth the answering. For (Jaith Eusebins) Mish videntur qui hoc die Euglis ideprop. cunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere. They seeme unto me, which shape, been as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniversall. For were the Matter or Chaos, eternall: it then followes. That either this supposed Matter did sit is selfs to God; or God, accommodate himself exo the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselwes to the Workmans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artisseer be applied himselfe, according to the proporti-

on of Matter which he lighted copon.

Bue let it be Jupposed, That this matter had been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I rosuld gladly learne bow it came to passe that the same to passe that the same to passe that mass omnipotent and infinitely wise: and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the forme of the Vniversall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it begranted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to sinish the work of the World: Or had there beene more of this matter, than sufficiency than did God dissue & annihilate what-sower remained and was superstuous. And this must everyreas mable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same are and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, bee againe changed into Nothing; by which these things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of beine.

Againe, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotisme. For if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is eastic enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it selfe, wor any thing else. For so be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autism selfus mercacit, neq; seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth præcede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest; Those that saine this matter to be eternall, must of necessities tonsels, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternitie. And then had insi-

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nite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part; who-so-euer will make choyce, rather to beleeve in eternall deformitie, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnesse of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whome the curse of presumption hath not stupisted ) hath doubted, That infinite power ( of which wee can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) bath anything wanting in it selfe, either for matter or forme; yea for as many worlds (if such had beene GODS will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation; the worke hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reasonit selfe findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliver from it (elfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionyfius his words, Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: and againe Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides, to wit, causaliter, or inbetter tearmes, non tamquam forma, sed tan. quam causa vniuersalis. Neither hath the world oniversall closed op all of GOD. For the most parts of his workes ( faith Stracides ) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdome be opened, by the glorious work car, 16.20, 21. of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we feldome entitle GOD the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the allmighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not fo faluage therein, as those are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the mord (nothing) beetaken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed ropon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctour Aristotle him selfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsum infinitum, That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to bee infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainely, Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse princi-stem, Eng. 1.2. pium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, philosopher, philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falsbood, to conclude fally; than out of truth, to resolue truely. For if wee compare the world Vniuer [all, and all the vnmeasurable Orbes of Heaven, and those merueilous bodies of the Sunne, Moone, and Statres, with ipsum infinitum: it may truely bee said of them all, which him-selfe affirmeth of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and there-

ere-Love foreto bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite ( qui destruit omnem proportionem ) is no wonder in GOD Spower. And therefore Anaximander, Meliffus, and Empedocles, call the world runiuersall, but particulam Vniuersitatis and infinitatis, aparcell of that which is the universalitie and the infinitie it selfe; and Plato, but a shadow of GOD. But the other, to proue the worlds eternitie, rurgeth this Maxime, That, A futbeient and effectuall cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted: inferring, that GOD being for ever a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also have beene for ever; to wit, the world oniversall. But what a strang mockerie is this in so great a Maister, to confesse a sufficient and effectuall cause of the world, (to wit an almight, GOD) in bis Anti cedent; and the same GOD to be aGOD restrained in his conclusion; to make GOD free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet mable to make chouse of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of GOD, as of naturall neces. fitie; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor conderstanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burne things combustible.

Againe he thus diffuteth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke: if it after-ward worke, it is either thereto moved by it selfe, or by some-what else; and so it passeth from power to Act. But GOD (faith he ) is immouable, and is neither moved by him-selfe, nor by any other; but being alwaies the same doth alwaies worke : Whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by GOD, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that GODS perfourming in due time that, which hee eucr determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancie in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answere, init selfe sufficient, others adde further, that the patterne or Image of the World may be faid to be eternall : which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this fort distinguish the Idaa, and Creation in time. Spiritu. Mer. Ficin.de, alis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vica immori. Att. aquali est Architecto; suit semper cum illo, eritque sumper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, deceditiam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit femper futurus. That representative, or the intentionall world ((aythey) the fampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was aqually ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and euer thalbe. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come. The Preface.

The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no other-wise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shalbe a new Heaven and a new Earth; without any new creation of matter. But of the ethings we need not here fland to a que: though such opinions bee not comportby the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternall and puchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded effence of the World (and because compounded, therefore distipable ) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseperable power, flowing from divine unitie; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodnesse and understanding divine; and that this wereue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World ( (aith hee ) is not capable of , but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the mater, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall denie that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirme, That it was never heard, never read, never feene, no not by any reason perceiued, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the Elder by continuance; or in any fort other-wife than they were; which had they beene subject to finall corruption, some change would have beene discerned in so long a time : To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneffe, and that they have not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receive answer by coniectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely Arist. Met. 2. mistaken : or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, stabil 3. Beda were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sunnes heat; neither decarations tem. were the Seas, under the Equinoctiall, nauigable. But weeknow by 1. P. q. 102. experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which wee Nauigate, passable enough. Wee read also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the world were burnt out, by the Sunnes roiolent heat.

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certaine., That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood, or threee thousand yeares: that many things have beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have beene buried by the general stoud; without any alteration either of substance or figure, yea it is believed, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily sound in Mynes, and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementarie, and compounded, the eldest times have not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Celestiall and quintessential bodies? And yet wee have reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose helpe all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as here-to-fore. We have neither Gyants, such as the eldest world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse wertue, which from the Heavens receive evertue. Whence, if the nature of a Presacc would permit a larger discourse; wee might easily setch store of proofe; as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good aunswer that can be made to this objection: If the World were eternall; why not all thinges in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdome, but that every Nature had been a-like eternall; and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the éternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall beeing in the World? For if all were equall: why not equall conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Menrotte and die.?

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gane Order that it [hould hang in the Aire.: that the Sunne [hould trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those boundes, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in eurry yeare.: the Moone to line by borrowed light.: the first shares (according to common opinion) to be fashned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele.; and the Planess to wander at their pleasure? Orthone of these bad power over other: was it out of Charity and Love., that the Sunne by his perpetual travaile within those two Circles, hath-wisted, given light who and are leived all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doube, if the Sunne have of his owne accord kept this course in all eternitie.: He may instly be called eternall charity, and everlassing Love. The same may be saide of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountains.

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of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called evernall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to believe againe in the old Play of the gods? Tea in more gods by Millions, than ever Hestodus dreampt of. But in steed of this mad follie, wee see see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason descense it better; That the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they have not constrained, nor could. Omne determination causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerir, Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errours winto ps, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: (oif the best definition bee taken out of the second of Aristotles phisicks, or primo de Calo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphyficks; I (ay that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion, from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who give the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they wnd rstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But bee it what hee will, or bee it any of these (GOD excepted) or participating of all : yet that it hash choice or under struding ( both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hash avowed. For this is con answerable of Lactantius: Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem facier di tott de ra habet, aut scientiam; Hee onely can bee said to bee the doer of a Bollinete thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in the sewords truely express by siminia. Ficinus: Potest volique Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuers sein. materis, diuersa facere: sublara vero mediorum materiarumque diuersitate, vel vnicum vel similimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter; it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter beeing present. Now if Nature made choyce of diversity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth; it had then both vndersanding and will; it had counsale to beginne; teasions the surface of the surface of

matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature test, drive whis will, and this winderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius, quā Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the wish. I de sies it and highest place to Divine power: Omnes homines notionen december 32. The should be should be

nant. And this I fay in flort; that it is a true. effect of true reason in man (were there. no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most jublime power. Vera Philotophia, eit ascentus ab his que shunt, & oruntur, & occidunt, ad ea que veresunt, & semper cadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which slow,

and rife, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous. to confound God and Nature ; be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his owne will; and maketh of one Earth; Vellels of honor and dilhonor. It is Nature that can diffuse of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good conto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it selfe. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things : It is Nature, which is begotten by all thinges; in which it lineth and laboureth; for by it lelfe it exilecth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heamy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the falt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in thefe: by the same Affection, Reason, and knowledge it is that Nature worketh. And therfore feeing all things work as they do, (call it by form, by Nature, or by what you please) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot refift; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worlhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder. & to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it (elfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and ottermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by al men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinit, and eternall, (which also necessity doth prone conto cos, without the helpe of Faith; and Reason, without the force of Authoritie) all things doe as easily follow which have beene delivered by divine letters, as the waters of arunning River doe successively pursue each other from the first fountaines.

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This much I say it is , that Reason it selfe bath taught cos : and this is tall 1.4 ca. the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia pracedit, Religio sequitur: quia pienta. prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion followes: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapitience Plato calleth, absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another, cientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith ( faith Isidore ) is not extorted by piolence; but by reafon and examples per swaded; fides nequaquam viextorquetur; fed 1atione & exemplis fuadetur. I confesse it, That to inquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret judgment, and the causes; is not an effect of Reason: Sed cum ratione infaniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it. For as it is no shame nor dishonor ( faith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himselfe there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so what soener is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, It acknowledgeth it to be so; as winder standing it (elfe not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, 200 to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Realectudurous fon and Necessity teach vs (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus national humanu merfi )that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how ening with it was made, it cannot teach os : and feeing the fame Reason and Necessity softe. make vs know, that the same infinit power is every wher in the world, and yet how every where it canot informe vs:our beleefe hercof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance; because it is the same Reason that tels vs. That (uch a Nature cannot be faid to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I have been— aircady over long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passes; seeing the whole is weekeding weake and desettive—. Among the grosest, the consutable division of the bookes. I could not know how to excuse, bad I not been directed to inlarge the building after the four-dation was laid, and the sirst part sinished. All men know that there is no great Art in the deviding ewelly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suites well enough with a great many Bookes of this age, which speaked to much, and yet say little; Ipsi nobis sutto suddiction, we are shollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I beleeve as he dooth sthat who so thinkes himself then wisest man, is but a poore—and miserable ignorant. Those that are the bess men of war, against all the runnities and sookries of the World, doe alwaies keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from

themselves, from selfe love, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I have onely taken counsaile from the Argument. For of the Affyrians, which after the downefall of Babel take opthe first pare and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis excepted.

It was the flory of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that ouercame the confuming dilease of time; and preserved it selfe, from the every cradie and beginning to this day : and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof ( to which in many Scriptures wee are referred ) are no sob, refound. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot op here and there in the same time. I am druentorelite by way of digression: of which we may lay with Virgil.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto; They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to ws; though most of the Authors Names, have perifibed in fo long a Nauigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diverfity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobilitie, Pollicie in warre; Nauigation; and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To (peake therefore of these (seeing in a generall Historie we should have left a great deale of Nakednesse, by their onission ) it cannot properly bee called a diere fion. True it is that I have also made many others: which if they shall be layd to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heare of humane error. For feeing wee digreffe in all the wayes of our line: yen feeing the life of man is nothing elfe but digression; I may the better bee excufed, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lappes of Hiltoric, and of the Kindes.

The same hash beene saught by many; but by no man better, and with greater breuity, then by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught ous by the Prophets and Apostles; and eurry day preacht onto os. But wee still make large digressions : yea the teachers them selves do not (in all) keepe the path which they poynt out to others.

For the rest; after such time as the Persians bid wrested the Empire from the Chaldwans, and had raifed a great Monarchie, producing Actions of more importance than were elfe-where to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; while tit (o florished, that the affaires of the nations adjoyning had reference there-outo. The like observance was to bee vsed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they apaine began to get ground poon the Persians, as also towards the affaires of The Preface.

Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greekes.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians and other Nations, who refifted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement : it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from ther severall beginnings. in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies; which in the end wallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: who seldome give names to those small brookes. whereof many, toyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and runne in a maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weake, and the Stile not every-where like it selfe: the first showes their legitimation and true Parent; the second, will excuse it selfe woon the Variety of Matter. For Virgill, who worte his Ecloques, gracili auena, weed stronger pipes when he sounded the warres of Acneas. It may also bee layd to my charge that I role divers Hebrew words in my first booke. and else where: in which lagunage others may thinke, and Imy-selfe acknowledge it., that I am altogether ignorant : but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus, others in lattaine Carecter in S. Senensis, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But say I had beene beholding to neither, yet were it not to bee wondred at hauing had a eleuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; How-fo-euer, I know that it will bee faid by many, That I might have beene more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times; having beene permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answere, that who-so ever in writing a moderne Historie, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and feruants into greater miseries. Hethat goes after her too farre off, loosetb her fight, and loofeth him-felfe: and hee that walkes after her at a midle diftance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I never travailed after mens opinions, when I might have made the best wse of them : and I have now too few daies remayning to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, doe yet, (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, betweene the bed and the grave. It is enough for me(being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet lyuing, in their persons that are long since dead; and haus it laid to my charge. But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainely if there be any, that finding themselues spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them over a new; they shall therein accuse themselves instly, and me fally.

#### The Preface.

For I protest before the Maiesty of GOD, That I malice no man onder the Sunne. Imposible I know it is to please all : seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subiestion to their private passions; but that they seeme diverse persons in one and the lame day. Seneca bath laid it, and lo doe I: Vnus mihi pro populo erat : and to the same effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis sed tibi : or ( as it hath fince lamentably fallen out ) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis eft vnus, Satis eft nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry the successive hope and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleased him to per vse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Maister from which all that is presented, hath received both blows & thanks, Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus, hic exitus est omnis iudicijan quo lis secundum plures datur. But thefe discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably; so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present aduerfitie hath difarmed mee. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farre to fall : and for ryling againe, as in the Naturall privation their is no recession to habit. : So is it seldome seene in the britation politiaue. I doe therefore for-beare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promife a second and third volume (which I also intend ) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much; and it is certaine, let vs claw the Reader with never so many courteous phrases; yet shall we ever-more be thought fooles, that write foolifbly. For conclusion; all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ongentle and oncurteous Readers of my Louetowards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall doe againe. For had it beene otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure, to have made my selfe a feele in print.

THE



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# THE FIRST PART OF

THE HISTORIE OF THE

World: Intreating Of The

Beginning, and first ages of the same, from the Creation vnto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

That the inuifible God is seene in his Creatures.



O D, whome the wifest men acknowledge to be a power vneffable, and vertue infinite, a light be a power wneffable, and vertue infinite, a light by abundant clarite inuffible, an wheefthanding which it felfe can onely comprehend, an effence eternall and fpirituall, of abfolute pureneffe and fimplicitie, was and is pleaded to make himfelfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which he imbraceth, filleth, and futtaineth) we behold the image of that glorie, which cannot bee meafured, and withall the care and we mignefull surpe, which orthan giore, which cannot bee meatured, and withall that one, and yet vinuerfall nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaten, we perceiue a flaadow of his dinine countermance, in his mercifull prouifion for all that lue, his manifold goodneffe: and laftly,

nance, in its interrupt potantion to at that me, in managed seasons are assessing and making existent the world vinuerfall by the abfolute art of his owne word, his power and almightinesse, which power, light, vertue, wisedome, and goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple effence, and one God, weein all admire, and in part difference or freedom eresturarum, that is, in the disposition, order, and varietie of celestiall and terrestriall bodies: terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuerlities; celestiall, in their beautie and magnitude; which in their continuals and con1.T'm.6.16.

Origen, lib. 2.

traric motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions their Almightic mouer.

In these more then wonderfull workes, God (faith Hugo) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects all that line winteffe in Circg.is Mor. themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable Herm, ad fit. foules: for according to S. Gregorie, Omnis homo co ipfo quod rationalis condituseft, ex ip-Tat.I.S. Pres la ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum effe colligere debet : Eucry man, in that he is reasoele mon aim went. nable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him is God. This God er immanifeall men behold (faith lob) which is according to the Fathers, Dominationem illius 10 thes woming autem manifeconspicere in creaturis, to discerne him in his providence by his creatures. That God flaus, per omnia hath beene otherwise seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proporunnibus, Appa-tion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. Iohn, and S. Paul, Yee haue tion of my vinderitanding, grounded on these places of S. Iohn, and S. Paul, Yee haue nerstorum il. not heard his voice at any time, neither haue yee seene his shape. And againe, Whom sibil reterritia neuer man faw, nor can fee. intia 5.3.

And this I am fure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicitie, of which S. Ougustine, Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, idipsum quod Deus eft, corporaliter videri non poteft, That nature, or that fubstance, or by whatloener name that is to be called which is God, what focuer that bee, the fame cannot be corporally perceined. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyrill, Chryfostome, Grego. 20 rie Nazian zenus, Hierome, Angustine, Gregorie the Great, Enarishus, Alcuinus, Dio-Theles therein wifus Arcopagita, Aquinus, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne word, Elaino trade, and by this visible world, is God perceived ofmen, which is also the understood landetring, 12. & guage of the Almightie, vouchfated to all his creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Chara-1.18. mar. Enar. Gers, are the vinnumbred Starres, the Sunne, and Moone, written on these large vo-Egila. Darat. Immes of the firmament: written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all Trans. 16, D. A. those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and relide therein. Therefore resp. e 4. cal. faid that learned Cufances, Mundus univerfus nihil aliadeft, qu'im Deus explicatus, The world univerfall is nothing elfe but God exprest. And the inuisible things of God (faith St. Paul) are feene by creation of the world, being confidered in his creatures. 30 Of all which there was no other cause preceding then his owne will, no other matiter then his owne power, no other workeman then his owne word, no other confidefee tain, cour fe-ration then his owne infinite goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his creatures, as he beheld the fame in all eternitie in the abundance of his owne lone, fo was temanifeliait at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged will mooued, by his high wisedome disposed, and by his almightic power perfected, and made visible. And thereforo (faith Mirandula) wee ought to lone God Exfise, & ex effectibus, (that is) both perswaded by his word, and by the effects of the worlds creation: Neque enim qui cau-Ambin epif. ad Ja cares, en caufa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sedvel en rerum, que facte sunt, queque fiunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo: Forhe 40 of whome there is no higher cause, cannot bee knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (faith Montanus) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or elfe by the word of God him felfe.

That the wifest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have beene created by



His work, and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned 50 Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different maner exprest, I meane all those who are entitled by S. Augustine, Summi Philosophi, Philosophers of highest indgement and understanding. Mercurius Trifmegifus calleth God, Principium univerforum, The original

of the valuerfall: to whom he giveth also the attributes of Mens, natura, actus, necesfit as, finis, & renouatio. And wherein he truly, with St. Paul, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty word, and not by hands : verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus. ZOROASTER (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) tooke the word fire to expresse God by (as in Deuteronomy Deut.4.14. and in St. Paulitis vied) Omnia ex uno igne genita funt, All things (faith he) are cau- Hebrita 191 fed or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkeable wordes are thus converted. Cùm abscon- orph. desum. 10 diffet omnia IVPITER summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans loue.

cogitata & mirabilia : Of which I conceiue this sense: When great IVPITER had hidden all things in himselfe, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had forethought. Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifeft, acknowledged also one God, the most

high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; Vnus Deus Pater Creator (ummus. Plato calleth God the caufe and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuerfall, totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus. But hercof more at large hereafter.

Now although the curiofity of fome men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Dininity: (it being true that the Scrip-20 ture hath not want of any forraine testimony) yet as the Fathers with others excellently learned are my examples herein; fo St. Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember what socuer he found agreable to the word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them, that know him not as in his Epistle to Titus he citeth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander, and in the seuenteenth of the Asts, Aratus, &c. for Truth (faith St. Ambrose) by whomsoeuer vttered, is of the holy Ghost; Veritas à quocung, dicatur, à spiritu fancto est : and lastly let those kinde of men learne this rule, Que faris serviunt, prophana non funt, Nothing is prophane that serueth to the wfe of holy things.

> ò. III. Of the meaning of In Principio. Genef. I. I.

His visible world of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which the Hebrewes seeke some magazing. This word beginning (in which the Hebrewes seeke some magazing) sterie, and which in the Iewe Turgum'is connected by the word Sapienton have be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as form then. For before tia) cannot be referred to fuccession of time, nor to order as some men haue conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to bee informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the eternall. Nature was not, nor the next parent of time begotten, time properly and naturally taken; for if God had but disposed of matter already in being, then as the word beginning could not bee referred to all things, fo must it follow, that the institution of matter proceeded from a greater power then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such a one (faith Lactantius) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dif-70 pose of things made: whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and

both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. Nam impossibile plura cusan demunto effe infinita : quoniam alterum effet in altero finitum, There cannot be more infinites then lib. 3. one; for one of them would limit the other.

d. IIII.

Herm in Pa. ferment facto.

feiretar & ille

elle erederetur

Culanalegea.

#### ð. IIII.

Of the meaning of the words Heanen and Earth. Genel. I. I.



He vniuerfall matter of the world (which Moyfes comprehendeth vnder the names of Heanen and Earth) is by diners dinertly vnderstood: for there are that conceine, that by those wordes, was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetikes understand it, to which St. Augustine and 10 Ilidore feeme to adhere. Fecilii mundum (faith St. Augustine) de mate-

ria informi, quam fecisli de nulla re, penè nullam rem : (that is) Thou hait made the world of a matter without forme : which matter thou madest of nothing , and being made , it was little other then nothing.

But this potentiall and imaginary materia prima cannot exist without forme. Peter Lombard, the Schoole-men, Beda, Lyranus, Comeftor, Toftatus and others, affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding Beds.Hex.Stra- instant (faith Beds and Strabo) hee filled with Angels. This Empyrean Heauen bo super Genel. Steuchius Eugubinus calleth Dinine claritie, and uncreated: an errour, for which he is sharply charged by Pererius, though (as I conceive) herather failed in the subsequent; 20 when he made it to be a place and the feate of Angels, and just Soules, then in the former affirmation : for of the first, That God liueth in eternall light, it is written; My Plat. 104. 12. Clarines dimins foule praife thou the Lord, that covereth himfelfe with light: and in the Revelation. And non all lax falla, the City hath no neede of Sunne, neither of the Moone to Shine in it : for the glory of God feel sprentaDet, did light it. And herein also 10hn Mercer vpon Genesis differeth not in opinion from Eugubinus: for as by heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invilible or Appr. 21. 23.
State of State o 649.7. vv/7. God himselfe, it was not necessary to be created; Quem mundum supercalestem meo iudicio creari (faith Mercer) non erat necesse:

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But as Moles forbare to speake of Angels, and of things intilible, and incorporate, 30 for the weakenesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of £gypt, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiveable Universal: so on the other side I dare not thinke that any supercelestial Heaven. or what focuer else (not himselse) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisedome of mortall men bath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feate of infinite power, no more then infinite power it felfe can be limited: for his place is in himfelfe, whom no magnitude elfe can containe: Bar.3, 24.25. How great is the house of God (faith Baruch) how large is the place of his possessions; it is 40

great, and hath no end, it is high and vnmeasurable.

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the wordes, Heauen and Earth, was meant the folid matter and fubstance, aswell of all the Heauens, and Orbes Supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, materia, Chabs, possibilitas, sue poffe fieri: Which matter (faith Caluin) was fo called, quod totius mundi femen fuerit; Because it was the seede of the Vninersall, an opinion of ancient Philosophers long

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That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses underflood in the word Earth; and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.

💥 🥍 O s E s first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth, but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his foirit beganne to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as Basil faith) preparare naturam aque ad fe-

cunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulneffe. For vnder the word Heaven, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures exprest; and by the name of Earth and Waters, all was meant, what soeuer is vnder the Moone, and fubiect to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not fubiect, though fubiect to perifling. They flall per Pfal. 103.26. rift (faith Dauid) and the heavens (hall vanish away like smoke faith Elay. Neither Elai, 11.

20 were the waters the matter of Earth : for it is written. Let the waters under the hea- Gen. verfg. uens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appeare: which proueth that the dry land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet diffinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the Earth, much leffe of the Vniuerfall. Initio tu Domine terram fundastt, Thou,O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth: and againe, The Earth was covered with the Deepe (meaning with waters) as with a gar- Pfal,104.6. ment, faith David. And if by naturall arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water; water, aire; aire, fire; and fo on the contrary, Deus ignis fub- zens. flantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into wa-30 ter. For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the fame state, in which they were

created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. Calum verò & terra in statu crea- Gul, Parisson. tionis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est. And the word which the Hebrewes call Maim, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specificall water; but the fame more properly fignifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus ) Est autem A. Mont, denat Maim liquor geminus, & huic nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurale numero aquas fecit. For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor, (that is, of diners natures) and this name or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plural, Aquas, AD Waters.

This Maffe, or indigefied matter, or Chaos created in the beginning was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters: And the earth Genefa. 34 was voide: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did the earth budde forth the hearbe, which feedeth feede, of the fruitfull tree according to his kinde, and God faw that it was good; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused, nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. God faw that it was

50 good; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that, to which nothing is wanting. Es perfecti Dei perfecta funt opera, The workes of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lumpe of imperfect matter had the ancient Poets their invention of Demogorgon: HESIODVS and ANAXAGORAS the knowledge of that Chaos, of which Ouid:

Ante

Ouid Metam.

Ante mare, er terras, er ( quod tegit omnia ) calum, Vnus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe. Quem dexere Chaos, rudis indigeftan, moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide, In all the world one only face of nature did abide: Which Chaoshight, a huge rude heape.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moned upon the waters, and that this is not to be fearched curiously.

Fter the creation of Heauen and Earth, then voide and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters. The Seventy Interpreters vie the word (uper-ferebatur, moued upon or ouer: incubabat, or fouebat (faith Hierome) out of Bafil; and Bafil out of a Syrian Doctor; Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo (faith Basil)

which wordes incubare or fourre importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a 20 speciall liking. Verbum translatum est ab authus pullitiei sue incubantibus, quamuis spiritualis of plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a spirituall and unexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrewes convert it to this effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat, The Spirit of God did flutter : the Chaldwan Paraphrastin this sense, ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat, or as other understand the Chaldwan, flabat, pellebat, remonebat: the winde from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon, according to the 147. Pfalme. Plal.147.18. He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor exha-Ar, Mont, or Sup, lation: Arias Montanus in these wordes, Et Spiritus Elohim Merachefet, idell, efficaciter motitans, confouens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of Godeffe- 20

clustly and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherifting, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, Ar. Mont, dena- and the last passive and materiall, to wit, causa, which is the divine goodnesse, Ichi, tura, pag. 149. which is, fiat, fine erit, let it be, or it shall be. Que vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: which voice (faith he) was the first that was ottered by the word of God. The third Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, vis quedam dinina, agilis ac presens per omnia pertingens, omnia complens, that is, a certaine divine power, or frength every where, active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he calleth Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; matter apt to become enerything. For my felfe I am refolued (Cum Deus fit (uperrationale omni ratione, See- 40 ing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull waves of working may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding vet the manner and first operation of his diuine power cannot bee conceived by any minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts (faith the Lord in Efay) are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to St. Paul) pall finding out. Orighteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, faith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were

Efay 55.8.

by incubation, or how elfe, the manner is only knowne to God, quemodo in omnibus sit Aug. Traff. 20. rebus, vel per effentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit ; For how God (faith 50 in loban.17. 25. St. Augustine, speaking of his V biquitie) is in all things, either by effence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. N ihil inter Deum hominema, distarct, si

Last.in Prefat. consilia, & dispositiones illius maiestatis aterna, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans understanding could conceive the

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counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiesly; and therefore to be ouer-curious in fearching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diftinguilhing, gave forme to the matter of the Vniuerfall, is a labour and fearch like vnto his, who not contented with a knowner and fafe foord, will prefume to paffe ouer the greatest River in all parts, where hee is ignorant of their depths; for fo doth the one loofe his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sunne, and enjoy his light, as long as we looke towards it. but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selucs safely, while wee stand neare the fire; but if we feeke to outface the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith be-10 come blinde or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (moued) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedethall production, and all what focuer is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeede bee truely called Principium motus, and with Mirandula, vis cause efficientis. The force of the efficient cause, St. Augustine sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a winde or breath, fub nomine (piritus, under the name of a (pirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura, for a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a breath or winde: Mercurius nameth it Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, a pure or thinne intelligible (pirit : AN AXAGORAS, mentem : TOSTATUS, voluntatem of mentem

20 Dei, The will and minde of God; which Mens, Plato in Timeo, maketh animam mundi, The foule of the world: and in his fixt Booke de Republica he calleth it the law of Heauen; in his Epistles, the leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as Cyprian wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saujour, Mens deficit, vox filet, co non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum: My minde faileth my voice is silent, and not mine only. but even the voice of Angels: fo may all men else fay in the understanding and utterance of the wayes and workes of the Creation; for to him (faith Nazianzenus) there is not one fubstance by which he is, and an other, by which he can, Sed consubstantiale illi Mazian, lib, 1, est quicquid eius est, & quicquid est, what sever attribute of him there is, and what sever Theel. he is, it is the very fame substance that himselfe is.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters cannot be taken for a breath or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diftinguished, and which now fustaineth, and giveth continuance to the Vniuerfall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the fame is it, which maintayneth all things, faith SALOMON. If thou fend forth thy Spirit wild cap. 1. (faith DAVID) they are created: And GREGORIE, Deus suo prasentiali esse, dat omni- vers. 7. bus rebus effe, ita quod, si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, fo as, if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away, and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all 40 things, Virgil hath exprest excellently.

> Principio calum ac terras, campofá, liquentes, Lucentemá, globum Luna, Titaniaá, astra, Spiritus intus alit : totamá, infusa per artus, Mens agitat molem, & magno fe sorpore mifcet.

Virg. Eneid.

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid mayne. The Moones bright Globe, and Starres Titanian. A Spirit within maintaines: and their whole Maffe. A Minde, which through each part infus'd doth paffe, Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce All this great body of the Vniuerfe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the heavens, faith lob. So 1006.26. v. 13.

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then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and fubtility of parts. By this Spirit, (which gaue heat and motion, and thereby, operation to energy nature, while it moued upon the waters, which were in one indigested lumpe, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten aire; an element, superior, as lighter then the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce; light, for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit Chrylostome calleth a vitall Operation, aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aque non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia ha- 10 buerint. He calleth it a vitall Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living creatures.

#### VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and wse of it : and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

Hefe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea : and this 20 light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the vniting of the

Gen. 1.14.

dispersed light therein. This is proued by these wordes, Let there be lights in the firment, to separate the day from the night; which lights in the firmament of heaven were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which fucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Suns crea- 30 tion, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fift verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the feas, and creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beafts, plants, minerals, and mans body: fo may light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heaven. Howbeit neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that light it Lux dicitus, que selfe, que causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are light some (though it make 16. & command in the first and all things else visible) but a body most silightned, which illuminate that the finite fait. Command. Moone, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greekes call £ther, the 49 ray.7.0 exercit. place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light Auicenna calleth vehiculum & fomentum omnium swlestium virtutum, & impressionum: the conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all celeftiall vertues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes of light. Ariflotle calleth light, a quality, inherent, or cleaning to a Diaphanous body, Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano; but this may be better anouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: Ficin, W. de Lu- which heat (fay the Platonicks) abounte lumine residet in subjecto, the light being departed doth reliae in the (ubiett, as warmth in the airc, though the same be deprined of light. This light Plotinus and all the Academikes make incorporall, and so doth Mon- 50 TANVS, Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium: Which neither hardnesse resisseth, nor space

Ariflotle findeth corporalitie in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus, Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus,

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giue materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant from the heauen to the earth, nor is it relifted by any hardneffe, because it pierceth through the folid body of glaffe, or other Criftalline matter; and whereas it is withflood by vncleane and vnpure earthy fubstances, leffe hard and more easie to inuade then the former, the fame is, Quod obstaculum natur a terreum atg, fordidum, non capit candidam Plotin, luminis puritatem: Because an obstacle, by nature, earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure clearneffe of light: alluding to that most divine light, which onely shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly droffe, and humane vncleanneffe.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion: neither doe I maruaile 10 at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or latter Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed hereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. Thomas Aquinas (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of Beda, Hugo, Lom. bard, Lyranus, and others: so is his owne indgement herein, as weake as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more fubtile in diftinguishing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, then discouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophie or Dininity: of whome it may be truly faid, N ihil faptentie odiofius acumine nimio: Nothing is more odious to true wil dome.

20 then too acute Sharpneffe. Neither hath the length of time, and the fearch of many learned men, (which the fame time hath brought forth and denoured) refolued vs.whether this light be fubstantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they fay it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth, and yet every day we fee the aire illightened; incorporall it cannot be, because it is sensible : sensible it is, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed; others say (as Patricius) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Lucida corpora

20 Sunnein existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then line, alternity either, or both must be one of these, Lucideor bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous nebris imperia, or transparent; but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous Opaca semi ple-(being neither light, nor darkenesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be Lucide and shining. Lucide Transparentia and finning obtayne their fo being of the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for Diaphana arotheristics being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and therefore, if we derive this being for the light, and the light is the light in the ligh and inning obsaying their to being order nguyanat the totals. An against national of the first of the origin from a former, then would the progressic goe on infinitely, and against national original true; and therefore he conclude that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, effect to have a man and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all premeater. Lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my vnderstanding, lumen, (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is Scal, subt.ex. 7t. an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of heaven, or from any other light, is an image, or intentionall Species thereof; and an intentionall Species may be understood by the example of aredde, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sunne through redde or greene glaffe: for then wee perceine the fame colour cast vpon any thing opposite; which reducffe or other colour we call the intentionall Species of the colour in that glaffe. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created be the fame, which the Sunne inholdeth and cafteth forth, or whether it had continuance

50 any longer, then till the Sunnes creation. But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God observed in the worke of Gong. 1. the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne : for Mofes repeateth twife the maine parts of the vniuerfall ; first, as they were Port 12. created in matter; fecondly, as they were adorned with forme : first, naming the 9.

Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused, and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry land, and the Heauens diftinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called, Arida, or dry land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sca, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertual formes: fo the Sunne, a though it had not his formall perfection, his circle. beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the fubftance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this light formerly dispersed, was in the fame fourth day united and fet in the firmament of Heauen: for to Light created in the first day God gaue no proper place or fixation, and therefore the cf- 10 feel's named by Anticipation, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wifedome of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion dayes and nights are diffinguilhed) till then: because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heat, and ope-

But after the Earth (diffinguished from waters) beganne to budde forth the budde of the hearbe, &c. God caufed the Sunne to moue, and (by interchange of time) to visite energy part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generati-Deconational on, and to give activity to the feedes of all natures: For as a King, which comman- 20 Rix ainquis ere. deth some goodly building to bee erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordayned; fo it pleased God (faith Procopius) to command the light to be; which by his all-powerfull word he approued, and approuing it dif-

posed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of I o n, by what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth; we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy Ala. 6.6.40, the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (faith Es DR As.) And those

which inhabite the heavens, doe only know the effence thereof. Nihil is notum in calo, nibil notum in terra. Nothing unknowne in heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. 20 Res vera funt in mundo inuifibili, in mundo vifibili vmbra rerum : Things themselues are in the inuifible world, in the world vibble but their shadowes; Surely if this light be not (pirituall, yet it approcheth nearest vnto (pirituality); and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for how soeuer, it is of all things seen. the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men and other creatures all celestiall influences; it diffipateth those sadde thoughts and forrowes, which the darkenesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discoucreth vnto vs the glorious workes of God, and carrieth vp with an Angelicall fwiftneffe our eyes vnto heauen, that by the fight thereof, our

mindes being informed of his visible meruailes, may continually trauaile to fur- 40 mount these perceived heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent cause and Creatour. Cognitio non quiefeit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it felfe in things created. Et ipfa lux facit, ot ceteramundi membra digna fint laudibus, cum fuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet, It is the light, (faith St. AMBROSE) that maketh the other part of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth

its goodnesse and beauty unto all : of which Ouid out of Orpheus :

Ogid, Met. l.1.

Ficin.

Ille ego fum, qui longum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus, Mundi oculus.

The world differnes it felfe, while I the world behold, By me the longest yeares, and other times are told, I the worlds eye.

Laftly,

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Laftly, if we may behold in any creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre-off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may be perceived. Therefore was God called lux ipfa, and the light by Hermes named lux fantla, and Chrift our Sauiour faid to bee that light 160, 100 14. which lighteneth every man that commeth into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incom- 46. prehentible fublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits, nor a light, fuch as can be differred. Deus profecto non mens est, at verò vt fit mens caufa est; nec spiritus, sed caufa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit. God (saith HERMES in Pomandro) certaine-10 by is not a minde, but the easife, that the minde hath his being; nor shirit, but the easife by which enery spirit is; nor light, but the easife by which the light existeth.

So then the Maffe and Chaos being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickned, and the Waters having now receiued Spirit and motion, resolued their thinner parts into aire, which God illightned the Earth also by being contignat, and mixt with waters (participating the same Gentary dinine vertue) brought forth the budde of the hearbe that feedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spir 20 rit) produced, and with motion begat the time, and times succeeding.

d. VIII.

Of the firmament, and of the waters about the firmament: and whether there be any cristalline heaven, or any primum

Fter that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, Let there be a firmament in the middest of the waters, andlet it separate the waters from the waters: that is, those waters which by rarifaction and enaporation were afcended, and those of the Earth

But these waters separate about this extension, which the Latine translation calleth firmamentum, for expansum (for so Vatablus, Pagninus, and Iunius turne it) are not the cristalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men, which opinion Basslius Magnus calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fancie. For the waters aboue the firmament, are the waters in the aire aboue vs, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated 40 from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the wordes Raquia, which Montanus writeth Rakragh, and Shamaijm, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for aire, and more properly for the aire and ether

then for the Heauens, as the best Hebricians understand them, quo suprema ac tenuia non, nat bis. ab infimis crass diducta interfectag, diflarent, for that whereby the supreme and thinne bo- fal.15-. dies were placed in distance being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters : and the waters about the firmament express in the word Maym, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters about the aire, or in the vppermost Region of the same. And that the word Heauen is vied for the aire, the Scriptures enery where wit-

nesse, as in the bleffings of Toseph, and in the 104. Plalme. \* By these springs shall the Gen. 49. 25. beauen; and in Deuteronomy the 11. But the land, whither you goe to poffeffe it, is a land, Deut. 11.11. that drinketh water of the raine of heauen; and in Ion, Who hath ingenered the frosts of 100 38. 29. beauen; and in St. MATTHEW, Behold the fowles of beauen, for they fow not. Manto 36,

Gen. 11.4.

12

So as in all the Scriptures of the old Testament throughout, is the word Heatien very often vsed for aire, and taken also hyperbolically for any great heighth, as, Let vs build us a Tower, whose toppe may reach to heaven, Go. and in this very place Basil anoucheth that this appellation of heaven for the firmament, is but by way of similitude : his owne wordes be these, Et vocanit Deus sirmamentum calum. Hac appellatio aly quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament heaven: This appellation (faith Basil) is properly applyed to another (that is, to the Starry Heauen) but to this (that is, to the Firmament deciding the waters) it is imposed by similitude : and if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the aire, and not the Heauen, the wordes of Moses 10 in the eighth Verse conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth Verse makes it manifest: for in the eight Verse it is written, that God called the firmament, which deuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the 20. Verse hee calleth the firmament of Heauen, aire, in these wordes: And let the fowle flie wpon the earth in the open firmament of heaven : and what vie there should be of this icye, or criftalline, or waterie heauen, I conceiue not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the Primum mobile would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moucable would exceede all possibilitie of beleefe. Sed nemotenetur ad imposibilia, but no man ought to be held to imposibilities; and faith 20 it felfe (which furmounteth the heighth of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conducter the word of truth, which also may be called lumen omnis rationis, & intellettus, the light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first Moueable turneth it selfe so many hundreth thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I can not : but of these many heavens, let the Reader, that desireth satisfaction, search Orontius, and of this waterie Heaven, Basilius Magnus in his Hexam. fol. 40. 41. 60. and Matth. Beroaldus his second Booke and fixt Chapter. For my selfe I am perswaded, that the waters called the waters about the heavens, are but the clowdes and waters ingendred in the vppermost aire.

d. IX.

A conclusion repeating the fumme of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads : The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

O conclude, it may bee gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wise Gop in the beginning, and 49 when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehenfible eternitie. First, he created the matter of all things : and in the first three daies he diftinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of legitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of granitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, deuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world : he fet in the firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Filh, giving to all, that have life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to creatures vegetative and growing, their feedes 50 will Salaria, in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being : and the generations of the world are preserved.

ò. X.

That nature is no Principium per se; nor forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance, how fecond causes should have any proportion with

Nd for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reft, according to Ariftotle, the fame is nothing elfe, but the ftrength and faculty, which God hath infused into enery creature, ha-uing no other selfe-ability, then a Clocke; after it is wound vp by a

mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this facultie, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, then such a one hath, who looking into the sterne of a shippe, and finding it guided by the helme and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the pecce of wood, without all consideration of the hand, that guides it, or of the judgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke what socuer they worke: Virtute primi allus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt : for as the minde of man feeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the cares, and maketh choife by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hea-20 ring to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giveth abilitie, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by severall organs, seuerall effects; all second causes what soeuer being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and difperfe what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Vniuerfall. For asit is Gods infinite power, and euery-where-prefence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to contayne raine, and raine to fall: fo all fecond and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative facultie which God gaue them, would become alto-

30 gether filent, vertueleffe, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEVS; Per te wiref Natura chini. cuntomia, Allthings by thee spring forth in youthfull greene. I enforce not these transpositions, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues, which God hath given to his spread transpositions, animate and inanimate, to heatenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his producible of the street of th workes in their vertues praise him; but of the manner how God worketh in them, or \*\*Latt.defail; sattley in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosopher's , and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edific others (not foolish by selfe-flatterie) therein. For (faith Lactantius, speaking of the wisedome of the Philosophers)

40 si facultas inueniende veritatis huic studio subiaceret; aliquando esfet innenta; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingenys in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullamibi effe sapientiam, If in this studie (saith he) were meanes to finde out the truth, it had ere this beene foundout but feeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisedome there to be had. Nam si de unare pracisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum sci- cypriandemetentia necessario haberetur, If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should to.13. necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in nature, and the wayes ofher working: so were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first mat-50 ter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection,

how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught; neither are these formes (saith a learned Authour) any thing, si ex ea exprimantur

potentia, que nihil est. Againe, how this first matter should be fubicitum formarum. and paffine, which is vnderstood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceine: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, dinine and humane; only it may be said that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, then betweene heat and fire, of which the one cannot fublift without the other, but in a kind of rationall confideration. Leaning therefore these riddles to their louers, who by certaine scholafticall diffinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle harh laboured to proue a falle eternitie of the world, I thinke it farre fafer to affirme with St. AVGVSTINE, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, what soener 10 is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation focuer, from whence are the feedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis species, a quo est anicanid naturaliter ell, cuinfound, generis ell, cuinfound, estimationis ell, à quo funt semina formarum, forma feminum, motus feminum atq, formarum. And thus much Auerrois is forced to confesse. For all formes (saithhe) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of Arestotle in the twelfth of his Metaph. and of Albertus vpon

#### ð. X I.

Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence: and that their operations may diversity be prevented or furthered.



Nd, as of Nature, fuch is the difpute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be fafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and A fastened an ineuitable necessity, and made it more generall, and vniuerfally powerfull then it is, by giuing it dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which Ouid and Innenal.

20

Innen fat.7.201

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Serus regna dabunt, captinis Fata triumphos,

Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile. Kingdomes to flaues, by Deftinie, To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Ang. de heref. 70. 6.25. Tho.cont.Gent. 3. c.83. Ficin. in 12.de Cic.de fat.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharifees, Prifeillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas have observed: 40 but, that Fate is an obedience of fecond causes to the first, was well conceiued of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Piotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the fame being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineutrable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (quod de vnoquoq, nostrûm fatus est Deus) and the definite lot of all living. And certainely it cannot be doubted, but the Starres are instruments of farre greater vse, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunne fet: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Sommers, more hot and cold are not fo vicertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keep one and the fame courfe, but that the Starres have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to fprings, and foun-

taines, to cold earth, to plants and ftones, Minerals, and to the excrementall parts of the bases lining creatures, why should wee robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for feeing they are many in number and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisedome who is infinite, there can be wanting (cuen for euery flarre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery bearbe, plant, fruit, and flower, adorning the face of the Earth hath the like. For as these were not created to beautific the earth alone, and to couer and shadow her dufty face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them; so were not those vincountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end,

to then to adorne it, but for instruments and organs of his divine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his inst will to determine. Origen upon this place of Geness, Let there Gen. 152 belight in the firmament, &c. affirmeth that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open bookes, wherein are contained and fet downe all things what focuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wifedome: which latter part I beleene well, and this faying of Syracides withall. That there are Ecology Care hidde yet greater things then these be, and we have seene but a few of his workes. And though, for the capacitie of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and yttermost vertues of hearbs and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow under our feete, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of cele-

20 stiall bodies: for hardly (faith SALOMON) can we different the things that are upon the 11419.16, earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before vs: who can then inuestigate the things that are in beauen? Multum est de rebus cælestibus aliquid cognescere: Aistoile. It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destinie, so on the contrary we doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his prerogatine, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celeftiall inforcements, then fure the impious excuse of some were instifiable; of whom St. AVGVSTINE. Impia peruer sitate in ma Augan Super

30 lis factis rectifimè reprehendendis ingerunt accufandum potius auctorem fylerum, quam God adia. commissiorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of euill deedes, they againe with wicked peruer senesse verge, that rather the Authour and Creatour of the Starres, then the door of the enill is to be accused.

But that the Starres and other celeftiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the fensitine appetite, which is also farred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora celestia (faith DAMASCENE) constituent in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones, The heavenly bodies (faith he) make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions : for the body (though Galen inforce it further) hath vindoubtedly a Gal. Lino as, kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in hu-feguene, 40 mour, and mindes weake in vertues : for those of cholericke complexion are fubicat

to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they fuffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vaffailes, not her Mafters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde I am refolued: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beafts, and the like are left to their naturall appetites, ouer all which, celeftiall bodies (as inflruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beafts, I cannot tell: for as he that contende th against those inforcements, may easily master or relift them : so who so ever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pictic prepared, putteth himselfe altogether under the power 50 of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur fatum stresistus, vincit scontempseris : Fate will beo Quint. uercome, if thou refift it, if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is abfurd to thinke, other then as aforefaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. Lumen folis ad generationem fensibilium corporum confert, & Aug de cisio,

16

Hor.lib.4.Od.

advitan ipfam monet, & nutrit, & auget, & perfect: The light of the Sunne (faith Saint A v G v s i n v), helpeth the generation of fentible boddes, moneth them to life, and nourflocth, aumpenteth, and perfected them: yet till as a Minister, not as a Malter: Benus quidens (f. Sol, m miniferio, non imperio; The Sunnes good to ferus, not to fam, (f. Sol, m miniferio, non imperio; The Sunnes is good to ferus, not to fam, (f. Sol, m miniferio, non imperio; The sunnes is good to ferus, not to fam, (f. Sol, m miniferio, but he anoucheth not that superiour bodies have rule oner mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howfocuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the fune, and weaken their operation: and artifath himfelfe confelfeth, that the heauens doe not alwaise worke their cf-for feets in inferiour bodies, no more then the fignes of raine and wind doe alwaise some to padie. And it is diuters times feene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to the fei inclinations. Et in luneusis patrum virtus; In the young off fring the fathers vertue is, and fo the contrary, patrum virtus; and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of virious men, to vertue.

#### Egregia est soboles, scelerato nata parente.

#### A worthy fonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods referued power) that fo much fetteth this art of influence out of fquare and rule, as education doth : for there are none in the world fo wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up may fashion anew, and reforme them; nor any fo well disposed, whom (the raines being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiaritie, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veffels will euer retaine a fauour of their first liquor : it being equally difficult either to cleanle the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the fweet fauour of vertue first received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and casily feafoned; but where a fanourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline 39 the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrarie in both, thereby it is that men are found to exceeding vertuous or vitious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one : for as the feedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, then the ftrength of felfe nature and kinde could have yeelded them; fo the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselues into weedes, by being set in a soile sutable, and like themselues, are made more vnsauoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adjuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam; Awife man afifieth the worke of the Starres, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the foile. And Ptolomie himselfe confesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omnta fa- 40 pientis medici dominabuntur astris . A wife man , and the ominous art of a wife Phylitian shall premaile against the starres. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the flarres, as he did the reft of the Vniuerfall, whose influences may be called his referued and vnwritten lawes. But let vs confider how they binde: euen as the lawes of mendoe; for although the Kings and Princes of the world haue by their lawes decreed, that a theefe and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances are daylie by Judges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these lawes doe not depriue Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to fuch a feuere execution, as that there should be nothing left of libertie to judgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne na- 50 ture being no other then a deafe T yrant. But feeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe formetimes for causes to themselues knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselues, it were then impious to take that power and libertie from God himselfe,

which his Subflitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charitie it selfe. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Sauiour raught. And ever not less that example of prayer by our Sauiour raught. And even no there has no expense of worder and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured with the reis no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble prayers and desires may not make frustrate, and breake assured: for were it (as the Stoicks concciue) that Fate or Destinie, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a contexion and immutable dependencie, that God himselfe should in a kinde haue shut up himselfe therein.

10 How misserbet the were the condition of men (saith St. Augustine) less allogether without hore.

And if this strength of the Starres were so transfer d, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleeneth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginarie Gods of the other would thereby be despoiled of all worlhip, reserence, or refixes.

be despoiled of all worthip, reuerence, or respect.

And certainely, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father (I have fairlibed the worke which thou to hather the father of the father of the father worke which thou to hather gaues me to doe.) And the same God, who hath threatned wnto vs the forrow and to wincutably to the destinite, os influences of the Starres; or fibilect our foules to any imposed necessitie. But it was well said of Platine, that the starres were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less then their due: and therefore as I doe not consent with those, who would make those golorious creatures of God vertuelesse. It is thinke that we devogate from his eternal and absolute power and proudence, to a scrobe to them the same dominion ouer our immortal soules, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the folus of men, soung and fearing God, receive influence from that duine light it selfs, whereof the Sunness clarite, and that of the Starres is by Plato called but a shadow. Lumen cit Pt. psl. 6, vnntra Dei, O Deus essente lamen luminia. Light is the shadow of Gods brightness, who is the Financia Light.

30 light of light. But to end this question, because this Destinic, together with Prosidence, Preference, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinkeit not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two, for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men haue.

## &. XII. of Prescience.

Refeience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greckes call Prognofis, the Latines precognitio, or profitential) confidered in order and nature (if you have been as the content of the prognet of the prognet of the prognet of men goeth before Prouised the prognet of th

Cenfe, as they are; the eye feeth that fuch a beaft is a horfe, it feeth men, trees, and hou fes, &c. but our feeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their Buccion de cojot. owne natures. And againe out of the fame Authour. Dinina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quià si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, pramia bonorum, or pana malorum periret. Divine providence (faith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist, for if all came to passe of necessity, there hould neither be reward of good nor nunthment of cuill.

#### d. XIII. Of Providence.

annew Ow Prouidence (which the Greekes call Pronoia) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-feeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all paft, all prefent, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (saith St. Augustine) is deuided into Memorie, Knowledge, and Care: Memorie of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future; and we our selues account such a man for provident, 20

as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times fucceeding. That fuch a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures enerywhere teach vs, Mofes in many places, the Prophets in their prædictions; Christ himselfe and his Apostles affure vs hereof; and, belides the Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Europides, Pathagoras. Plato, Plotimus, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: yea the Turks themselves are so consident therein, as they refuse not to accompanie and vilit each other, in the most postilent diseases, nor shunne any perill whatsoener, though death therein doe manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prouing Prouidence, are so many, both in generall and 20 particular, as I shall neede to repeate but a few of them in this place. Sing vnto God (faith DAVID) which concrete the heavens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, Tfal.147.8. and maketh the graffe to grow upon the mountaines, which giveth to beasts their foode, and feedeth the young Rauen that cries : all these waite voon thee, that thou maiest give them foode in due feafon. And thou Shalt drinke of the river Cheareth (faith God to ELIAH) P(al.194.27. TAS. TS. and I have commanded the Rauens to feede thee there. Behold the Fowles of the aire , they 1 Rev 17.4. Mail 6. 26.

fow not nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : againe, are not two farrowes fold for a farthing? and one of them hall not fall on the ground without your Father : yea all Luke 12.6. the haires of your head are numbred. And St. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for he 1.Pct.5.7. careth for you; And his judgements are written (faith DAVID.) Pfal.36.6. Ferem.22.14.

God therefore, who is every where present, who filleth the heavens and the earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that doe cuill, was therefore by Orpheus called oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be efteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne word. Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not give my glorieto another. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is enery where prefent, and King of Kings. The example of Gods vniuerfall providence is feene in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beafts and birds and all liuings for their young ones. If prouidence be found in fecond Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuerfall; and if there so be a natural llouing care in men, and beafts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose divine love was the beginning and is the bond of the Vniverfall. Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniversi (faith Plato.) Amor Dei est nodus per petuus, mundi copula, partiumá, cius immobile sustentaculum, ac

### CHAP.I. S.14.15. of the Historie of the World.

universa machina fundamentum, The love of God is the perpetual knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoueable piller of enery part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the universall. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely tober 1,042.8 prouide for all, and fultaine all; fo as to abfolute power; to enery-where prefence: Godis lone, to perfect goodnesse; to pure and divine love; this attribute and transcendent habilitie of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

#### A. XIIII. Of Predestination.

Ow for Predefination; we can difference it no otherwife, from Prouidence and Prescience, then in this, that Prescience only fore-seeth: Prouidence fore-feeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, seuen from the brightest Angels of heaven, to the vinworthiest wormes Rom. 8. & j.

of the earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their faluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet Peter Lombard, Lomb. 1.1. diff. 39 20 Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicitie: divers of the Fathers take it more largely fomtimes: Bernin Problems among whom St. Augustine speaking of two Citties, and two societies, vseth these p. d. wordes, Quarum est una, que pradestinata est in aternum reguare cum Deo, altera ater- Aug.1.15.c.1.de num supplicium subire cum Diabolo, Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to raigne for Ciuit. Dei. cuer with God, but the other is to undergoe everlasting torment with the Dewill : for according to Nonivs Marcellus, destinate of preparare; and of the same opinion cal, in capp, ad are many Protestant writers, as Calnin, Beza, Buchanus, Danaus, and such like: and as Rom.v.11. for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it Bez, in magn, auhath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will Rom. 30 answere with Gregorie, who saith, Qui in falls Deirationem non videt, infraitatem Bonaus, 1.3. de suam consider ans, cur non videat, rationem videt: He that seeth no reason in the actions of Greg. Maga.

nam conjust any, we now construct the percentage of this blindnesse. And a Job 9. Gad, by configuration of his own instrument, of a gainewith St. Avovstine, Occulta essential potest, ininsta essential thindeen dessential the construction of the c

#### à. X V.

the cause of his Predestination may be, uniust it cannot be.

### Of Fortune: and of the reason of somethings that seeme to be by fortune, and against reason and

Aftly, seeing Destinie or Necessitie is subsequent to Gods providence; hand feeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, then is before spo-ken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, Dei artem, vel ar-Aptificiofum Dei Organum, The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and Cusanus, Diuini pracepti instrumentum, The instrument of the diuine precept, we may then with better reason reject that kinde of Idolatrie, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddeffe, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all oto ther, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Paulanias witnesseth in his Messeniacks. The Greekes call her work fignifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladie was scarce heard off; and Hefiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfait Gods, hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward thee grew to great and omnipotent, as from sea. 4.91.

Efai.42.8.

Kings and Kingdomes, to beggers and cottages, flee ordered all things, relifting the wisedome of the wifest, by making the possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous, insomuch as the actions of men were faid to be but the foorts of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening Aur. viel. deper- in mens lives, but her pastimes : of which P A L L A D I V S, Vita hominum ludus fortune tinsec. Sea ep.74 eft, The life of man is the play of Fortune; and because it often falleth out, that enter-Demetries 1'out orectes in the prifes guided by ill counfels have equal fucceffe to those by the best judgement congreat and often ducted, therefore had Fortune the fame externall figure with Sapience: whereof

changes of his Atheneus.

to have vied to crie out vpon Forune, applying to her a Verse of A sently, Tu me extulifit, eaden me is (sente) 10

Longisime à Sapientia Fors desidet. Sed multa perficit tamen simillima.

From wisedome Fortune differs farre, And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginarie, to which the successe of humane actions and endequours were for their varietical cribed; for when a manifest cause could not bee 22 giuen, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant, contrary to this true ground of PLATO: Wihil effortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non pracesserit, Nothing cuer came to passe vader the Sunne, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one diffinction, what focuer may be objected; for many things there are (faith he) which happen besides the intention of the inferiour, but not besides the intention of the superiour: Prater intentionem inferioris, sed non prater intentionem superioris, (to To facions For- wit) the ordinance of God; and therefore (faith MELANCHTON) Quod Poete fortuna Denn, co- tunam, nos Deum appellamus, Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God, and that sat, 19, 366, this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs, as in the law of murder. He that 30

Exad. 21.12.13. (miteth a man, and he die, hall die the death, and if a man hath not laid waite, but G od hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. Now where the Scripture hath these wordes, God hath offered him into his hands, we say, if he hurt him by Chance, and in Deuteronomie the nineteenth, where the flipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby an other is flaine, was the worke of God himfelfe. we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune; and in the Properbe

Verl. 33.

Perf. s.

the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord : fo as that which feemeth most casuall and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things elfe; and hereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witneffeth for them, gathering the opi- 40 nion of Ariffotle and his fectators, with those of Plato, and the Academikes to this effeet, That the same power which they called animum mundi, the foule of the world, was no other then that incomprehensible wisedome, which we expresse by the name of God, governing every being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which wifedome and Fig. 46 Allegil. Lt., power they fometime gaue the title of necessitie or Fate, because it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: fometime, the stile of Fortune, because of many effects there appeare vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh St. Augustine in his questions vpon Genefis the first Booke: the same bath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits; which Some, 1.4. 1.7. was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which sect hee was: For what some (faith hee)

by divers termes, according as he v feth, and exercifeth his power diversly. But it may be objected, that if Fortune and Chaunce were not fometimes the causes of good and cuill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successes, how comes it then, that fo many worthy and wife men depend upon fo many unworthy

thou calleft God, be it N ature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the fame, differenced 50

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

While furiegallops on the way, Let no man furies gallop ftay.

Quid.rem.ain.

And if cicero (then whom that world begat not aman of more reputed judge-40 ment) had followed the counfaile of his brother QVINTVS, Potuiffet (faith PE-TRARCH) in lectulo (uo mori , potuisset integro cadauere sepeliri , He might then have died the death of nature, and beene with an untorne and undiffeuered body buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth : Quid sultius quam desperantem ( prasertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari, What more foolish then for him that despaires, especially of the effect, to be entangled with endleffe contentions? Who so ener therefore will set beforchim Machiauels two markes to shoote at (to wit) riches, and glorie, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake wooden bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he, that first deuised to adde failes to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might to abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: fo that man which prizeth vertue for it felfe, and cannot endure to hoife and strike his failes, as the diners natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his failes, and his cloth, of meane length and breadth, and content himfelfe with a flow and fure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free efface. But of this difforte of Fortune, and

and emptie-headed fooles; that riches and honour are given to externall men, and without kernell; and fo many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and dejected effates. In a word there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the partialitie of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our felues according to the nature of the time wherein we line, for who foeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth, if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I fay fuch an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a diffembler, shall euermore hang under the wheele, which kinde to of descruing well and receiping ill, wee alwaies fallly charge Fortune withall. For who foeuer shall tell any great man or Magistrate, that he is not just, the Generall of an Armie, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire, shall neuer be made a Counfeller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one

hath no effate in his prosperitie; but he must also change with the successour, if he be of contrary qualities, faile with the tide of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by fuch an observant slauish course? These men ha-20 uing nothing elfe to value themselues by, but a counterfait kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeve that all their vices are vertues, and all their

dustie actions cristalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most verthous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, Omnis inlibiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur, Euery foole is woone with his owne pride and others flattering applanse: so as who so cuer will live altogether out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the feafon wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all forts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wife man, not to warre or contend 20 in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liueth; for such a one is often the au-

thour of his owne miferie, but best it were to follow the aduise, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of Ouid, while the Arian Heresie raged:

the rest, or of whatsoener Lords or Gods, imaginarie powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolithmeffe) of man hath found out; let vs refolue with St. Paul, who hath 1. cor.c. 8. v.c. taught vs, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and Capazaraje, one Lord, lefus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the fame which worketh all in all.

## Снар. 11.

### Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

Gcn.1.26.

ele volunt. Dei. Plut,leg. l.1.

Trifw.Afel.2.6

HE creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, GoD faid, Let us make man in our owne Image, according to our likenesse.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to vs knowne, ingens miraculum homo, man is the great teft wonder (faith Plato out of MERCVRIVS:) 2V atureardentifime artificium, The artificiall worke of the molt ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Zoroafter) though the fame be meant, not for any excellencie externall, but 30 in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature,

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qualities, and other attributes thereof; in nature, because it hath an effence immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanilum, quia pars polior immertalis, animal, quia m martali. In locum Onid. Steld.1.76.

Sanctius his animal mentifu, capacius alte Deerat adbuc : & quod dominari in cetera peffet, M atus homo est.

More holy then the reft, and understanding more A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before, So man beganne to be.

Of this Image and fimilitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers. Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceine, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and dominion, as St. Chryfostome, Ambrofe, and some others: which St. Ambrofe denyeth to the woman in these wordes, Vt ficut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodò ex Deo uno omnia, ità ex vno homine omne genus effet super faciem totius terra: Vnus igitur vnum fecit, qui to unitatis eius haberet imaginem, That as Godis one, one man might be made by him, and t. at in what manner all things are of one God, likewife of one man the whole kinde flould be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one made one, that should have the Image of his unitie. But whereas it is gathered out of the following wordes of the

CHAP.2. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

fame Verse, that man was after the image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written Dominamini in the plurall number, and let them rule ouer the fifth of the Sea dre. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceine, that man is faid to be after the image of God in respect of his immortall soule only, because as God is inuifible, fo the foule of man is insufible, as God is immortall and incorporall, fo is the foule of manimmortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in enery part of the world, fo is the foule of man wholly in enery part of the body : Animaest tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte , The Soule is wholly in the whole ho-10 dv. and wholly in every part thereof, according to Ariflotle; though Chalcidius, and other learned men denie that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the Arillotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments doe the Iewes make (faith Toflatus ) and thefe refemblances, betweene the infi-

nite God, and the finite Man. The Schoole-men refemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde : fo in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Sj-20 militude divers; and againe, they diftinguish betweene imaginem Dei, and ad imaginem Dei, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plaineneffe, and linceritie of the Scriptures: their wits being like that firong water, that cateth through and diffolueth the pureft gold. Victorinus also maketh the image of God to be substantiall, but not the similitude: sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratinum, A word-declaring qualitie in the substance. Out of which wordes, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ : fo the finnefull foule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it bath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. St. Augustine also against Admantiss the Manichee affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man, and

litude is more largely taken, then the Image. But howfocuer the Schoole-men and others diffinguish, or whatfocuer the Fathers conceine, fure I am that St. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which Vi-Horinus doth of the similitude, who faith: As we have borne the image of the earthly, 1,0,1,15,49, fo shall we beare the image of the heavenly; and it cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, that the wordes image and similitude were yied but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; what so ener Lombard hath said to the contrarie. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Aposlles, euer con-40 ceiued. Now as St. Paul vseth the word (image) for both: so St. James vseth the word

20 in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Simi-

(fimilitude) for both in these wordes. Therewith bleffe wee God cuen the Father , and Tomage therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God: Howsoeuer therefore St. Augustine seemeth, out of a kinde of elegancie in writing, to make some difference, as where he writeth, Confitemar imaginem in aternitate, similitudinem in mori- Pr Good. bus inveniri, We confesse that this image is found in eternitie, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the minde, yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainely. Quast verò posit esse imago aliqua in qua similitudo non sit: si Ang. vt sip. enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est, As if (faith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not : no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no

50 image. The verie wordes of the Text make this most manifest, as Let vs make man in our image, according to our likenesse: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may bee like vs; and in the next Verse following God himselfe maketh it plaine, for there he vseth the word (image) only, as thus. God created the man in his image, 'n the image of God created he him. And to take away all dispute or ambiguitie, in the

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first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, in the darthat God created A D AM, in the likeneffe of God made he him. And this fimilitude S. Paul Colof, the third, calleth the image. Put on (faith he) the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him, that created him. And in Siracides it is written, he made them according to his image. Now if we may beleeue S. Paul before
Peter Lombard and other Schoole-men, then it is as manifest as wordes can make it. that the image and fimilitude is but the fame, for S. Paul vieth both the words directly in one fenfe. For they turned the glorie of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the

image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both 10 Tank de no Dei in body and minde: Nulla pars in homine que non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps. No part in a man (faith he) which was not participating Gods image : for God (aid, Let vs make man according to our owne image. But the foule alone is not man, but the Hypoflasis or whole man compounded of body and foule. The body of man (faith he) is the Image of the world, and called therefore Microcolmus; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body must needes be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection feemeth to me fufficient, where he alleageth, that it may be faid that Mofes spake by the figure Synedoche, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only : fo when God faid, Let vs make man after our image, hee meant 20 the foule of man, and not the bodie of earth and dust : Maleditive qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert (faith S. AVGVSTINE,) Curfed is he that referreth the Deitie of Godto the lineaments of mans body. Deus enim non est humana forma particeps, neque corpus humanum diuine (faith PHILO,) God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme divine: The Hebrew word for image is T (elem, which fignifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: In imagine pertransit homo, Man passeth away in a (badow: Let vs then know and confider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word;

an errour of the Anthropomorphite, against the very effence and Maiestie of God. Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding then 20 these grosse Heretikes: ad smilitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quam sigura, Thevertue which is in man (faith he) came nearer the similitude of God, then the figure. For God is a spiritual! substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a just God: God is mercifull: God is charitie it felfe, and (in a word) goodnesse it felfe, and none elfe fimply good. And thus much it hath pleafed God himfelfe to teach vs. and to make vs know of himfelfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of fuch a nature, or wherein can man be faid to refemble his vnex cogitable power and perfectnesse? certainely, not in dominion alone; for the Deuill is faid to be the Prince of this world, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither, because man hath an immortall 40 foule, and therein the faculties of Memorie, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils Platin crays, are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called Demones, because fcientes of Knowledge, and fubtility; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are diftinguished from beafts : for who have rebelled against God ? who

haue made Gods of the vileft beafts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet doe I not condemne obinidated the opinion of Sv. Chrysfopor and Ambrofe, as touching dominion, but that, in refpect thereof, man was in fome fort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, fuch as it ought to bee, that is, accompanied with inflice and pietie: for God did not only make man a ruler and Gouernour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen 50 (or of the aire) and ouer the Beafts of the field; but God gaue vnto man a dominion

ouer men, he appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Judges, to judge them in equitic. Neither doe I exclude reason, as it is the abilitie of understanding. For I doe not conceine, that Ireness did therefore call man, the image of God, because hee was animal rationale only; but that he understood it better, with SYBILLA: Image mea eft homo, rectam rationem habens, Man, that is endued with right reason, is said to refemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the fame God to ferue, loue, and obey : and therefore faid St. Augustine (who herein came nearer the truth) fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente, God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne image and similitude; and REYNERIUS; Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Det, Man was made Reyndemont, after the image of God, in minde, or in that he had a minde.

CHAP.2. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the image of God: and that this image is much deformed by

Vt Mens is not taken here for anima physica, according to Aristotle, which is form, or latter low amonies; The forms or nature of man, but this first up of natura hominis; The forms or nature of man, but this final tion gift of God, called Mens, is taken for prima via animi, sthe principall frength of the minds, or foulc, exits attack glo perpetual contemplation whole ast, exercise, or office, as the perpetual contemplation.

of truth; and therefore it is also called intellectus dininus, intellectus contemplatiums, & Pamanier. anima contemplating . A dinine understanding , and an intellect or minde contemplatine. Est autemmens nostra (faith Cv s A N V s) vis comprehendendi & totum virtuale ex om- De mente. wihus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuallminde (faith he) is a power Idiotad. 3. of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension : vnto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompanie his wordes) that he efteemeth it to be the very effence of God (which was also the errour of the Manichees and others) and no otherwise separate from God (faith he) then the light from the Sunne : for this Mens or vnderstanding (faith

30 Mercurius) est Deus in bominibus, Is Godin men, or rather (and which I take to be his sen. Ep. 65. f. meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same effence or \$31.5. nature with the dinine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; fo is this Mens or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and facultie of our foules the pureft; or the lumen anime rationalis, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this Mens others call animam anime, The foule of the foule, or with St. Augustine, the eye of the foule, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge, que amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur, which followeth after the lone of fapience as her guide (faith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the minde, called anima, betweene which and that power which the La-40 tines call animas, there is this difference. Reafon is that facultie by which we judge

and discourse; Anima, by which we line. Hereof it is faid, Anima corpus animat, id eft, vinificat; anima, or the foule is that which doth animate the body, that is, gineth it life: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (faith Philo) which God the great direct our hath in the world, the fame hath this Anima, or mind, or foule in man. Animus, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Bafil agreeth, which calleth this Mens, or divine understanding, perspicacem anime partem, the perceiuin o part of the minde, or the light, by which the Soule differenth; dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet, 14 men that fleepe it is this (mens) or understanding, and not the minde or foule, which refleth, 50 during which time it is but habituall in wife men, and in madde men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the Soule: for madde men doe line, though distract.

Therefore this word being often yfed for the Soule giving life, is attributed abufinely to madde men, when we fay that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding, which word (mind) we vsealso for opinion, as, I am of this mind,

Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these joyned, by any of

which, or by all which we refemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though

by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse,

most perfectly infused by God into the minde and Soule of man in his first creation.

For it is not by nature, nor by her liberalitie, that wee were printed with the feale of

Gods image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which iouned to the Soule

grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into earth, and contrined with-

in the truncke of dust and clay, the inimitable habilitie of his owne justice, pictic, and

So long therefore (for that refemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that

is a part of the effentiall conftitution of our proper Species ) but from the bountifull

it unprofitable by drawing our mindes into corrupt concup scence. It is not therefore (as aforefaid) by reason of Immortalitie, nor in Reason, nor in

or that minde; and fometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, he is of an honeit minde, or, a man of a just minde: sometimes for affection, as I doe this for my minds fake; and Ariffolle fometimes vieth this word (mens) for the phantalie, which is the ilrength of the imagination: fometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible. it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending your matter, but having relation to that, which is intelligible, as to his first object; or more at large thus; a part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth understand, not depending uppon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paffion comming from without, and 10 apt to be diffeuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently Mercurius: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praest, mens anime, anima corpori, The Soule (meaning that which giucth life) is the image of this under-Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth booke of the Soules immortalitie laboureth to proue.

Lib.g.cap.5.

standing, or Mens, and this (Mens) or understanding is the image of God, God is President or ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soule, and this Soule ouer the body. This division and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I Icaue to the Reader to judge of. That Mens humana hath no neede of any organ. Zaneb. de oper. Zanebius doth not differ from Ficinus in wordes, for (faith he) ad facultatem intelli-Dei.part.3, lib. gentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanqu'am medio, per quod intelligat, quanqu'am 20 eget obiecto in quod intucatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat; hoc autem obiectum (unt phantasmata, seù rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata. To exercise the facultie of understanding, the minde of man (faith he) needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may under stand; but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceine the act of understanding. This object are the phantasmes, or the resemblances of things received from the fenfe, and carried to the phantafie: But in effect his conclusion feemeth to carry a contrarie fenfe, when he maketh the Phantafie, in representing the object to the vinderstanding, to be a corporall Organism; neither can it be vinderstood to be an Organum of any thing; but of the understanding. And hee addeth that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and minde, as 20 colours are to the fight; whence it to followeth, that the imagination or phantalic it felfe is to the facultie of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the facultie of seeing, and as this is an Organum: fo that. Of this question, How the Minde in all her actions maketh vse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to P. 185. 6- a most grave and learned discourse in the last Replic of Mr. Dr. Bilson, now Bilhop of Winchester, vnto Henrie Iscob. Howsoeuer the truth bee determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe, by which we live, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the image of God. But most fafely may wee refemble our felues to God in mente, and in respect of that pure facultie 40 which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For St. Bernard maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the minde or Soule, and betweenethe infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, ef-Sence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God, whose words muitus creato- are thele: Non proptered imago Det est, quià sui meminit Mens, se q, intelligit & diligit (which was also the opinion of S. A v G v s T I N E) fed quia potesti meminisse, intellijuam,aique imi-tari, prass inge- gere ac diligere eum à quo facta est, (that is) The minde (or Mens) was not therefore the nggrig, authir: mage of God, becaufe it remembreth, wnderstandeth, and touch it selfe, but because it can tait, spic cones remember, wnderstand, and love God, who ereated it. And, that this image may be defor-50 se rains spid.

med and made unprofitable, heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem er fimilitudinem Dei

factus ell, peccatum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit, & inutilem reddidit. dum animam corruptis concupifcentia affectibus immerfit, Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but Sinne bath deformed the beautie of this image, and made

Ad imaginon Dei ereauit illum id ell Savi-

are powerfull retaine the image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracie to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the waies of God, which in the Scriptures is called walking with God; and all other men Gons, 22. fo long retaine this image, as they feare, loue, and ferue God, truly, (that is) for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruife and deface his feale by the waight of manifold 20 and voluntarie offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the value minde cannot bee after the image of God, feeing God is inflice it felfe; The bloud-thirstie hath it not; for God is charitie, and mercie it felfe: Fallhood, cunning practife, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foule, together with God; and to be short, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkenesse, be- 2/01.6.14 tweene beautic and deformitie, or betweene righteoushesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of Gods goodnesse, which the fenfuall foules of beafts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and durclesse pleasures of this stage-play world. then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workemanship of Gods wisedome, and the liberalitie of his mercy, formed eyes to our foules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impuritie of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and Obiest to the minde and Soule, to contemplate the cuer-during glorie, and termeleffe joy, prepared for those, which retaine the image and fimilitude of their Creatour, preferuing vndefiled and vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in according righteousnesse, and true holinesse, as faith St. Paul. Now whereas it is thought by fome of the Fathers, as by St. Augustine with whom S. Ambrofe iovneth, that, by finne, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it selfe; both opinions by 40 this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two waies; for either it is confidered, according to naturall gifts, and confifleth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the image of God is no more lost by sinne, then the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost: (for sinne doth not abolish and take away these natural) gifts) or, the image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of

righteoufneffe.

dinine grace, and heavenly glorie, which is indeede the perfection and accomplish-

ment of the natural image; and this manner of fimilitude and image of God, is

wholly blotted out and destroyed by sinne.

ð. III.

#### ò. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies : and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

Arias Mont. de

See He external man God formed out of the duft of the earth, or according to the fignification of the word, Adam of Adamath, of redde earth. or, ex limo terra, out of the sime of the earth, or a mixed matter of carth and water. Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id-ss) ex pinguisima & mollisima, Not that God made an Image or Statue of elay, but out of clay, earth or duft God for med and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of 10

Gen.18.27.

That Man was formed of earth and dust, did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to faue Sodome. Let not my Lord now be angrie, if I Beake, I, that am but duft and after: And in thefe houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite, according to sob; and though our owne eyes doe enery where behold the fudden and reliftleffe affaults of death, and Nature affureth vs by neuer-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the earth have neither certainetic nor durabilitie, that our bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Mindes the Hines of vinnumbred cares, sorrowes, and pathons; and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, 20 against which Enuie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true vnhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance, which coucreth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vaffall and flaue of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast-away leifure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perifh with the mortall parts of vertuous men: feeing Gods inflice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is excreifed for cuermore, as the cuer-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great accompt? neuer while we have one vanitie left vs to found : we pleade for titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for riches, while our ftrength enableth vs; exercise malice, while we can reuenge; and then, when Time 30 hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it selfe hateth Job 10.21.17. the house of old age, we remember with lob, that we must goe the way, from whence we (ball not returne, and that our bedde is made ready for vs in the darke; And then I fay, looking ouer late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from vs all our lines, we behold therein the fearefull images of our actions past, and withall, this terrible inscription : That God will bring every worke in-

to judgement, that man hath done under the Sunne. But what examples have euer moved vs? what perfivations reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs afraide? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promifed and threatned; but the worlds bright glorie hath put out the 40 eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which we only see) doe neither looke up towards termeleffe ioyes, nor downe towards endleffe forrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing elfe, at the worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor:

> Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denig, morbi Everunt , fuimus , qui nune fumus , iffe, perielis Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vuquam, Sub vitus nullo culparum fine manentes.

Difeafes, famine, enemies, in vs no change haue wrought, What erft we were, we are; still in the same snare caught: No time can our corrupted manners mend, In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall foules herein: for to neglect God all our lives. and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, cashing our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious prefumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his lawes and precepts. Frustra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur, They hope in vaine, saith BERNARD, Bernings, Osi which in this fort flatter them felues with Gods mercy.

#### d. IIII.

Of the Spirit of life, which God breathed into man, in his Creation.

N this frame and carcafe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a lining foule: (that is) God gaue to a Bodie of earth and of corrup-tible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; nor that God had any fuch bodilie inftruments as men vel, but God breathed the Spirit of life and immortalitie into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into fuch

as loue and feare him. The Spirit of God (faith ELIHV in IOB) hath made me, and Isb 33.4. 20 the breath of the Almightie bath given melife: In qua sententia (saith R AB ANVS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne sorte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirasse in faciem formati, vi viuere possit, & spiraculum vita babere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (idefl) iuxta consuctudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est. In which sentence (saith he) the beggerlinesse of carnall sense is to be auoided, lest perhaps we bould thinke , either that God with bodily hands made mans boay of slime, or breathed with lawes or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might line, and have the spirit of life : for the Prophet also when he faith, Thy handes have made me, fake this tropically, rather then properly (that is) according to the custome which men ase in wor-

20 king. Quantum est periculi hijs, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt: In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall fense. By this breath was infused into man both life and foule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call Animam, and vinificat corpus, & animat, Which doth animate, and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almightie giveth understanding, faith Iob; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the earth, out of which it was taken, according to Ecclestastes : And dust shall returne to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall eady, 12.7. returne to God that gaue it. Neither is this word (spirit) vsually otherwise taken in

the Scriptures, then for the foule; as when Stephen cryed vnto God: Domine Suscipe Ad. 1.59. 40 fpiritum meum, Lord lfur recenue my firit and in St. 10 a w., and tofu bowed his bead, Juliu 30, and gene vy the Ghoff, or fpirit, (which was) that his life and foule left his body cleat. And that the immortall foule of man differeth from the foules of beafts, the manner of the creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abun- Gunt. 20, dance energy creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the lining thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the earth, &c. But of Man it is written, Let vs make man in our owne 26, image, &c. and further, that the Lordbreathed in his face breath of life. Wherefore, as Gon. 7. from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life: fo shall they againe be diffolued into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall, accor-50 ding to Ecclefiafles, returne agains to God that gaue it.

Sec!,12.7.

Dβ

50

That Man is (as it were) a little world : with a digression touching our mortalitie.

An, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Univerfall: in whom God concluded the creation, and worke of the world, and whom he made the laft and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderflanding, by which he might contemplate and ferue his Creatour, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and 10 other abilities, that thereby also he might gouerne and rule the world, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God effeated three forts of living natures, (to wir) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; gluing to Angelsan intellectuall, and to Beafts a fenfuall nature, he vouchfafed vnto man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man; and therefore (faith GREGORIE NAZIANZENE: ) Homoest virialg, nature vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tieth together both natures: and because in the little frame of Asia, Phy. lib. mans body there is a representation of the Vniuerfall, and (by allulion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called Microcofmos, or the little 1.17.f. world. Deus igitur hominem fallum,velut alterum quendam mundam,in breui magnum, 20 at auc exiquo totum, in terris flatuit, God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he Omnis in bomine had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world: for out of earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavie and lum-Ang. Lev. 83-4. pith; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rockes and flones, and there-or, cut. La. 2-. fore flrong and durable: of which Ouis!:

20

Oaid, Met, l.1.

Inde genus durum fumus, experienff, laborum, Et documenta damus dua semus origine nati.

From thence our kinde hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care, Approxing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His bloud, which differfeth it felfe by the branches of veines through all the bodie, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brookes and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the aire; his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth, which the Earth hath in it felfe, which stirred up by the heate of the Sunne, affisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, oile, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and sertilitie of the earth; the haires of mans body, which adornes or ouerfladowes it, to the graffe, which concreth the vpper face and 40 skin of the earth; our generatine power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandring, and voftable clowds, carried enery where with vncertaine winds;our cies; to the light of the Sunne and Moone, and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very thort time, or with the Sunnes heat drie vp,& wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the stalks, the thoughts of our minde; to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called Mens, and that which alwaies looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes prefent with God; and laft'y our immortal foules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his own image and similitude: And although, in respect of God, there is no man suft, or good, 50 or rightcous: (for in Angelis deprehenfa est fluttitia, Behold, he found folly in his Angels, (faith 10b) yet with fuch a kind of difference, as there is betweene the fubfrance, and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, bath therfore called man, the image and fimilitude of his owner ighreousnes.

105 4. 18.

CHAP.2. S.7. of the Hillorie of the World.

In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the Viduor fall (man being the measure of all things; Homo ell mensura omnium rerum, faith Arillotle, Aid to Mor and Pythagoras) that the foure complexions refemble the foure Elements, and the tapacity. feuen Ages of man the feuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the Moone, in which we feeme onely to line and growe, as Plants; the fecond age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to Venus, the dayes of loue, defire, and vanitie; the fourth to the Sunne, the ftrong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the fixth age is afcribed to Inpiter, 10 in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our felues, and grow to the perfection of our vinderstanding; the last and seventh to Saturne, wherein our dayes are fad and ouer-caft, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, and by the loffe which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the forrow onely abideth. Our attendants are licknesses, and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by fo much the more greedily is our end delired, whome when Time hath made vnfociable to others, we become a burthen to our felues; being of no other yee, then to hold the riches we have, from our fucceffours. In this time it is, when (as aforefaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe 20 on vnto, with many fighes, grones, and fad thoughts, and in the end, by the workemanship of death, finish the forrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwayes trauaile both fleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honour and riches any power at all, to hold years one day, by the promifes of glorious entertainments; but by what crooked path fo ouer wee walke, the fame leadeth on directly to the house of death: whose doores lie open at all houses, and to all persons. For this tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ouer runneth with a perpetuall ebbe and falling streame, but neuer floweth againe : our leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new leaues and flowers.

30

Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus etas, Ergò non homini , quod fuit ante , redit.

And of which

To which I give this fense, The Plants and trees made poore and old By Winterenuious, The Spring-time bounteous Couers againe, from fhame and cold: But neuer Man repair'd againe His youth and beautic loft, Thoughart, and care, and cost, Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

CATVLLYS, EPIGRAM. 53. Soles occidere & redire poffunt : Nobis cum femel occidit breuis lux, Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sunne may fet and rife: But we contrariwife Sleepe after our short light One euerlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reft, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academickes, the same might also perpetually bee maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural lining things, and as the sappe and sayce, wherein the life of Plants is preserued, doth enermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwaies either encreasing towards ripeneffe and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and disfolu-

Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himselfe.

Hele be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all mankinde. vnto whom Godin his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to trie his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortall and immortall life, a nature celefiall and terrene, and (indeed)

God gaue man to himfelfe, to be his owneguide, his owne workeman, and his owne painter, that he might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. God made man in the beginning (laith SIRACIDES) and left him in the hands of his own exanfaile. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie; whereas beatls, and all other creatures reasonlesse brought with them into the world (faith Lucilius) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dammes, the nature, which they could not change; and the fupernall fpirits or Angels were from the beginning, or foone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforefaid) God gaue vnto man all kinde of feedes and grafts of life, (to wit) the vegetatine life of Plants, the fenfuall of beaftes, the rationall of man, and the intellectuall of Angels, whereof which foeuer hetooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreable to his owne choyce and plantation. This freedome of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was anigmatically described by Afelepius Atheniensis 30 (faith Mirandula) in the person and table of Protess, who was faid, as often as hee pleafed, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamorphofes among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutalitie, from vertue to vice, from meekenesse to crueltie, and from inflice to oppression. For by the lively image of other creatures did those Ancients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were fignified deceipers; by Lions, oppreffours, and cruell men; by fiving, mengiuen ouer to luft and fenfualitie; by wolues, rauening and greedy men; which alfo S. Matthew refembleth to falle Prophets, which come to you in fleepes clothing, but 40 inwardly they are rauening Wolues, by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant men, by Vipers, vngratefull men; of which Saint Iou N BAPTIST, Oyee

Math.7.15.

Matth .7.7.

generation of vipers, dec.

Of God: ecasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuerfall created was exceeding good.

N this worke of man God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reflect: for God commanded, and it was finithed, Cui veluffe off feeiffe, with whem, to will is to make, faith Beda, Neither did God forest, that hee left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves; for my father worketh to this day (faith Christ) and I worke; but

CHAP.2. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

God rested, (that is) he created no new species or kinds of creatures, but (as afore-Gid) gaue vnto man a power generatine, and so to the rest of lining creatures, and to Plants and flowers their feedes in themfelues; and commanded man to multiply. Gen 1.28, and fill the earth, and the earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their feuerall kinds: all which being finished, God faw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made enery Plant of the field before it was in the earth, but he gaue to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from fo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good and 10 from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceede no

impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choyce, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the earth afterward curfed, and all creatures of the first age destroied; but the righteous man Nosh, and his familie, with those creatures which the Arke contained, referued by God to replenish the earth.

## CHAP. III. Of the place of Paradise.

That the feate of Paradife is greatly mislaken : and that it is no maruaile that men (bould erre.



ONCERNING the first habitation of man we reade. that the Lord God planted a garden, Eastward, in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, GEN. 2.6. Of this feate and place of Paradife, all ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgements have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written vppon this part of Genesis, as vpon any one place therein, feeming most obscure : some there are, that have conceined the being of the terrestrial Paradife, without all regard of the worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the

place where Moses wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heauens) the way how to finde out and judge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselues ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first interpretation, or trufting to their owne indgements, understood one place for another; and one errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely reftrained. And thirdly, those writers which gaue themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things to observant sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeued in, as they thought it fafer to condemne their owne vn-50 derstanding, then to examine theirs. For (faith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) magnos errores (magnorum virorum auctoritate perfuali) transmittimus, we passe ouer many groffe errours, by the authoritie of great men ledde and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the understanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I renerence both their

2,Cor.12,2.

Jude Ep. v. 27.

Bartaf.fem 2.

Iob 18,12.

13.

are guided by truth: for they were men; Et humanum eft errare. And to the end that no man should be proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselfues their owns weakenesse. Nulli unaquam dedit omnia Dem, God nener gaue the knowledge of all things to any one. St. Paule conseit that he knew not, whether he were taken wy into the third heauen in the sleft, or out of the sleft; and of their himselfe takenowledge th thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to St. Jude) who is only wise. Sapienits whi innertinte ? (slich 10 a) but where is mischow here is the place of understanding? I man knowled hus the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the lung. And therefore seeing God found follie in his Angels, mens indegenents (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men excussible in particulars, especially in those whereupon our faluation dependent not.

learning and their pictic, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they

#### ò. II.

#### A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

a Paradife or no? or whether Mofes description were altogether myftigal, and altegoricall? a Origen, Philos Fran, Georgius with others have all, and altegoricall? a Origen, Philos Fran, Georgius with others have harmed, and that vader the names of those foure Ruces, Pflon, Gebon, Hidkel, and Peralt, The tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were

delinered vnto vs other mysterics and significations; as, that by the soure Riners were meant the soure Cardinall vertues, Initie, Temperane, Fortitude, and Prudence, or the other Cardinall vertues, and Honnie. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of Prandise by Origen disulged, was againe by Franciscus Georgius received (shith Sixtus Sensis) whose frincolous imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly an-30

fwere, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, fol. 338. the last Edition.

Neces, in the 34. Annotation in the Norsaya in the Norsaya in the Annotation in the Construction, and fet Paradife in the third heaven, and in the vertues of the minde, \$\phi\$ in noftrop rinipals, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our foules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the place or garden of Paradife, was meant the foule or minde; by Adam, Mons, or vnderstanding, by Eue, the fense, by the Serpent, delectations by the Tree of good and cuill, Sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence faringing. Norwithstanding all which, you the first of the Cornibians, e. 6. he in direct wordes alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial Paradife; the one, into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, 40 into which Adam was put by God. Ang. Chrismossis, was of opinion, that a Paradife had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only desired, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which Lador fements a define.

The Maniches allo understood, that by Paradife was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion Vadianus inclinesh, as I conceive his wordes in two severall places. First, you this: Fistle earth, Gen. 10. Of which he giveth this indegenent. Hae tips etiain good divit; Replete terram, dominamini universia animantious; subjecte terram, elarisime docet, totam terram extanten; & comingenis (votium erat) fruitibus constitum, fedom & hortum illud Ade & posseriation future fuisse, Inspection of fruitibus constitum, of God said. Bring forth fruit unimultiple, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer every creature, doc clearly show, that the Vainurs all earth set or filled with all forts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and sease of Adam, and of his sture posseriie.

guinc omne genus humanum adeò fattum docet, vi habitarent super vniuersam facient terre: totaigitut terra Paradis su lle erat; The apposite sliath hey teacheth, that God hash made
of one bloud all mankinde, to dweld over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth
super supe

Tertallian, Bonsuenture, and Duranduu, make Paradife vnder the Æquinoftiall, and Bur.16.126.

Poffellus quive contrarie vnder the North pole-the chaldeaus allo for the most part,
and all their Scétators, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who
would either make Paradife figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seased
out of this senible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Aire.
Strabus, and Rabanus, were both sick of this vanitte, with Origen, and Philo: so was
our venerable Beda, and Pet.Comesiur, and Moses Burcephas the Syrian, translated by Red. in Gra.
Massius, But as Hopkins saies of Philo Indeus, that he wondred, gno make gene of flatins; Pet. Compil 1.1.

By what cull Angel he was bloome up note this errour: So can I not but greatly merualic exp
at the search and many the sease of philo Indeus, that he wondred, second Moses, and after the sacrate
him the Prophets, doe so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was
planted, by the Kingdomes and Prouinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the compasse won which it lay, in respect of Indea, or

\*\*Zemiomague alfo, yoon Brid, De natura rerum, beleauch that all the Earth was taken for Puradife, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (faith hee) hath the fame beautie adferibed to Puradife. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Tigrus, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not think it poffible, that thefe Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigrus, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Agypts, and the other two through Agipts and Armenia) could rife out of one fountaine, were into out of the fountain of the Ocean.

#### ð. III.

#### That there was a true locall Paradife Eastward, in the Countrie of Eden.

O the first therefore, that such a placethere was upon the earth, the words of Mose make it manifest, where it is written. And the Lord God Gus. 2. planted a gardon Eastward in Edon, and there he put the man whom he had made. And how source the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath converted this place thus. Plantaneral Dominus Deus Para-

difam voluptatis à principio ; The Lord God planted a Paradit of Plesfare from the beginning ; putting the word [plesfare] for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Editward: It is manifet, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what fense hath this translation (faith our Hopkins, in his Treatife of Paradife) that he planted a garden in pleasare, or that a River went out of pleasare to water the garden! But the sevent in the temperature of the planted a garden in pleasare, or that a River went out of pleasare to water the garden! But the sevent in the paradit of Eden, and so do the the Chaldean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Nowne appellative; which Region, in effect of the fretilitie of the solic, of the many beautifull rivers, and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) does alwaics keep their leaves, was called Eden, which signifiesth in the Hothers, pleasarents or cities as the Spaniards call the Countrie, opposite to the 18th of Caba, Florida: and this is the militaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double soft of the word, that as Florida was a Countrie, so called for the flourithing beautic thereof, so was Edon a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for the pleasure, or delicacie: and as Florida sincheth flourithing: so Eden significant pleasare, and sy yet both are the proper

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Ver(16.

John 8.44.

Gen. 2.24.

names of Countries; for Edenbeing the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the Hebren) and Paradife being the choice feat of all that Region, Paradife was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Ealtward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrarie to the translation of the Seuentie; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Buff, Chryfofome, Theodora, Gregorie; and to the Rabbines, as Ramban, Rabbi Saloman, R. Arbaham, and Chimehis; and of the Latines, Seurinus, Damafeenus, Gre. who plainely take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) to a bintie it for Damafeenus owne words are these, Paradijus of seuron Demanhain in Eden ad Orientem mirabitites constitus; Paradife is a place, meruailonfly planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward 10

And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Parisiensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of latter times, doe both understand these words of Eden, and of the East. contrarie to the vulgar translation; Parifien is, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senenfis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words. After this I will beginne to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which that God planted from the beginning, or Eastward. &c. Posthac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, oc. And then Senensis; Mos Es enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terra Orientalis , que dicitur Heden : Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus CH AM habitaffe ad Orientalem plagam 20 Heden; For Moses (laith he) doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden : but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERERIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this translation : for this particle (faith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleaging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was faid to be a man-flaier from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the fixth day. But furely, as I thinke (referring my felfe to better judgement) the Deuill was from the inflant of his fall a man-flaier in disposition, though he had not whereon to practife till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that be his translation) adui- 30 feth himfelfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) as, God did fet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden , Collocaust Deus ante Paradifum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himfelfeacknowledgeth, that this is the true fenfe of this place, precifely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientalihorti Heden, Cherubin; Hee set on the East side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin. BECANVs affirmeth that the Hebrew word (Be) fignilieth (with) aswell as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But Becanss followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde Paradife vpon the river of Acesimes : for there he bath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to bee 40 thetree of knowledge, of good, and euill, and would therefore draw Paradife to the Fig. tree: which conceit of his I will answere hereafter.

Now, because Peradife was feated by Mofes toward the East, thence came the culome of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the Choldsams; and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the funner is the
in March, which is directly our Peradife (faith Demofesmus) affirming, that we alwaise spray towards the East, as looking towards Peradife, whence we were cast out;
and yet the Temple of Saloman had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themfelues in their service and divine ceremonies, alwaies toward the West, thereby to
avoid the Superstition of the Experimen and Childsams.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from India, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way were turne our faces, so our hearts shand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray

turning our felues towards the Eaft, may remember thereby to befeech God, that as by Adams fall we haue loft the Paradife on earth: fo by Chrifts death and pailion we may be made partakers of the Paradife calchiall, and the Kingdome of heauen. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mylteric in adding the word (Eaft) to Eden by Mofes, then to flew, that the Region of Edn., in which Paradife was, lay Eaftward from Indea and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of thole Nations, the Sonnes of the Eaft, which inhabited Arabis, Mefopotamia, Chaldea, and Perfix: of whith Onid:

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabateag, regna recessit, Persidag, & radÿs iuga subdita matutinis.

The East winde with Aurora hath abiding Among th Arabian, and the Persian hils, Whom Phoebus first falutes at his vo-rising.

And if it be objected, that Hieremie the Prophet threatning the destruction of Hierafalms, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed Naturalandons of and of whom the greatest part of his Armie was compounded; not that Babylan it else thoode North from Hierafalm, though inclining from the East toward the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor gueth best satisfies on to be fesh the word, From the beginning, that is, from the surfle part of the world, (it principle) id est (suith he) a prima or bis parte, and afterward he assimment, that (it principle) and advientes haue the same signification; From the beginning and Eastward it allows, a principle idense if you good and the same significant on.

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Storie of mankind was not allegoricall, it followeth in the T ext of the fectond Chapter and ninth Verfe, in thefe 50 wordes. For ent of the ground made the Lord Gold to grow enerty tree placed to the fight, and goad for meate, etc. To as firth it appeared that God created Adam elfewhere, as in the world at large, and then, put him into the garden: and the end why, is express: that he might dressed in the standards being a Garden or Orchard filled with vursal, Plants, and T rees, of the most excellent kindes, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which prouch that Paradss was allowed with fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirment that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River | Versal, figuring, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is also a Countrie necre vnto Charan | Excels extrass; do in Mesopatimis, Excels legiting | Section | Response | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Regulation | Reg

But to all these Cabalist, which draw the truth and Storic of the Scriptures into Alegories, Epiphania: answereth in these wordes: \$i Farashia to not if son is son in the son and story in points, non estatum or principle, non Psicon, son the son, son of that or principle, non Psicon, non Gehon, non Tigris, nee Euphrates, nonest faus, non solid, non come it Eua de abore, non est Adam, non sun bomines, sea deverta aiam fabula sh, & omni ad Allegoria recantur, If Parashs be not sensible, then there was no sountaine, and these norieurs, if no river, then no such source benefit of the solid, the solid so

to bring Paradife, and the rivers and the trees under the rules of Allegorie.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For God gaue Adam free libertie to eat of enery tree of the Carden, (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees Moles in the ninth verse faith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Befides, God left all beaftes to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beastes were neither in the third heaven, nor neere the circle of the Moone, nor beaftes in imagination: for if all these things were enigmaticall or mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And Ezechiel speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings vseth this speech. All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, enuied him, which to proueth both Eden, and Paradife therein feated to bee terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginarie comparisons. But Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradile, then in any other place of Scripture; of purpole to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be ant to fabulous inventions, and that if hee had not described both the region and the rivers, and how it flood from Canaan, many of the vibeleeuing Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this storie of mankind. And is it likely, there would have beene so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the fame had been an Vtopia? For we finde that the valley, wherein Sodome and Gomor- 20 rha flood, (fometimes called Pentapolis, of the flue principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the Paradife of the Lord, and like to the land of Egypt toward Zoar; In like maner was Ifraell resembled to the Paradise of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which producth plainely, that Paradife it felfe exceeded in beautie and fertilitie, and that these places had but a refemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and foyle of farre exceeding

Belides, whence had Homer his invention of Alcinous gardens, as Iustin Martyr noteth, but out of Moles his description of Paradife? Gene. 2. and whence are their praifes of the Elisian fieldes, but out of the Storie of Paradise! to which also appertaine 30 those verses of the golden age in Ouid.

Onid, Metam.l.c

Gen. 13.19.

Ver erat aternum, placidió, tepentibus auris Mulcebant Zephyri natos (ine femine flores.

The ioyfull Spring did euer laft, And Zephyrus did breede Without the helpe of seede Sweete flowers by his gentle blaft,

And it is manifest, that Orpheus, Linus, Pyndarus, Hefiodus and Homer, and after him, Ouid, one out of another, and all thefe together with Pythagoras and Plato, and their fectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stollen treasures of diuine letters, altered by prophane additions, and difguifed by poeticall conversions, as if they had beene conceined out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But befides all these testimonies, if we finde what Region Heden or Eden was; if we proue the riner that ranne out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of Hauila and Culb, and that all these are Eastward from Canaan, or the desarts of the Amorites, where Moses wrote, 50 I then conceine, that there is no man that will doubt, but that fuch a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the allegoricall fense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (faith St. Augustine)

Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: vna est eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: aliaeorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (idest) Ecclesiam : tertiaeorum, qui viroq, modo Paradisum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those which conceine it altogether (pirituall, and to be a figure of the Church : the third of those, which take it in both fenfes; which third opinion St. Augustine approueth, and of which Surdas gi- August de cinic. ueth this allowable judgement. Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul Suitas in priba conditus erat : sic & huius sanctissimum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici Panadijus, specie est praditum, (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: to lowas his holie groue or garden to be taken both waies, and endued with a double forme.

#### à. IIII.

## Why it should be needfull to intreate diligently of the place of Paradife.

CHAP.3. S.4.

Vt it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kinde of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of Paradife, and that the knowledge thereofs of little or novie. To which I answere, that there is nothing written in the Scriptures, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necellarie, then by the place proued, the same is

a'so made more apparent. For if we should conceine that Paradise were not on the earth, but lifted up as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne world, from whence Adam was faid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into Iudea, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would give any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridicuslous then the report of fuch a place? and besides, what maketh this seate of Paradise fo much disputed and doubted of but the conceit that Piston should be Ganges, which watereth the East India, and Gehon, Nilus, which enricheth Agypt, and these two 20 Riuers so farre distant, as (except all the world were Paradise) these streames can no

way be comprised therein? Secondly, if the birth, and workes, and death of our Sauiour, were faid to have beene in some such Countrie, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his miracles had beene performed in the aire, or no place certainly knowne, I affere my felfe, that the Christian religion would have taken but a slender roote in the minds of men : for times and places are approued witneffes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place to the judgements of some writers voon this place of Genesis (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour and reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the Gracians or Agyp-40 tians more ridiculous: for who would beleeue that there were a peece of the world fo fet by it felfe and feparated, as to hang in the aire under the circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceine, that from thence the four rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tigris, should fall downe, and runne under all the Ocean, and rife up againe in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found. Which left any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are Peter Comestors owne wordes. Est autem locus amænisimus longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili zona secretus, adeò eleuatus, vt v sque ad Lunarem globum attingat, &c.(that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our babitable zone by a long tract of land and Seaselenated fo, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.

And Moles Barcephas vpon this place writeth in this manner: Deinde hoc quoque re- Barc conunted Sponsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque bee nostra extet by Masius. terra, eog, fieri, vt illinc per precipitium delabantur fluuy tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; cogʻimpetu impulsi presigʻ sub Oceani vada rapiuntur, vnde rur-Sus prosiliant ebulliant q, in how a nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore

(faith he) we give this for an answere, that Paradife is set in a Region farreraised above this part which we inhabite; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as wordes cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe arife and boile up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this Ephram sicit Paradisum ambire terram, at 6, vltra Oceanum ita positum esse, vt totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq, Luna orbis Lunam cingit, (which is) That Paradise doth compasse or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the earth on every fide, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that thefe ridiculous expolitions and opinions doe 10 not bring question vnto truth it selfe, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of Paradise, which God and his wisedome appointed in the very Nauell of this our world, and (as Melanchton faics) in parteterre meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Center; the Vniuerfall might be filled with people, and planted; and by knowing this place, wee shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation : for neare unto this did the Sonnes of Noah also disperse themselves after the floud, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous delire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Auncester, from 20 whence all the streames and branches of mankinde haue followed and beene deduccd. If then it doe appeare by the former, that fuch a place there was as Paradife and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine the feuerall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it felfe; and to fee how they agree with the fense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

That the floud bath not otterly defaced the markes of Paradife, nor caused hils



Nd first, whereas it is supposed by Jug. Chysamensis, that the sloud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the floud the cause of those high mountaines, which are found on all the earth ouer, with many other

strange effects) for my owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot denie, but that the face of Paradife was after the floud 40 withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no figne of any fuch place, or if the foile and feate had not remained, then would not Mofes, who wrote of Paradife about 850. yeares after the floud, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moses would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the rivers still remaine the same rivers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, Tigris, and Euphrates, we are fure to finde in what longitude Paradise lay; and learning out one of these rivers, which afterward 50 doth divide it selfe into foure branches, we are fure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it felfe. For it is written, that out of Eden went a river to water the garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine translation (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it

felfe, or to Paradife, yet the division and branching of those rivers must be in the North or South fide of the very garden (if the rivers runne as they doe, North and South) and therefore these rivers yet remaining, and Eden manifestly knowne, there could be no fuch defacing by the floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages know it not, so is there no probabilitie, that either these rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the floud which were not, or that the floud (as aforefaid) by a violent motion, when it beganne to decrease, was the cause of high hils, or deepe vallies. For what descent of waters could there bee in a Sphæricall and round bodie, wherein

CHAP.3. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

to there is nor high nor low? feeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was any winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, Therefore God made a Gen. s.c. winde to paffe upon the earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters fanke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to drie up the abundant slime and mudde of the earth, and make the land more firme, and to cleanfe the aire of thicke vapours and vnholesome mists; and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore diffeuer the violence of outragious winds, and beate downe, and leuell

the fwelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any cbbes and flowes there could be none, when the waters were equal and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receiue a floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the earth and waters, as aforefaid; and therefore it feemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather flood in a quiet calme, then that they moued with any raging or ouerbearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the floud made no fuch destroying alteration, toleph. anoweth that one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third from Adam, was to be feene in his dayes, which pillars were fet vp aboue 1426. yeares be-fore the floud, counting Seth to be an hundred yeares old at the crection of them, and

20 Isleph. himselfe, to have lived some 40.or 50. yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleeue all that he wrote, yet that, which he auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen? Now that fuch pillars were raifed by Seth, all Antiquitie hath anowed. It is also written in Berofus (to whom although I giue little credit, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Cittie of Enoch built by Cain, about the mountaines of Libanus, was not defaced by length of time : yeathe ruines thereof Annius (who commented ypon that invented fragment) faith, were to be seene in his daies, who lived in the raigne of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile; and if these his wordes be not true, then was he

40 exceeding impudent. For, speaking of this Cittie of Enoch, he conclude thin this fort. Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta vifuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis , Ciuitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referent, The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that region, the Cittie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report. It is also anowed by Pomponius Mela, (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the Cittie of Ioppa was built before the floud, over which Cepha was King: whose name with his brother Phineus, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found grauen vpon certaine Altars of stone; and it is not unpossible, that the ruines of this other Cittie, called Enoch by Annius, might be seene, though founded in the first age: but it could

70 not be of the first Cittle of the world, built by Cain, the place, rather then the time, Gan.4.17

And to proue directly, that the floud was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the waters of the floud ouerflowed by fifteene cubits the highest mountaines. And Masius Damascenus speaking of

Gene . 1.10.

the floud, writeth in this manner. Et supra Minradam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos (ermo est diluun tempore liberatos. And vopon Minyada there is an high mountaine, in Armenia (called Baris) unto which (as it is (aid) that many fledde in the time of the deluge, and that they faued themselves thereon. Now although it is contrarie to Gods word, that any more were faued then eight perfons ( which Malius doth not auouch, but by report ) yet it is a testimonie, that fuch mountaines were before the floud, which were afterwards, and euer fince. knowne by the fame names; and on which mountaines it is generally received that the Arkerefted : but vntruly, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount Syon (though by another name) was knowne before the floud : on 10 which the Thalmudiffs report, that many Giants faued themselves also: but (as Annius faith) without all authoritie, either diuine or humane.

Lastiy, it appeareth that the floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this that when Noah fent out the Done the fecond time, flee returned with an Oline leafe in her mouth, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the trees were discoursed) shee found not : for otherwise shee might have found them floating on the water: a manifest proofe, that the trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written, folium Oliue, raptum or decerptum, a leafe pluckt, (which is) to take from a tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written 20 to the contrarie) that the floud made no fuch alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradife might be seene to succeeding ages, especially vnto Moses, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the worlds creation, and vnto the Prophets which fucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discoucrie.

#### VI.

That Paradife was not the whole earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountaine of those foure Rivers.

His conceit of Aug. Chyfamensis being answered, who only giueth his opinion for reason, I will in a few wordes examine that of the Manichies, of Noutomagus, Vadianus, Goropius, Becanus, and all those that underflood, that by Paradife was meant the whole earth. But in this I shall on not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuerfalitie will appeare altogether impro-Fr. The places which Vadianus alleageth, bring forth fruit and multiplie, fill the earth

Gen. 1.18. Act. 17.26.

and subdue it, rule over every creature, &c. with this of the Acts, and hath made of one blond all mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the earth, doe no way proue fuch a generali- 40 tie: for the world was made for man, of which he was Lord and Gouernour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse: Now although all men were of one and the fame fountaine of bloud originally; and Adams posteritie inhabited in proceffe of time ouer all the face of the earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular garden, affigned to Adam to dreffe and cultiue, in which he lived in so bleffed an effate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choice, but that Adam had beene left to the Vniuerfall; Mofes would not then have faid Eastward in Eden, feeing the world hath nor East nor West', but respectively. And to what end had the Angell of God beene fet to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradife after Adams expulsion, if the Vniuerfall had beene Paradife? for then must Adam have been 50 chased also out of the world. For if All the earth were Paradife, that place can receiue no better construction then this, That Adam was driven out of the world into the world, and out of Paradife into Paradife, except we should believe with Metrodo-

rus, that there were infinite worlds. Which to denie; he thinkes all one, as to af-

CHAP. 2. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

firme, that in so large a field, as the universall, there should grow but one thisse. Novio-MACVs vpon Beda, seemeth to be led by this, that it was unpossible for those three Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates, (which water three portions of the world fo farre distant) to rise out of one fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the world for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four erivers, being so vinderstood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainely appeare, that Pilon was fallly taken for Ganges, and Gehon fallly for Nilus, although Ganges be a river by Hauilah in India, and Wilus runne through Athiopia. The Seventie write Chus for Athiopia, and thereby the errours of the Manichees, and the mistakings of Nouiomagus, Goropius, and Vadianus, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, then that of Ephram, Cyrillus, and Athanasius: That Paradise was seated farre bevond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam waded through it, and at last came toward the Countrie, in which hee was created, and was buried at Mount Caluarie, in Hierusalem. And certainly, though all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the floud, yet Adams shinne-bones must have contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is fo ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disproue it.

ð. VII.

Of their opinion, which make Paradife as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the aire.

Hirdly, where as Beda faith, and as the Schoole-men affirme, Paradife to be a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men (logis die was farre in the East, but mounted about the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the

Schoole-men charge Beda withall, yet Pererius laies it off from Beda vpon Strabus, and his Mr. Rabanus: ) and whereas Rupertus in his Geographic of Paradife, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of Plate, and Plate out of Secrates 3 but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood: who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for heauen it selfe, into which the soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the Areopagites, (in this Diog. Lacrt.in and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeved in plaine Sco. termes, especially Plate: though Secrates in the end suffered death, for acknowledge

40 ing one only powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wifest man. Instine Martyr affirmeth, Justin, Mart, that Plate had read the Scriptures; and St. Augustine gaue this judgement of him, as admant cent. his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both Tertullian and Eusebius conceine, that Socrates, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of Eden. Soliniu, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount Atho (called Acrothonos) which being about all clouds of raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their many yeares) are called Macrobioi (that is) Long-lined. A further argument is vsed, for proofe of the heighth of this

50 place, because therein was Enoch preserved from the violence of the floud: appro-ued by Isladore, and Peter Lumbard; in which place also Tertullian conceived, that the bleffed foules were preserved till the last judgement; which Irenew, and Instine Martyr also beleeued. But this opinion was of all Catholike Dinines reproued, and in the Florentine Councell damned; of which St. Augustine more modestly gaue this

judgement. Sicut certumest ENOCH & ELIAM nune vinere : itavbi nune sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum oft: (that is ) As it is certaine that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now line : fo where they now line, in Paradife or elfewhere, it is uncertaine. But Barcephas gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necesfarie that Paradife thould be fet at fuch a dillance and heighth, because the foure Riuers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterwards have forced their passage through the earth, and have rifen againe in the farre diffant Regions of India, E-

These strange fancies and dreames have been answered by divers, carned men 10 long fince and lately by Hopkins and Pererius writing upon this fubject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few : for to vie long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanitie in

the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventour.

It is first therefore alleaged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being fet so neare the Moone, it had beene too neare the Sunne, and other heauenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have beene too joynet a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the aire in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abyding. Fourthly, because the place between the Earth and the Moone (according 20 to Ptolomic and Alfraganus) is seventeene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes by a groffe account about one hundred and twentie thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradife, being raised to this heighth, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a Balis & foundation. But had it been fo railed, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or cies of men : feeing, it would depriue vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being feated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, Toffatus addeth this, that those people which dwell neare those fals of waters are deafe from their infancie, like those which dwell neare the Catadupa, or ouer-falls of Nilws. But this I hold as fained. For I have feene in the Indies farre greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwel- 30 ling neare them, are not deafe at all. Toffatus (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth Ball and Ambrole together : to which PERERIVS, Sed ego hac apud Balilium & Ambrolium in corum feriptis quanunc extant, nufquam me legere memini; But I doe not remember (faith he) that I ever read those things, either in Basil or Ambrosc.

But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking vp might be into the celettiall Paradife for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of Heaven, and the feede must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all 1, Con. 15.26.51 die (faith St. Pave.) but all fhall be changed : which change, in Enoch and Elias, was eafie to him that is Almightie. But for the reft, the Scriptures are manifest that by the 40 floud all perifhed on the earth, fauing eight perfons, and therefore in the terrestriall

Paradife they could not be.

For Toffatus his owne opinion, who foared not altogether fo high as the rest, but believed that Paradife was raifed above the middle Region of the aire, and twentie cubits about all mountaines that the floud did not therefore reach it: (which Scotus and other later Schoole-men also believed; for, fay they, there were no finners in P was life, and therefore no cause to ouerwhelme it:) this is also contrarie to the expreffe letter of the Scripture: which directly, & without admitting of any diffinction teacheth vs, that the waters overflowed all the mountaines under heaven. And were it orherwise, then might we aswell give credit to Majius Damascenus, and the Thalmu- 50 diffs, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faued themselues on the mountaine Baris, and on gron. But to helpe this, Scotus, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of diffinctions faith; that the waters flood at Paradife, as they did in Evaluation the Red Sea, and at Iordan; and as the floud was not naturall, fo was Paradife faued

by miracle. And Thomas Aguinas qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that Paradife was fo feated as Beda and others feeme to affirme in wordes, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, for the delicacie and beautic fo refembled. But this I dareauow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding wittie, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, then to resolue, by their diffinctions. Wherefore not to ftay long in answering this opinion of Toffatus. I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, oner-reach and furmount all windes and cloudes, and that (notwithflanding) there is found on the heads of the hilles both fprings and fruits; and the Pagan Priefts, facri-10 ficing on these mountaine tops, doe not finde the asses (remaining of their sicrifices) blowne thence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and Planie himselfe (who was not foaring in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrarie. But were it graunted, yet the heighth of these mountaines is farre under the supposed place of Paradise; and on these selfe hilles the aire is so thinne (saith St. Augustine whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to be are up the body of a bird, having therein no seeling of her wings, or any fensible resistance of aire to mount her selfe by.

. d. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise under the Aguinoctiall: and of the pleasant.

habitation under those Climates.

Hofe which come neare unto reason finde Paradife under the Aquinoetiall line; as Tertullian, Bonauenture, and Durandus; judging, that therevinder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilitie of soile: but against it Thomas Aquinas Obieceth the distemperate heate, which

he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sunne; but this is 30 (non causa pro causa) for although Paradise could not be vnder the line, because Eden is farre from it, in which Paradife was; and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the foure rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of diffemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to be condemned, confidering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Countrie, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and so toward the Aquinottiall, did so much the more exceede in heate, It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were fituated directly under it, were of a diftemper uninhabitable; but it feemeth that Tertullian conceined better, and so did Aucenne, for they both thought

40 them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place ypon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight, that Paradife had, the fame must be found within that supposed winhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and nearest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience bath informed reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discoursed. Indeede it hath so pleased God to prouide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that fuch inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of mens travailes, to be fo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or

50 as a fruitleffe lumpe to fallion out the reft. For God himfelfe (laith I s A 1) that formed 160 45.18; the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inbabited. Now we finde that these hottestregions of the world, seated under the Aquinoctiall line, or neare it, are so refreshed with a daylie gale of Easternely winde (which the Spaniards call the Brize, that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate

of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne can not fo much mafter it, that there is any inconvenience or diftemperate heate found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equall, by reason of the entire interpolition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seene, neere the Line and vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper, Onely there are some tracks. which by accident of high mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and fome few fandie parts without trees, which are not therefore fo well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soyles wee finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions have so many goodly rivers, sountaines and little brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so ma- 10 ny forts of delicate fruites, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with bloffome and fruit, both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts bee best compared to the Paradife of Eden: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclothed and left naked their fappe creepeth not under ground into the roote, fearing the injurie of the first; neither doth Pomona at any times defoise her withered hulband Vertumnus, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called Terra vitiofa, Vitious Countries: for nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruites then vaine thoughts. and licentious pleafures. So that to conclude this part, Tertullian and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place; but Aguinas, who misliked this 20 opinion, andfollowed a worfe. And (to fay the trueth) all the Schoole-men were groffe in this particular.

#### δ. I X.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Calefyria, there is a Countrey in Babylon, once of this name as is prouedout of Ela. 27. and Ezech. 27.

Hele opinions answered, and the Region of Edennot found in any of those imaginarie worlds, nor vnder 1 orriva 2000, it was Paradise now we discouer and finde out the seatethereof, for init was Paradise of which search resteth chiefly in those imaginarie worlds, nor under Torrida Zona; it followeth that by God planted. The difficultie of which fearch resteth chiefly in Ithis, That as all Nations haue often changed names with their Mafters, fo are most of these places, by Moles remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers as well ancient as moderne.

Belides, we finde that the Affyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, (Cyrus Onely and few other excepted) fought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The Gracians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romanes despised once to remember 40 them in any of their stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: fo did they transforme the names of all those principall places and Cities in the East: and after them, the Turke hath fought (what hee could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now befides those notable markes, Euphrates & Tigris, the better to find the way, which leadeth to the Countrey of Eden, we are to take for guides these two consideration: (to wit) That it lay Eastward from Canaan and Iudea; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile First then in respect of situation, the next Countrey to Iudea Eastward was Arabia Petras; but in this Region was Moses himselfe when hee wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was Arabia the Defart, both which in re- 50 spect of the infertilitie could not be Eden, neither have any of the Arabians any such rivers, as are exprest to runne out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that Eden must be Eastward, and beyond both Arabia Petraa, and Deferta. But because Eden is by Mofes named by it felfe, and by the fertilitie, and the rivers encly deferibed, we must

feeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet Isai I finde it coupled and accompanied with other Jiai 27.0.12, adiacent Countries, in these wordes spoken in the person of Senacherib by Rabsakeh. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as GOSAN. and HARKN, and RESEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telaffar : and in Ezechiel, where he prophecieth against the Tyrians : They of HARAN and CANNEH, Cap. 27.001 (23) and EDEN, the Merchants of SHEBA, ASHVR, and CHILMAD, were thy Mer. chants , drc.

But to avoide confusion, we must understand that there were two Edens, one of no which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where he divideth Spria into three Proving Capassoff ces, whereof, the first he maketh Syria Damascene, or Decapolitan: the second part is that Valley called Juenis, otherwise Conuallis, or the Tract of Chamath, where Allyria is joyned to Arabia the Defart, and where Ptolomie placeth the Cittie of Auerra; and the third is knowne by the name of Domus Edenis, or Caleffria, otherwise Vallis ca- Strabs, na, or the hollow Valley, because the Mountaines of Libanus and Antilibanus, take all the length of it on both fides, and border it . for Coele in Greeke is Caus in Latine. But this is not that Eden, which we feeke: neither doth this Province lie East from Canaan, but North, and so joyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Cittie therein called Paradise, the Jewes belee-20 ued this Cælefyria to be the same which Moses describeth. For the same cause doth Hopkins in his Treatife of Paradife reprehend Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this Eden, with the other Eden of Paradife: though to give Beroaldus his right, I conceive that he ledde the way to Hopkins, and to all other latter writers, fauing, that he fair led in distinguishing these two Regions, both called Eden: and that hee altogether misvnderstood two of the foure Rivers (to wit) Pifon and Gehon, as shall appeare hereaster. Now to finde out Eden, which (as Moses teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Desarts, where hee wrote after hee had passed the redde Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet Isai and Ezechiel joyneth with it. For (faith Esalah) Golan, Haran, and Releath, and the children of Eden.

30 which were at Telaffar. Also Ezechiel ioyneth Haran with Eden, who, together with Ezechie, vaz; those of Sheba, Albur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that traded with the Cittie of Tyre, which was then (faith EZECHIEL) the Mart of the people for many Ifles. And it hath euer beene the custome, that the Persians conveyed their merchandise to Babylon, and to those Citties vpon Euphrates, and Tigris, and from thence transported them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port of the Mediterrane Sea : as in ancient times to the Cittie of Tyre, afterward to Tripolie, and now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isious, now Laiazzo. Exechiel in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-towne of that part of 40 the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what

commodities euery Countrie yeelded: and having counted the seuerall people and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. They were Verfixed thy Merchants (faith the Prophet) in all forts of things, in rayments of blew filke, and of broidered workes, fine linnen, corrall and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what kindes they traded, he hath these wordes. The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all pretions slones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which Persia and Arabia Fælix yeeld: and because Sheba and Raama are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Persian Gulfe, therefore did those Nations to both vent fuch spice, sweet gummes, and pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded, and (withall) having trade with their neighbours of India, had from them also all

forts of spices, and plentie of gold. The better to conuey the secommodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris, and from the Cittie of Terredon (built or enlarged by Nabuchodonozor, now called Balfara)

thence fent up all these rich merchandises by boate to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of Aleppo, and then ouer land they palt to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripolie (formerly Hieropolis ) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforefaid. Now the Merchants of Cannel, which Ezechiel iovneth with Eden, inhabited farre up the river, and received this trade from Arabia and India, belides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of Persia, which bordered them. St. Hierome understandeth by Canneh, Seleucia, which is feated upon Euphrates, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from Seleucus, who made thereof a magnificent Cittie. Hierofolymitanus 10 thinkes it to be Ctefiphon, but Ctefiphon is seated downe low vpon Tigris, and Canneh cannot be on that fide. I meane on the East-fide of Tigris, for then were it out of the Plin. 16. 6.26. Valley of Shinar. Plinie placeth the Schenite vpon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be fourdable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaueth to be the

bound of Arabia the Defart, and where the river of Euphrates reflecteth from the De-(art of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward Schenita) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, firetching themselves from their owne Cittie of Cannel in Shinar Weltward along the banks of Euphrates, as farre as the Cittie of Thap (acus, where Ptolomie appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description of the Schenita by Strabo, whose wordes are these; Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam 20 er Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas. The Merchants which trauaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites. Therefore those which take Canneb for Charran doe much mistake it. For Charran, to which Abraham came from Vr in Chaldes (called by God) standeth also in Melopotamia, not you Euphrates it selfe, but upon the river of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates : and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in Ezecbiel (as) they of Haran, and Cannel, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Albur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants. Wherefore Charran which is sometime called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the fame Charran of Mesopotamia; and when it is written Aran, then it is taken for the region of Melopotamia; or Aran fluviorum, the Grecke word (Melopotamia) impor- 30 ting, a Countrie betweene Rivers: for Melos in Greeke, is Medius in Latine, and Potamos, fluuius; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the Cittie it felfe, to which Abraham came from Vr (as aforefaid.) For Strabo in the description of Arabia, gineth that Tract of land from the borders of Calefyria, to the edge of Melopotamia, to the Schenite, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrates, and were in after-ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabite Batanea, and the North part of the Defarts, stretching themselves toward the vnhabited Solitude of Palmirema, which lyoth betweene Syria, and Arabia the Defart. So as these of Canneh lay in the very high-way from Babylon to Tyre, and were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet Ezechiel coupled together, 40 they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c. But St. Hierome made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witneffe Appian; ) and fo Rabanus Maurus callethit in his Commentaries ypon Genesis; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Citties, standing in Triangle with Selencia, and almost the next vnto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, and Mann-canne; the one a little to the West of Seleucia, and the other opposite vnto it, where these rivers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to joyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley Shinar) it is vncertaine: but it is a note a fivel of the importance of the place, as of the certaine feate thereof, that fo 50 many other Citties did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it valikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne, or betweene Canne the old, and the new ; which additions to diffinguish Citties by, are ordinarie in all the Regions of the world.

Now of the other Cittie ioyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, St. Hierome on the Indges speaketh thereof in these words: Cumg, reverterentur, peruenerunt ad Jud. 1. Charran, que est in medio itinere contra Niniuen, undecimo die, When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Niniue) the elementh

This Cittie is by the Martyr Stephen named Charran (speaking to the high Priest: Tee men, brethren, and fathers hearken: The God of glorie appeared to our father ABRA- ARTIS HAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran. But the seate of this Cittle is not doubted of : for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but, with-10 all, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of Craffus the Roman, who for his vnsatiable greedinesse was called Gurges anaritie, the gulfe of anarice. Whereof

#### Myrine Latio maculauit fanguine Carras.

With Roman bloud th'Affyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this Cittie Canne or Chalne is made manifest by Moses himselfe, where it is written of NIMROD. And the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Gen.10. 10, 20 Mead, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar, or Shinar : where Mofes theweth the first compolition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Citties and people were subject vnto Nimrod, all which lay in the faid Valley of Shinar or nearest; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract, afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which also Eden ftretcheth it felfe. Chaldea, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem funt (faith Comestor,) Three names of one Countrie : which Region of Babylonia tooke name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proped in the elementh Chapter of Genelis, in these wordes; And as they went from the Vol. 2 East, they found a Plaine in the land of Shinar, and there they abode : in which Plaine Babylon was built (as aforefaid.) Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the first beginning of N imrods great-

nesse, and before he had subdued any strange, or farre-off nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by Moses to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneth to Babylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants, which traded with the Tyrians : and Esat in the threats of Senacharib against Hierufalem ( with other Nations that Senacharib vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. But before I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessarie to describe those other Countries, which Ezerniel ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in Genesis the tenth. Moreover Vers 7. 40 the sonnes of HAM were Cush, Oc. And the sonnes of CVSH were Scha, and Hauilah. and Sabtah, and Raamah, Gre. And the sonnes of R AAMAH were Sheba, Gre. and anon after Cvs H begat NIMR OD: fo as Sheba was the grand-child of Culh, and Nimrod the fonne of culb, whose elder brother was sebah: though some there are that conceine to the contrarie, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and vnderstanding; though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamah or Regma, tooke that part adiopning to Shinar, toward the Sea-fide and Persian Gulfe (called afterward Raama and Sheba. by the Father and his Sonnes, which poffeffed it.) For (faith Ezechiel) the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants; they occupied in thy Faires with the chief

70 of all spices, and all pretious stones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrie, which parteth Arabia deferta from Arabia Falix, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrie Strabo calleth Catabaria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankin- strabo, Las, cense is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on

the East fide of the Persian Gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebans, spoken of by Ezechiel, and faid to have beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and pretious flones: of which they had not only plentic of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana according to Strabo) for exchange of their Aromatiques and other proper commodities. For as Strabo reporteth out of E-RATOSTHENES. In Perfice ore initio Infula eft, in qua multi & pretiofi uniones giquantur ; in alus verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli. ERATOSTHENES (faith STRABO) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persian Gulfe there is an Island, in which there are many pretious pearles bred : and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now the difference betweene Sheha, the fonne of Raamah, and Seba, the fonne of Culb, is in this, 10 That Seba is written with the Hebrew (Samech, ) and Sheba with (Schin: ) but whatfocuer the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthographic, their Countries and habitations are divers. For Sheba is that part which bordereth the Perfian Sea; and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the redde Sea; and fo that place of the 72. Pfalme, expounded. Reges Arabum & Saba, hath in the Hebrew this

The Shehans Exechiel nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the fame river, vpon which the Edenites were feated : and fo those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast and vponit, past vp the Countrie, by Tieris and Euphrates, being joyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden which 20 Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to conucy their merchandife toward Tyre. And as the Citties of Charran, and Canneb, border Eden on the West and Northwest: fo doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east. Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appearethin the Chaldean Paraphrast, which Countrie by the Geographers is called Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether praded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telaffar : for these Senacharib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telassar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to 30 conney it ouer into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine. we must remember, that before the death of Senacharib, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly difforned.

For it appeareth both in Efai the 37, and in the second of Kings, by the threats of Rabfache, the while the Armie of Affgria lay before Hierufalem, that the Citties of Gofan, Haran, Refeph, and the Edenites at Telaffar, had relifted the Affyrians, though by them (in a fort) maistered and recourred. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, whom my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar. But it appeared manifestly after Senacharibs death, that 40 these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for Efar-Haddon held Affyria, and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. And after that the Ar-2.King. 19.35. mie of Senacharib, commanded by Rabfache, which lay before Hierufalem (Ezechias then raigning) while Senacharib was in £gypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed; the King of Babel fent to Ezechias, both to congratulate the recoucie of his health, and his victorie obtained ouer the Affyrians. After which ouerthrow Senacharib himselfe was flaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, Esar-Haddon succceding him in Affria. To the Babylonian Embaffadours fent by Merodach, Ezechias fhewed all his treasures, aswell proper as confecrate, which inuited the Kings of Baby/mafterward to undertake their conquest and subjection. So as, the suspicion of 50 warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Affyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Affria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Affrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word (Telaffar) faith Innius, fignifying as much, as a Bulwarke against the Affi-

rians. This place Hierofolymitanus takes for Refem, others for Seleucia: but this Telastar is the same, which Am. Marcellinus in the Historic of Iulian (whom he followed in the enterprise of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of TelasTar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: It is feated in an Illand of Euphrates vnpon a steepe and vnassaultable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour Julian durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrie adioyning were lodged to defend the same. This place Ptolomie calleth Teridata, having Refeph (which he calleth Refepha) on the left hand, and Canneh, Afra Tab. 4. 10 (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand, not far from whence is also found

the Cittie of Mann-canne vpon Tigris, and all these seated together, as Esay and Ezechiel have forted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldeans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Affria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transferant (faith NIGER,) Affria and Mesopota- Colmon Alice. mia tooke the name of Babylonia. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the world Eden is feated, as, by Charran or Haran in Melopotamia : also by Canneh and Reseph, according to the opinion of Vatablus, who in these wordes translateth this place: Plantauerat autem I EHOVAH Deus hor-20 tum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a garden in Eden, Eastward; that is (faith he in his Annotations.) Iufferat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finilus Ara-

Of divers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the

bia & Mesopotamia, He commanded trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the bor-

ders of Arabia and Melovotamia.

Mo for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabite Mesopotamia, which Epistles in the yeare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and Andraas Massus hath published them, translated

out of Syriae into Latine. By these Epistles ( I say ) it seemes we may haue some farther light for the proofe of that, which we have faid about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island as Masius in his Praface to these Epistles faith, is commonly called Gozoria (as it were, the Island, by an eminencie) It hath (faith he) tenne miles in circuit, and was 40 fometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubt leffe) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called this name be swallowcd vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of McCopotamia, Aslyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea. This Island of Eden hath vo the River, and not farre beyond it the Cittie of Hasan-Cepha, otherwise Fortis Petra; below it, it hath Mosal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of Massius) it is not about twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that Mofal or Mofel by Marius Niger is remembred among the Citties higher vp Tigris, in these wordes. Inxta autem Vi sup a. Tigrim, Ciuitates funt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, que nunc Mosel dicitur, magna sa-ne, &c. (that is) By Tigris are these Citties, Dorbeta neare unto mount Taurus (which

50 is now called Mofel) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of Niger, displacing Mofel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I fay) needes not here to trouble vs : seeing for this matter, the testimonie of Massius informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, anowing that this Mofal (or Mozal) is in the confines of Mesopotamia and Assyria, seated upon Tigris, and in the neighbour-

Es. 37.v.12.

50

fenfe : Reges Sheba er Saba.

20.12.

E[a.39.2.

Eden of Paradife.

hood of Ninine; and that it is the famous Selentis Pathorum. The Neitorian Christian in their former epithle call it 2stur in their words: Ex omnibus Cinitatinus of pagis gue funt irruam Cinitation Mozal (but ell) Altun in vicinia Ninine; 90 fail the Citties and lowner which are about the Citie of Mozal (but it) Altun in the neighbourhood of Ninine. As allo Niege acknowledged telegibous. a Citie the receabout to be called Affair (which is the fame as Attur, after the Dudeti of those Nations, which change Shinto T:) Neither is it much that he should mistake Ctefiphon (which is not farre of the leneal) for Selentia, to be Affa. By this then we may come somewhat never the end of our purpose. For the sle of Eden, which lyeth in the breast of Trigris, is but twelue miles from Angla, and that ancient Citie; which Ptolame and Testus call Nijmus, and the Scriptures Nimus, Philostratus, and Simeon Sethi, Mosal, and John Leon Magla, did, others Mossific, (though it be not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher youn the same riner of Trigris, nerre CMgla! for that we are like to sinde this site of Eden heere-about. For the same America Muslim which placeth it about CMgla, makes it to be belowy Halen-keeples, which is youn the same riner of Trigris, nerve CMgla! so that me riner of Trigris is port the same riner of Trigris, nerve CMgla! so that me riner of Trigris is never the makes it to be belowy Halen-keeples, which its youn the same riner of Trigris is never the same riner of Trigris in the rine riner of Trigris in the riner of the rine of the riner of the rine of the riner of

The onely difficultie is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their epiftles speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden. but of an Ile in Tigris, ariuer of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning heere, we have a teltimonie from the learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigrie was 20 ariuer of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath beene subject to the same change, that all other kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was after the floud called Shinar, and then of the tower of Babel, Babylomia; and the North part of Eden is that Tract of Melopotamia, Allyria, and Armenia, which embraceth both the banks of Tigris, betweene Mount Taurus, and Seleucia. And of this Region of Eden that auncient AETHICVS maketh mention, (not that latter AETHICUS disciple of CALLINICUS, otherwise by PLVTARCH and ATHENAEVS called ISTRI, who lived in Agypt in the raigne of PHILADEL- 30 P H V S, but an other of a farre higher and remote time) the fame being made Latine out of Greeke by S. HIEROME. And though by corruption of the ancient coppie it be written in AETHICVS Adonu, for Edenis, yet Adonis being a river of Phanic/a, cannot be understood to be the region named by AETHICVS. For AETHIc v s makes it a Countrie, and not a river, and iovneth it with Melopotamia and Ethiopia, calling the land of CHVS Athiopia, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laftly, the riner which watereth the Regions (layth AETHICVS) falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: which riner he calleth Armodius, for Tigris; Tigris being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of Armenia both Tigris and Euphrates have their originall; for out of Eden came a river, or rivers, to water the gar- 49 den, both which rivers (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates come out of Armenia, and both of them trauerse Mesopotamia, Regions first of all knowne by the name of Eden for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that Eden contained also fome part of Armenia, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places is not vnworthie the name of Eden. For in some part thereof (fayth STRABO) the leaves are alwayes greene, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also STEPHANVS de vrbibus mentioneth the Cittie of Adana vpon Euphrates: and the name of Eden was in vie in Amos time, though he speake not of Eden in the East, but of Eden in Calesyria. But to the end I may not burden the readers patience with too long a difcourfe, it may suffice to know, that Euphrates and Tigris (once ioyned together, and 50 afterward feparate) are two of those foure heads, into which these rivers which are fayd to water the garden of Paradift, were divided: whose courses being knowne. Eden, (out of which they are fayd to come) cannot be vinknowne. Now that Hidde-keland Perath were Tigris and Euphrates it is agreed by all: for the Seuentie and all

others convert Peralb by Euphrates, & Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponent: and all mon vandrstand Hiddekel by Tigrus (sayth Naraals:) And because that which I have style of the lie of Eden, shall not be subject to the censure of tell-sinentino, I have heere-vinder set down the words out of the two general episses of the Neithrians, as Massius (ad verbum) hath converted them into Latine. Theocasion of those letters and supplications to the Pope were, that the Neithrian Christians which inhabit McGoptamius, Africa, Persia, and Bulylouia, and have to thus day (at least in Queene Maries time they had) sifteene Churches in one Cittic, called Seleute Arthoram, or Mossel-upon the river of Tigris, having no sufficient authorities to choose themselves.

10 a Patriareh (which cannot be done without fower or three Metropolitan Bilhops at leath) fent to the Bilhop of Rome in the yeare of Chrift 1572 (as aforefaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto fisch an election as themfelues had made; hauning three hundred yeare before that ypon the like defect, fent one Marans thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they make knowne to the Bilhop of Rome the flate of the Christian Church in those parts: for ypon the death of their Patriarich (who of a couctous defire to enrich himself had forborne to institute Metropolitane Bilhops, when the places fell voidy they all affembled themselues together to confult of the Church-gouernment. And became all the Patriarehs for 100 years had been of one house and familie to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remains

20 ned one Bishop of the same stock and kindred, who aspired to the same dignitic, which his Predecessours had held, the rest of the Professours refused to allow him. Vpon which occasion, and so the choice of a Gouernour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the generall epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the sayd epistle. From non non exceptanimus neque proclamatimus ipsum, sea shotic conventious exomnibus locis of reinstables, of ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagia que sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosel (hoc essentialloss, vicinia Ninuas; ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Insila que est in medio Tierus, staminia Ninuas; ex Babylonia, ex Charrha, ex Arbella, ex Insila que est in medio Tierus, staminia chae, ex Tausis Perse, ex Nisila, ser wichia in sun we adioniblem except of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the

30 East, and out of all the cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attin') neighbouring \( \) inities, and out of Babylon, Carrba, Arbella, and out of the lland which byth in the middle of Tigers, a rhear of Edwa, or tather, and the Ite of Edwardship byth in the river Tigers. 
And in a second epithe at the same time sent, they we these words: Neque specifions a pud nos Metropolites, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soft pauci Episcopie, Episcopie Arbela, Episcopie Salmassis, Episcopie Salmassis, Episcopie Salmassis, etc. 

Meither are there remaining among vs. any Matropolitum inter nos &c. (which is) 
Neither are there remaining among vs. any Matropolitum Bispops towhome it belongs to 
ordaine a Patrierch, but onely a sew Bispops, as, the Bispop of Arbela, the Bispop of Salmaspecial and the Bispop of Matrobegan; but so we girmbela specially in the Iland Edwar, which 
40 is in Tigris, and aprecede between our seleus &c.

Now this lland of Eden Mafais describeth with other places, which being well conceived, the Xestorian episities, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (shyth he) the better undershood. And after he hath distinguished the flower fors of Christians in those parts of the world, and in the South part of Africa, which he calleth Nestorians, taobites, Maropite, and Cophis, he gooth on in these words. Move, auditaillius morts, concurrify airbant sumulturatio in illan quam mode dist Tigris triffulars, que duodecim circiter passamm millibus supra slocal posits, decem ser o millia pissum situation in the sum of the state of the Partiards, as those that the benimbus habitats: which is, Now bearing of the death of the Partiard, as those that came to Rome

50 reported) they ran tumultuoully together into that Ilandof Tigris or Eden before spoken Of, which Iland is shuated about 22 miles aboue Mosels, containing very neare ten miles in compasse, and cuery where innironed with swall, sinhibited by a few ather menthan Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches, among the rest he addeth the sile of Eden by the name of Gesetts, Insula Tigris; sius Cesterts. 20

Furthermore, describing the Citic of Hosan-cepha, or Fortis Petra, he placeth it supra pradictam Tirris Insulam rupi aspera impositam, about the foresaid Iland of Tigris, being leated on a fleepe rock. Of this Iland of Geferta Andrew Theuet maketh mention in his tenth booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: Geferta ou Gestre est an milieu de la riuiere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie. Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the soile the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we fee that the ancient name of Eden liueth, and of that Eden, which lyeth Eastward from Arabia Petrea, and the Defart where Moles wrote, and that Eden which bordereth Charran according to Ezechiel, and that Eden which is scated according to the affertion of the faid Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of Re- 10 Gob, Cannels, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tyrians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Asyria and Babylonia, where the Edenites in Thelassar were garrisond to relist the Assprians, whose displantation Senacherib vaunted of (as aboue written) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tigris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the knowner iners of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradife.

#### ð. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which feemeth to make the foure rivers to rife from one streame.



Vt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of Eden, and not Rivers, in the Plurall, which scruple Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation (fayth he) hath these words: Et fluuius egrediebatur deloco volup-tatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dinidebatur in quatuor capita:

Que verbamelius consentient cum rei narratione, & eius dem explicatione, si ita reddantur, Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) flauis procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium of inde dividebatur of erat in quatuor capita : which is And a River went 20 out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads; which words (fayth Beroaldus) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated : And a river was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard, and from thence it was diutded, and they became foure heads. The Tigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine. for it converts it thus: Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicus. And a River went out of pleasure in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word locus, or place. Et flusius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis: And a River went out of the place of pleasure, and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence was divided, hath reference to the 40 Countrie of Eden, and not to the garden it felfe.

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And for the word (river) for rivers, it is vivall among the Hebrewes; for it is written. Let the earth bud forth the bud of the hearbe, that feedeth feede, the fruitfull tree, &c. Heere the Hebrew vieth the Singular for the Plurall, hearbe and tree for hearbs and trees; and againe, we cat of the fruit of the tree, in stead of (trees:) And thirdly, The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God. In medio lignt Paradisi. In the middle of the tree of the garden, for (trees.) And of this opinion is David Kimbi, and Vatablus, who vpon this place of Genelis fay, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as illud, for vnumquodq, illorum, and he giveth an instance in this question it selfe, as A river (for rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answere out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That Moles speaketh but of one river, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I denie not, but with as good (and perhaps betzer) reason we may expound the fower heads, to be sower notable passages into famous Countries. And fo we may take the word (riner) verse the tenth for one riner (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to have beene, divides it felfe, and ere long yeeldeth fower notable passages into seuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted. that following the river downeward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Allyria. were vo Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the River of Eden. to doth not fay it compaffeth or walheth the whole Region of Affria, (as it had yied this phrase of Pison and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Assertia. The first branch Pilon, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) Balilius, or flumen regium, which runnerh into Tigris vnder Apamia, whence ariseth the name of Pasitigris, (as it were) Piso-tigris. This leadeth to the land of Hauila or Susiana. The second branch Gehon, is that which in Historians is Nabarfares, or Narragas, for Nabar-ragas: both which names signifie flumen derivatum (a river derived) also Acracanus, quasi Ranosus, by reason of the froggie fennes which it maketh; this Gehon leadeth to the first seate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldaa and Arabia, and it is loft at length in the Lakes of Chaldea. The third branch, Hiddekel, may be expounded the ypper streame of Pi-

20 fon, or Basilius, which runneth into Hiddekel properly so called (that is, into Tigris) aboue Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage vp Tigris into Assyria: where, because at length it is called Hiddekel, or Tigris, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath or Euphrates, so called per excellentiam, being the Bodie of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Otris. But, be it ariuer, or rivers, that come out of Eden, feeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradile was not farre from these Rivers: for that Perath in Moles is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (faith Mofes) Eastwards towards Affur, as we finde, that Tieris is the River of 20 Allyria proprie dicta, whose chiefe Cittie was Niniue, as in Genelis the tenth it is written: That out of that land (to wit) Babylonia, Nimrod went into Affar, and builded

Niniue, which was the chiefe Cittie of Affyria. And as for the kinde of speech here yied in the Text, speaking of sourcheads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first streame. Caput aque (faith V LPIANVS) illudeft. unde aqua nascitur: si ex fonte nascatur fons: fiex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a fountaine, then is the fountaine taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a maine river any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first 40 bound it felfe with new bankes, there is that part of the river, where the branch for-

#### ð. XII.

faketh the maine streame, called the head of the river.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.



T may also be demanded, whether this region of Eden, by vs described, be of fuch fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the feate of Paradife was: which if it bedenied, then must we amo connect, since part of the earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleafure, that it had part of the earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleafure, that it had which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no before the curse : neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnesse to any

part of the earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had

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before the floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no fuch flourishing Countrie, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde Hand, Chailer, written of it: First in Herodotus, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the yery place it felfe, for the Ifle of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Ninine, and To from Mofal. Ex Euphrate exicus in Tigrim, alterum flumen, justa and Vrbs Ninus fita erat, Hacvegio omnium quas nos vi limus, optima est, eye, Where Euphrates runneth Out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is feated, This Region, of all that we have feene, is most excellent; and he addeth afterward. Cereris autem fructu procreanelo adeò ferax est, vt nunquàm non serè ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold : The leanes of Wheate and Barley being 10 almost foure fingers broade: As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are eurn'n length like anto trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to speake hereof well knowing, that those thinges which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will sceme very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrie of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Countrie Palme-trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both meats, and wine, and honnie, ordering them as the Fig-trees. Thus farre Herodotus.

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, Strabo and Niger adde a fourth excellencie, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; Exquibus panem, or mel or vinum, & acetum conficiunt, Of which thefe people make bread, wine, honnie, and vineger. But 20 Antonius the Exemite findeth a fift commoditie, not inferiour to any of those foure, which is, that from this felfe-fame Tree there is drawne a kind of fine flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their flips; and that this is true Athanafius in the life of Antonius the Eremite confesseth, laying : That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those trees, which the East Indies fo highly efterme and fo much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any trees of the field. Sunt etiam (faith STRABO) passim per omnem regionem Palma fua spontenascentes, There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, grow- 30 ing of their owne accord. Of this place Quintus Curtius maketh this report. Euntibus à parte læna Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens two where & pingui solo, wt à pasturepelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat, (that is) Is you transale on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentic of fiveetodours) there lyeth a champaine Countrie placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates and fo fruitfull and fat a foile, that they are faid to drive their cattell from the pasture, least they should perish by fatietie. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii secant, The Babylonians cut their cornetwice a year (faith Niger.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, then in the Northern parts: fo we may judge the excellencie of this by that report which Strabo maketh of the South part of Armenia, which is the North border 40 of Eden, or a part thereof; his wordes be these in the Latine, Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, items, semper virentibus, This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees alwaies greene : which witneffeth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnesneighbourhood, the life and stirrer vp of nature in a perpetual lactinitie. In briefe so great is the sertilitie of the ground, that the people are confirmined twice to mow downe their cornefields, and a third time to cate them vp with sheep: which husbandrie the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first fortie yeares, could not make our kinde of Wheate beare feede, but it grew vp as high as the trees, and was fruitleffe. Befides, those fields are altogether without weedes (faith Plinie) who addeth this fingulari- 50 tic to that foile, That the fecond yeare the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeeldeth them a haruest of Corne without any further labour; his wordes are these: Vbertatis tanta funt, vt sequenti anno sponterestibilis flat seges.

ð. XIII.

d. XIII.

Of the River Pilon, and the land of Havilah.

Fter the discourrie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to proue that Pison and Gebon are branches of Tigris, and Euphrates. For that the knowledge and certainety of these two rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it

felfe (Tieris and Euphrates being knowne) findeth them out : for Eu-10 phrates or Tigris, or both be that river or rivers of Eden, which water Paradife, which riuer or riuers Moses witnessethafterward; diuided into soure heads, whereof the one is called Pifon, the other Gehon, &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, then when we find both these (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Allyria and Mesopotamia, to feeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two rivers as farre distant, as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it fo plaine, that these rivers were divided into source branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some apparance of probabilitie refembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singu-20 lar) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds to finde some partakers or sectatours, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weake babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this miltaking (and first for the river of Pifon) feemeth to have growne out of the not distinguishing of that Region in India, called Hauilah, from Hauilah, which adioyneth to Babylonia, afterward knowne by the name of Susiana. For Hauilah vpon Tigris tooke name from Hauilah the sonne of Culh; and Hauilah in India from Hauilab the sonne of Lottan, the one remembred by Moses in the description of Paradise, Gen. 10.7.

the other where Mofe's fetteth downe the generations of Noah and his sonnes after 30 the floud. For the sonnes of Cush were Seba, Hauilah, Sabtah, and Raamah; and the fonnes of IoEtan were Ophir, and Hauilah, &c. of which later (to wit) of Ophir and Hauilah the fonnes of lottan, that iland of Ophir, (whence Salomon had gold) and Hauilah adioyning had their names. Now because Ganges is a great and a famous river of the East India, and Hauilah a Countrey of the same, and is situated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pifon, which river is faid by Mofes to water 2.11 the land of Hauilah. Or perhaps it was supposed that those source rivers, named by Moses, must of necessitie befoure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that Ganges was the next great and famous river after Tigris and Euphrates, they chole out this river to make one of the foure. And yet certainely there is an other river.

40 whome in these respects they should rather have chosen then Ganges; for the river Indus on this fide India, for beautie, for nearneffe, and for abilitie, giveth no way place to Ganges; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceine, that Ganges can be one of the foure heads: feeing Indus commeth betweene it and Tigris; and betweene Tigris and Indus is all that large Empire of Persia, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther toward the East, and beyond Indust, are all those ample Dominions of India intra Gangem, which lie betweene those two proud rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the Kingdome of Mogor. So as if Indus bee not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from Tigris by all the breadth of Persia, then how much lesse Ganges, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse then

50 fortic degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely whosoeuer readeth the Storie of Alexander shall finde, that there is no river in Asia, that can exceede Indus. For Hydaspis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of indus, found it fo large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered

his whole Fleete, which was readie to be swallowed up therein: Hydaspis (as aforefaid being but one of many branches of Indus, comparable to it, and as great as it. having besides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Snastus, Acesines, Adris, (otherwise Hirotis) History, and Zaradrus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are swallowed vo with all their children and companions, which being all incorporate and made one ffreame, it croffeth athwart Alia, and then at Cambaia visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen.2.15.

But because Pifon, which compasseth Hauilah, as also Gehon, which watereth Culb. must formewhere be joyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to procced out of the same Countrie of Eden, out of which the other two heads doe proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be Ganges, or Nilus: for 10 Wilus rifeth in the vetermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea; and the River Ganges rifeth out of the mountaine Imaus, or (as others will haue it) Caucalus, which divides the Northerne Seythia from India, and runneth from North to South into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and Hiddekel (that is. Euphrates and Tigris) the one of them is begotten in Armenia, neere Georgiana or Iberia, the other not farre off in the fame Armenia, by the Gordinan mountaines, so as Ganges who onely transileth in her owne India, and N ilus through Athiopia and Agypt, neuer faw the land of Eden, or ioyned themselves in one Channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into sower heads or branches, according to 20

Therefore the River Pifon, which enricheth Hauilah, is the same which by iovning it felfe with Tigris, was therefore called Pifi-tigris, or Pifo-tigris, of Pifon and Tigris, which river watereth that Havilah, which Havilah the fonne of Cvs H gauc name vnto, and not Hauilah of India, so called of HAVILAH the sonne of I octan, who inhabited with his brother OPHIR in the East. And this Hauilah of the Cuthites hath also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a tree, of the bigneffe of an Oline, whereof Arabia hath great plentie, which yeeldeth a certaine gumme, fivect to finell to, but bitter in tafte, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. Beroaldus affirmeth, that Bdela in Hebrew signi- 20 fieth Pearle: fo doth Eugubinus; and Hierome calls it Oleaster: be it what it will, a tree bearing gumme, or pearle: Hauilah, or Sufiana hath plentie of both. Now this Countrie of Susiana or Hauilah stretcheth it selfe toward the North, as farre as the Altars of Hercules, and from thence embraceth all that Tract of land Southward, as farre as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the Shebans (which traded with the Cittie of Tyre, according to Ezechiel) their great plentie of gold, which Straboalfo witneffeth, as was shewed before.

The Greekes had a conceipt, that Pifon was Danubius: the Rabbines take it for Nilus. Aben-ezra (fayth Hopkins) out of Rabbi Saadia translateth Pilon into Nilus: But Nilus findeth the fame impossibilitie that Ganges doth: and Danubius hath the 40 Sea of Hellespont and all Asia the leffe, betweene it and Tigris. Now Pison which runnoth through Hauilah or Susiana, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name: for where it and Tigris embrace each other under the Cittie of Apamia, there doe they agree of a joynet and compounded name, and are called Pifo-tigris. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remayning any resembling sound of the first name; for Babylon it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these rivers, is by some writers knowne by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus, by Theuse, cosmis. Castaldus, of Baldach: by Barius, of Bagdad; and of Boughedor, by Andrew Theuet; and yet all those that hauc lately seene it, call it Bagdet. To this river of Pifon, Ptolomie indeed with many others give the name of Bafilius, or Regius, and Gehon they terme 50 Mahar-fares and Marsias, and Baarsares. So is Euphrates, neere the Spring and foun-Plintib. 5.c.24. taine, by Strabo and Plinie called Pixirates: by Junius, Puckperath, out of the Hebrew, (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of Euphrates: where it breaketh through the mountaine Taurus, it takes the name of Omyra. Plutareb calls it Medus and ZaranCHAP. 2. S.12. of the Hiltorie of the World.

da: the Hebrewes Parath, (fayth Ar. Montanus : ) Pagninus, Perath : Iosephus, Phorah ; Eulebius, Zozimus: Ammianus, Chalymicus: Gistilanus and Colinutius terme it Cobar: which Ezechiel calleth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Euphrates. The Affrians know it by the name of Armalchar or Nahor Malcha: but now commonly it is cal-

The same confusion of names bath Tigris, as, Diglito, and Diglath, Seilax, and Sollax: of the Hebrewes it was called Hiddikel: now of the inhabitants Tegil.

But Mercer vpon Genesis conceineth rightly of these rivers: for Euphrates and . Tieris (fayth he) streame into fower branches, two of which keepe their ancient 10 names, and the other two are called Pifon and Gehon. The reason, why these two riuers joyned in one (below Apamia) loofe their names, and are called Pifi-tioris, and the memorie of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, linketh into the Lakes of Chaldaa, not farre from Vr, the Cittie of Abraham, and fall not intirely into the Persian Sea, as Tigris accompanied with Pilon doth.

This errour that Pifon was Gunges, was first broched by Infephus, (whose fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important confequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For 20 Epiphanius, Augustine, and Hierome, take this for currant; whereof it followed that as Pifon was transported into the East India, to find out Hauilah : so was Gehon drawne into Africa, to compaffe Athiopia. But if Hauilah, whereof Moles speaketh in the description of Paradise, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to Babylon on the one side. and Culb (which is fallly interpreted Athiopia) faltened to it on the other fide, wee shall not neede then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other yes) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of Shinar, where Culb the fonne of Ham first fate downe with his fonnes, Sheba, Hauilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrodge and of Hauilah, the fonnes of Cufh, did that Region take name, which Pilon 30 compaffeth; and the land (called Culh) which Gehon watereth, tooke name of Culh himselfe. For as the sonnes of Ioctan, Ophir, and Hauilah, seated themselves as neare together as they could in India, fo did the fonnes of Culh and Shinar or Babylonia. where Nimrod built Babel: for Hauilah or Chauilah was first Chusea of Cush; then Chafa, Sufa, and Sufiana,

From this Hauilah unto the Defarts of Sur, did the Ifraelites and Amalechites pofsessed the interiacent Countries: for Saul smote the Amalechites from Hauilah to 1, Sama 1, 76 Sur: which Sur the Chaldean Paraphrast converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the redde Sea; but this was not meant from Sur vpon the redde Sea, to Hauilah in the East India, for Saul was no fuch trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore Hauilah must 40 be found nearer home, where the fonnes of Ifmael inhabited, and which Countrie Saul wasted : for Amalek and the Amalechites posses that necke of Countrie, between the Persian Sea, and the redde Sea; Hauilah being the extreme of the one towards the East, and Sur of the other, towards Egypt and the West, leaving that great body of Arabin faclix towards the South; and they spreade themselves with the Madianites and Edumeans, from the East part, or backe-fide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of Euphrates, comprising the best parts of Arabia Petraa, and Deferta.



Ow, as Hauilah in the East India drew Pifon so farre out of his way this ther, fo I fay did Cull (being by the Seventie translated Athiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Culb being taken for Ethiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latins followed, Gehon confequently was effected for Wilus. But Athiopians are as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper 10

See more of 6.7. 6.10.

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Countrie is called Thebaides, lying to the Southward of all Egypt. And although there be many other regions of Athiopians, and far South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Agyptian Stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Agypt : all which Athiopians are very neare, or elfe directly under the Aquino tial line, which is very farre from that land inhabited by the Chustes; who are neither blacke of colour, nor in any fortheighbouring Torrida Zona. But this Translation of the Septuagint. Pererius doth qualific in this manner. There are (faith he) two Athiopia's, the East, and the West : and this divilion he findeth in Strabe, out of Homer. Now because there is no colour to make Chulh Athiopiain Africa , Pererius will make Chulh and the land of the Chu- 20 fites (which is Arabia Petraa, and a part of Arabia the happie, with the Region of Madian) to be the East Ethiopia.

Now if it be oraunted, that Culb and the land of the Chulites, be that Tract from Sur to Hauilah, according to the Scriptures; Habitauit Is MAEL ab Hauilah v (que Sur, que respicit Agyptum intracuntibus Assyrios, Ism NEL dwelt from Hauilah unto Sur, that is towards Agypt, as thou goest toward Affyria; The same sufficeth to proue that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a river which watereth Cufb, and not Athiopia. But this place of Scripture Habitanit I SMAEL, &c. hath this fence. Ifmael dwelt from Hanilah. which is the way of Alliria, or the Countrie bordering Alliria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Agypt, which is as much to fay, as, The iffues of Ifmael (whereof there 20 were twelne Princes) whom God had promifed to make a great people, inhabited all those regions between the border of Agypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when Zearah the Chufite, which others call Tharantha, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against Is King of Juda. Which Armie came not out of Athiopia beyond £gypt; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of £gypt, betweene Pale-

flina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chujites, Amalechites, Madianites, Ifmaelites, and Arabians, For it is written, that after Afa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke fome of the Citties of King 40 Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Cittie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it : And ABRA-HAM departed thence toward the South Countrie, and dwelt betweene Cadelh and Sur, and Colourned in Gerar; Now Sur is that part, upon which Mofes and the Ifraelites first fet their feete after they passed the redde Sea, where the Amalechites in Rephidim set on

them, fuppoling that they had beene weary, and vnable to relift. Againe, in the Storie of iface it is written. Wherefore Is A A C went to Abimilech, and the Philistims unto Gen.26.1. Gerar: and I am fure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Athiopians. And laftly, Moles himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then the border of the Canzanites was from Sydon, as thou commest to Gerar: for Sydon was the Frontier of Cansan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeede, howfoeuer Pererius doth with an honeft excuse salue his Translation of

Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint. and Infephus did al-

together milvnderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Athiopia,

teth Homer for an Author, of these two Ethiopia's. But the East Ethiopia is that which compaffeth Nelse to the South of Leypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Aby Sines, under Prefter John, And the West Athiopis is that, which joyneth it felfe with the river Niger, which we call Senega and Gambria : for thereabouts are these Ethiopians, called Perorli, Daratites, with divers other names, which Plinie numbreth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Defarts Plin Isc. 8. thereof, faith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Iuba; which Regions indeede (I

they are both found elsewhere. For Plinie in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, ci-

meane that of Niger, and that of Prefler Iohn, and the Trogladytes) lie due East and West. But as for Culb, and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Ethiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Iofephus was

exceeding groffe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of Moles when he ferued Pharas, in the warres against the Athiopians : for in that (to make Chu, Athiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond ail Egypt, and fetteth it in Athiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the worlds plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and laieth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke copie, than otherwife. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet HIEREMIE. And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Agypt, to drinke the water c.2.v.18.

10 of Nilus ? Quid tibi vis in via Agypti, vt bibas aquam Gchon? to this faith Pererius. profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon , sed Sicher , que significat nigrum & turbidum ; Truly (faith PERERIVS) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but

Sicher, which signifieth black and troubleth water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Athiopia. Moles maried the daughter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, Frod 2. 25. whom both the Greeke and Latin call a Madianite, and not Athopissan, as ( with 10- 3.1. fephus ) the Geneua converts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginal note. Num. 12.1. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Countrie of Madian, which is that part of Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of 20 Exodus, that Moses fled from PHARAO into the land of Madian, and fate downe by a V.15:

Wellere, and againe, in the third of Exedus, When Mos Eskept the sheepe of IETHRO VI. his father in law, Prieft of Madian Coc. Indeed, these four nations are enery where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the If meelites, the Amalekites, and the Chafites, which were all in one generall word, arabians, and in the Scriptures fometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in Gen. 27. 2.25.27. 28. that Joseph was fold to the Ismaelites; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Madianites fold Infeph to Putiphar , Pharay's fleward. The Geneuians, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) fay, that Moles wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites

and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and thefe were all Arabians, and fo in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Ioseph : for their Cammells were loaden with spicerie, and Balme, & Myrrhe, which are the trades of Gm. 37.21. Arabia falix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the world is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they received from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforefaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is faid : That Putiphar v.t. bought Infeph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of Judges.

That when Ifrael had fowen, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and w. 50 they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Defart; To as where before in the buying of ioleph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites, are made one Nation. For in the profecution of the storie of Gedeon, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending Care both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 2 4. these Nations are all called Ismaelites.

Gev. 16.12.

Exed.3.

and neither Madianites nor Amalekttes. As when Gedeon defired, that cuery man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they bad taken, after the victoric against Zebah and Zalmanna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700 shickles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. Manus eius contra omnes, comanus omnium contra eum : His hand (faith Go D of I s M A E L) hall be avainst all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the Mahametan Arabians, though fome writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenita. And thefe Ifmaelites, which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan (faith Infephus) vse poison vpon their arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east 10 are the Madanites, and Chalites; and beyond them, towards the Defarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Athiopia for Chus, is, among other places, made most chronices, in the fecond of Chronicles, in these words: So the Lord streed up against I E H OR AM, the first of the Philiftines, and the Arabians, which confine the Athropians, fo Hierome reads it : the Geneua translation hath it, which were besides the Ethiopians. Now, how farre it is off betweene the Philiftines, and the Negro's, or the Athiopians, curry man that looketh in a Map, may judge. For the Philistines and Arabrans, doe mixe and joyne with the land of the Chulites, and are distant from £thiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next 20 Neighbours; but all Agypt, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should have been translated in these Words: So the Lord flir ed up against I EHORAM, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chufites, who indeed are their next neigh-\* Steach, Eu-bours.\* Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in sacrisliteris sit Arabia propinqua; There gub.in Gen. c.z. remaineth no doubt ((aith STEVCHIVS) but Ethiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for

that Countrie, which toyneth to Arabia.

Now may we thinke is it probable, or possible, that Mofes could be ignorant of Nilm? No heknew it, no living man fo wel, and therfore would never have named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely if Moles had meant Nilus, when he named 20 Gelion he would have called the River (into which he was cast vpon reeds, and preferned by God, working compaffion in the Daughter of Pharao) a River of Agypt, wherein hee was borne and bred, and wrought fo many miracles. Befides the river of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of Gehan. And if Moles had told the Ifraelites, that Nilus had beene a Riner of Paradife, they might justly have thought that he had derided them; for they had lived there all daies of their lines, and found no fuch Paradile at all, nor any memorie, or speech thereof; Plints.c.t. except we shall believe the Paradife of Helperides, where (faith Plinie) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Olives in flead of golden apples. But Nilus is twice called Sicher, once in Elay, and once in the Prophet Hieremie; and yet in those places 40 it is not faid to be a river of £thiopia, but of £gypt. For in a word, the Ifraelites had neuer any comunion or affaires with the Ethiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Legrer, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chastles, Philistines, Ifmaelites, Amalekites, and Multimites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or Reguli, were diftinguilhed in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all Arabians. On the North fide of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Calefyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Ciries upon the Sca-coast (as) Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza and many 50 others : yea, Hierofalem it felfe was with-held from Ifrael (from the daies of Mofes cuen viito the time of Dauid) by the Iebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stonie, which the Chastes inhabi-

ted in the times of the Kings of Ifraell: and in this Defart it was that Matt. Beroaldus loft himfelfe in feeking out Paradife: for he was driven (to my vnderstanding) to create two rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pilon; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Hauilah, for I finde none fuch in rerumnatura, ashe hath described : by which Rivers hee also includeth within Paradile, even arabia the

And as he well proued that Pifon was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus: fo where to finde them else-where it feemeth he knew not. Certainely this river of Geben, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose springs he findeth farre 10 East in Arabia, is but imaginarie: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, riling betweene it and the red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more then twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chaster, as they were planted when the flate of Ifraell flood, and when it flourished, being then their neere neighbours, and neuer looked back to the first seates and plantation of CHVS. For after the floud, CHVS and his children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and necre which himselfe with his somes first inhabited. HAVILAR tooke the riner-fide of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called HAVILAH, (now Susiana:) Raamah and Sheba farther downe the

20 riner, in the entrance of Arabia falix. NIMROD feated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. CHVs himselfe and his brother MIZRAIM first kept upon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldea, and in proceffe of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselues more Westerly towards the red or Arabian Sea: from whence MIZRALM past ouer into Agypt, in which Tract the Chastes remayned for many yeares after. Now because there could be no such river found in Arabia the stonics which they might entitle Gehon, they translated Chus Aethiopia, and Gehon, Nilus. And if we doe examine this miltaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let vs suppose, that BRVTE, or whosocuerelse that first peopled this

30 Iland, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and calling the Iland after his name BRITANNIA, it might be fayd that Thames or Tems was a river, that watered Britannia: and when afterwards in proceffe of time, the fame BRVTE had also discover red and conquered Scotland, which he also entituled by the same name of Britannia, after-ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the river of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that EVROPA, the daughter of the King of Tyre in Phanicia, gaue the name to Europe, according to Herodotus, and that Hard. L. S. the first discouerers thereofarrined in the mouth of some riner in Crete, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discouered, shall we in like fort resolue, that France, Spaine, and Halie, ere are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found

40 in them, or any of them? In like manner was it fayd by Mofes in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole land of Chus; but not the whole land which the Chaftes should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in afterages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Maisters in time, (as the Saracens which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For (though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in NIMEOD the sonne of CHVs, consisted at the first but of fower Citties, (to wit) Babel, Erech, Acad, and Chalne, yet we finde, that his Succeffours within a few yeares after commaunded all the whole world in effect; and the fame of Babel confirmed the memoric of Chusea. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that land take the name of Balislonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire founded by NIME OD a vonger some, ob-50 scured the name and nation of his father Cvs H in those parts, whill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chastles retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and

Territoric by themselues afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke.

that C is visor any of his could in haft creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130 yeares after the shood had (as it were) fortified with thickers, and permitted encer'p bulh and briar, recde and tree to ioyne themselizes (as its were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with studgement and reason into the worlds plantation, we shall finde, that encery familie feated themselizes as never together as possible they could; and though necessific enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselizes, and creepe out of Shinar or Badyleania, yet did they it with this adulie, as that they might at a litmes refort, and succour one another by river, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So N 182-80 do, who out of wit and strength ssinged dominion ouer the rest, fact downe in 10 the very confluence of all those times, which watered Paradse; for this trivas to which the greatest troupes of N 0 at schildren repaired; and from the same place whence Mankinde had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of men A 0 at 8, bean from thence his dispersion.

Now as N i me od the yongels, yet firongels, made his choice of Babel (as afore-faid) which both Tiepis and Emphrates cleanted and enriched; fo did Havillan place himfelte yon Pife-tiepis. R Aman it and his fonne S it is a Karterd downe you the fame river, on the Sen-coast of Larbás: C iv s himfelte you Gebon, the faired thranch of Emphrates. And when they began to fire and themfelves fruitter off, 20 yet they alwaies faitened themfelves to the rivers lides: for Ninime, Charran, Refeph, Canneb, 17 in Chaldes, and the other first-peopled Cairse were all founded you the familiant of the contractions of the chart of the contraction of

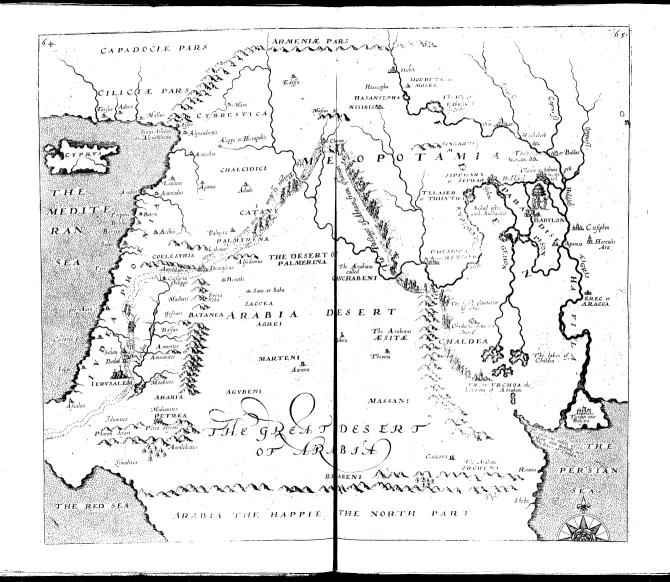
stance to the other, as is already often remembred.

## \( \lambda \times V. \) A conclusion by way of repetition of fomethings spoken of before.

Vt now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a
part of this our earth and habitable world, stated in the lower part of
the Region of Eden, afterward called Caranssulaus run, or Melsopatamin, which taketh into it allo a portion of Sbinur and Armenia; this

Region flanding in the mole seccellent temperorial others, (to win') 37 degrees from the Acquimettiall, and 57 from the North pole: in which Climate the molt excellent wines, fruites, oyle, graine of all forts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better prough the excellencie of this fayd foile and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. 45 For wherein foeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can molt vannt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this true alone giueth vitto man whatfocuter his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be fayd, that these trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Countries are also blefted with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet lay downeby those pleasures and benefits the tearchill and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of we nimous beatls and worms, with other inconneniences, and then there will be found no comparison between the one and the other.

What other excellencies this garden of Pandaffe had, before God, (for mansin- 50 gratitude and crueltie, curfed the earth) we cannot indge; but I may fafely thinke, that by how much Amexeceded all liming men in prefettion, by being the immediate workemanthip of God, by 6 much did that chofen and particular garden exceeded all parts of the Vniuerfall world, in which God had planted (that is) made to



grow the trees, of Life, of Knowledge; Plants only proper, and becomming the Paradife, and Garden of fo great a Lord.

The fumme of all this is, That whereas the eyes of meninthis Scripture haue beene dimme-fighted (fome of them finding Paradife beyond our knowne world: been annucing the order of their linding Paraage beyond our knowne world: fome, about the middle Region of the aire: fome; cleuated neare the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be fufficiently fatisfied, that these were but like Cattles in the aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (faith (Afales)) Eastward, in respect of Indea, that God planted this garden, which Eden we finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to thisday. A River went out of Eden to water this garden, and from thence divided it selfe into foure branches; and we finde that both Tigris and Euphrates swimming through Eden doe joyne in one, and afterward taking waves apart doe water Chus and Hauilah, according to Mofes: the true feates of Chus and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which Wimrod built Babel. That Pifon was Ganges, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrarie: for that which was never ioyned cannot be divided. Ganges, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden; That Gehon was Wilus, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie, and this River is a greater stranger to Tigris and Euphrates, then Ganges 20 is: for although there are betweene Tigris and Ganges aboue four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world; but Nilus is begotten in the mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sca : and Euphrates distilleth out of the mountaines of Armenia. and falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North: the other rifeth in the North, and runneth South, three score and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following I have added a Chorographicall description of this terrestrial Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better

conceine the preceding discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labours may but receine an allowance suspended,

vntill fuch time as this description of mine be reproued by a

> \*<sub>\*</sub>\*) (\*<sub>\*</sub>\*) (\*<sub>\*</sub>\*)

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradife.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree : and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made fubieet to death.



O a eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradife, inexilium vita temporalis, into the banishment of temporall life. faith Beda. That these trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious 20 and learned writers; although the wits of men, which are fo volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and fo flipperie, as nothing can fasten them, haue in this also deliuered to the world an imaginarie doctrine. The tree of Life (fay the Hebrewes) hath a plurall

construction, and is to be understood, Lignum vitarum, The tree of lines, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for Adams transgression) had prolonged his owne Bart, [6](4.2-1.1) dayes, but also given a durefull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a bodie compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the vnchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and ungrieued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue beene translated, as Enoch was. And as before the floud, the daies of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and soone after the floud of two hundred yeares and vpwards euen to fine hundred : fo if Adam had not difobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the lines of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceined. Chryfostome, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were 40 of beliefe, that (but for Adams fall and transgression) Adam and his posteritie had been eimmortall. But such is the infinite wisedome of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained mankinde; or elfe, that Millions of foules must have beene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of Chryfostome must be vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should have been translated and

But of what kinde or Species this tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach; in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of Salomon, where Wisedome is compared 50 to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also Christ is called the Tree of Life, and out of the Apocalypsis, I will give to him that overcommeth, to eate of the Tree of life, which is in the Paradife of God. But to this place St. Augustines answere may fuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a

terrestriall Paradife, so there was a celestiall. For although Agar and Sarawere Figures of the old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the maide and wife of Abraham, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the fense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth enery tree faire to fight, and freet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden: which sheweth. that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, Hesiodus, Homer, Ouid, and others steale the invention of the created world:

to fo from the Garden of Paradife, they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of Alcinous, and another of the Helperides : and from the tree of Life, their Nectar and Ambrosia; for Nettar, according to Suidas, signifieth making young, and Ambrosia, immortalitie; and therefore faid to be the meate and drinke of the Gods.

II.

of BECANUS his opinion that the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica.

Ow for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, fome men haue prefumed farther, especially Goropius Becanus, who giveth himselfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euerghesse at, whereat Goropius much maruaileth. But as he had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer liued any

man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he settethit. For Moses Bar-cephas fastened on this coniecture aboue fixe hundred yeares before Becanus was borne: and Bar-cephas himfelfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Authour Philoxenus

30 Maburgensis, and others, whose very wordes Goropius vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For Moles Bar-cephas in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 49.) faith, That the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica, the Indian Fig-tree, of which the greatest plentie (faith Becanus) are found vpon the bankes of Acelines, one of the Rivers which fallethinto Indus, where Alexander built his Fleet of Gallies in, or neare the Kingdome of Parus

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of agreat peaze, or (as Pliniereporteth) plin.l.s.s.s. somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree fe femper ferens, alwaies planting it felfe; that it

spreadeth it selfe so farre abroade, as that a troupe of horsemen may hide themselves 40 vnderit. Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaues no leffe Lib. Leap. 2. then a shield. Aristobulus affirmeth that siftie horsemen may shadow themselves vnder one of these trees. Onesieritus raiseth this number to soure hundred. This tree (faith Theophrastus) exceedethall other in bignesse, which also Plinie and Onesicritus confirme: to the truncke of which these Authours give such a magnitude as I shame to repeate. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not fo rare a Plant, as Becanus conceineth, who because he found it no where elfe, would needes draw the garden of Paradife to the Tree, and fet it by the river Acesines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my selfe have seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from Pariain America. They 50 grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first shot up some twentie or thirtie foote in length, (fome more, fome leffe, according to the foile) they foread a very large toppe, having no bough nor twigge in the truncke or stemme : for from the vtmostend of the head branches there issueth out a gummic iuyce, which hangeth downeward like a cord or finnew, and within a few Moneths reacheth the

ground;

ground; which it no fooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the toppe boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this corde maketh it felfe a Tree exceeding halfily. From the vtmost boughes of these young trees there fall againg the like cordes, which in one years and leffe (in that world of a perpetual) forme) become also trees of the bignesse of the nether part of a launce, and as straight, as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of groue, as no other Tree in the world can doc. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may (indeede) shrowde foure hundred or foure thousand horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner part of Trinidado. 10 The cordes which fall downe ouer the bankes into the Sea, thooting alway downeward to finde roote under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oisters breed. intangled in their beddes, fo as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene frue hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oyfters grew on trees in India. But that they beare any fuch huge leaues, or any fuch delicate fruit I could neuer finde, and yet I haue transiled adozen miles together under them; but to returne to Goropius Becanus. This tree (faith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the fight, as the tree of Knowledge of good and enill

Secondly, this tree having to huge a truncke (as the former Authours report, and 20 Becanus belocueth) it was in this tree that Adam and Eue hidde themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (faith he) could contain them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger then the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the wordes of Moses translated in medialiani, are by all the interpreters understood in the plural number, (that is) in the middest of the trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moses Bar-cephas, word for word) is, that when Adam and Eue found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeede) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because Adam being possest 20 with shame did not runne vp and downe the garden to seeke out leaues to couerhim. but found them in the place it felfe; and the feleaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse, which Plinie anoweth in these wordes; Latitudo foliorum pelt a effigiem Amazonia habet, The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield : which also Theophrast confirmeth; the forme of which Targets Virgil toucheth:

Vre. Enl.1.

Gen.3.7.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis Penthefilea furens.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield Penthefilæa leades into the field.

Here Becamus defireth to be believed, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed discoverie, vsing this confident (or rather cholericke) speech. Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de sieu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosis narratione comparet, vt audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, que cum illa magis quadret, Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these thinges which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to anow, that any other tree can be found, which doth to more properly answere, or agree therewith. But for my selfe, because I neither find this tree, forting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of Philo: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne beleefe, for the matter is of

CHAP.4. S.3.4. of the Historie of the World.

no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God given to Adam, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleafed God to make triall of his obedience: Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pura ac August de ciuit. simpliers Obedientie bonum, Being forbidden, not for any other respect, then thereby to com- Dailis. c.20. mend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.

#### ð. III.

Of BECANUS his not unwittie allegorizing of the Storie of his Ficus Indica.

Vt in this I must doe Becanus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few wordes. As this Tree (faith he) so did Man,

grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as hee had transgreffed and broken the Commandement of his Creatour; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he beganne to bend downeward, and flouped toward the earth, which all the reft of Adams posteritie after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragious-20 neffe of this tree he compareth to the darke and fladowed life of man, through which the Sunne of inflice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the lhadow of death, till it pleased Christ to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among fo many large leaues, may be compared (faith he) to the little vertue, and unperceived knowledge among to large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding fweet, and delicate to the taste and palate, so are the delights and pleasures of the world, most pleasing while they dure. But as all those thinges which are most mellishuous, are soonest changed into choller and bitternesse: fo are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest forrowes and repen-30 tances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding of worldly men, their following the more than the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their follicitude, their outward shewes, and publike often tation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigneffe of the finallest peaze, glorie, to all the world apparent; goodnesse, to all the world invisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, bodie, and boughes of this tree, by fo much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpasse the meanest: so is the little fruit of fuch men, and fuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthieft shrubbe, and humblest bryar, or the poorest and basest man, then such a flou-40 rishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas Adam, after he had disobayed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaves to cover himfelfe withall, this may ferue to put vs in minde of his and our linnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which wee yee fo many vncharitable and cruell practifes in this world.

Q. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the Storie of ADAMS finne.



Ow, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and cuill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the properand what of the Tree it felfe, Moses Bar-ephas an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by Massus) giveth this indgement: That the fruit of this tree had no such vertue or qualitie, as that by the talting thereof, there

was any fuch knowledge created in Adam, as if he had beene ignorant before: but as Iunius also noteth, Arbor scientia boni & mali (idest) experientia boni & maliabeuentu, The Tree of Knowledge of good and enill (that is) the experience of good and enill by the e-uent. For thus much we may conceive, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workemanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection then euer any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant. out of whose seede all men liuing haue growne vp; and hauing received immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant. that the disobaying of Gods commandement was the fearfullest cuill, and the obseruation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health doc (not-10 with (tanding) conceiue, that ficknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the fuffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witnesse: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terrour then he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaffe of his owne guiltie foule, he beheld therein the horrour of Gods judgements, fo as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and minde; that is, deprined of Gods grace and former felicitie; and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had 20 any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect; for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and thinges done. In such fort as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, by cause of the euent (as is aforesaid) so was the Well of contention therefore called Elek, and the Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heardsmen of Isaac and Gerar contended for them; and the heape of stones, called the heape of witnesse, betweene Jacob and Laban, not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the couenant. So Jacob called the house of God Bethel: and Hagar, the Well in the Defart, Vinentis,

Num.20, 12, Gen. 26.20. C.28,19.

> But Adam being both betrayed and maistered by his affections, ambitious of a 30 farther knowledge then he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his iffues doe) into the miferies and forrowes incident, and greatly affecting the fupposed glorie which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward by the gentle winde of pleafing perfuations vnawares; his progreffion being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poylon mankinde in the very roote, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

Gen.3.17.

But what meanes did the Deuill finde out, or what instruments did his owne subtletic present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by ? even the vnquiet tette present ining as incert and aperture works that initiation of the voice of his wife, contrarie 40 to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, forrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counsellour. But because thou hast obayed the voice of thy wife, ere. (faid God himselfe) Curfed is the earth for thy fake, in forrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; euen by the most vgley and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Deuill entredand perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience: even a defire to know what was most visitting her knowledge, an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her Sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to 50 her perswasions ? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like confent, namely an viwilling neffe to grieue her and make her fadde, leaft flie should pine and be ouercome with forrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Salomon the fonne of David Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the

greatest wisedome, did both of them disobay their Creatour, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not fo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in fucceeding ages have beene allured to fo many inconvenient and wicked practifes by the perfyalions of their wives, or other beloued Darlings, who couer ouer and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfait passion of diffimulate forrow and vnquietnesse.

## Снар. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of Adam, and the floud of Noah.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS sinne: and of his going out from God.



HE same pride and ambition which beganne in Angels, and afterward possest Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (enuious of the acceptation of his brothers prayer and facrifice) flew him, making himfelfe the first man-slayer, and his brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which 'vinaturall murther, although it pleafed God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater then he could beare. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sonnes of Adam, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) he destroyed all mankinde, but Noah and his familie: for it is written.

The earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place Moses giveth a rea- Gent waters

fon, for faith he, The earth was filled with crueltie: and anon after God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto Woah, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the 40 earth is filled with crueltic through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or from the earth: Neither was this crueltic meant to haue beene in taking away the liues of men only, but in all forts of iniuftice and oppression. After this murther of A BEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord; and dwelt in the land of No D, Gen. v. 16, towards the East fide of Eden : in which wordes The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world. Totus in calo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, fed Aug. de Cuitat. vtrumg, simul, God (faith St. AVGVSTINE) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, Deilizeig. not by enterchanged times, but all at once; and that this is true David witneffeth. If I Pfal. 129.8. be in heaven (faith DAVID) thou art there, if in hell, thou art there also : but what is

30 meant thereby ? Exift à facie Dei (faith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN went out from Charlott in Gen. the presence of the Lord, (that is) he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his Homil. 2.

of CAINS dwelling in the land of NOD; and of his Cittie Enoch.

Hieren, rad, Tofep.l.z.c.3.

His word Nod or Naid St. Hierome and many others understand to signific wandring, or incertaine habitation : vexation or agitation, faith Junius; but the Seuentic conuert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrie, and so doth tosephus. But it seemeth to me, that Cam was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations.

then any thing elfe, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in re- 10 gard of the murther committed, justly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: And who so euer findeth me (saith Cain) shall slavime. Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein Cam inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwell) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, Mose teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by Moses, that after Cain departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a Cittie, and called it by the name of his first borne, Enoch; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. Cyrillus faith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ 20 and of the Iewes; and that as Cain, after that he had flaine Abel vniuftly, had thenceforth no certain cabiding in the world : fo the Iewes, after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the Tewes had neuer fince any certaine Estate, Commonweale, or Prince of their owne vpon the earth. Now this land of Nod, Innius taketh to be in Arabia Deferta, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Defert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Normales any particular people or Nation. For all these, in what part of the world soener, which in old time liued by pastorage, and fedde (as we call it in Ireland) ypon white meate without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes Nomades, and by the Latines Pastores vagi, as the Northern Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in 30 Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northern Irifb: yea fuch were the inhabitants

of Italie it selfe, till such time as Italies (who gaue them that name) taught them the

husbandrie of tillage vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that

part of Affyria, called by Ptolomie, Calena, which also might be derived of Carena, the

Countrie of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the

first possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is written Gen. 3. Therefore the Lord

God fent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken: and in the

Verse following: Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the garden of Eden he

fet the Cherubins: which sheweth that the entric into Paradife was from the East, by

uour of God.

which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise 40 which was Eastward; according to the Text. Cain also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word Nod or Naid doe fignific profugus, that is, a fugitiue, wee can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of Cain, then till hee built the Cittie of Enoch, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his owne defence, or (as to lephus writeth) to oppreffe others thereby. So as for mine owne opinion I am resolued with the Septuagint that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (vagabond) which Cain vieth of himfelfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (vagabond) is therein understood for such an one astrauaileth infeare of reuengement ; for whofoeuer findeth me (faith CA'IN) fhall flay me; or else (vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fa-

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the Cittie *Henoch*, were the first societie and civil affemblie of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for crueltie, firength, or other actions) lived in the memorie of Avah and his fonnes; fo CHAP.5. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

that after the floud (as there were of all forts of natures, some vertuously, some impioufly disposed, and every active minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in crueltie and oppression tooks on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the leaft. Perchance the place it felfe where Henoch flood before the floud, and whereof the monuments might remaine (as the pillars or the foundation of Joppe) did gaue occasion to the planters of that place to call themselues by the same names: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, and Colchis in Iberia, Serdiana, and Bactria, and of the fame name many mountaines, as those

to which are otherwise called Coraxici. And seeing that it is hard to finde out the truth Quotidie aliquid of these things, which the most aged time hath couered ouer or defaced, wee may be mutator, work (according to the counfaile of Plato) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith fatisfie our orbital fundafelues, if of fo great and almost worne-out antiquitie, if of the eldest peoples names menta inclinatur,

and nations there remaine any print or footesteps to posteritie.

In \* Plinie , P. Mela, Strabo , Valerius Flaccus. Lucan , Stephanus , we finde those this nom-nibus Henochei described, though diuersly written, as in Plinie, sometimes Henochi, in Mela prioribus oriun-Emochi, in Flaccus Heniochi, in Lucan Enochi, all which inhabite vpon the Sea Euxinus, Albimum. but yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to Moses words) East- \* Plin. 1.6.c.9. ward from Eden. For Moles, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so attl. Level. 20 exceeding precife; as fometime he vieth the word East or South without borrow- Strabo.L.11. exceeding precile; as lometime he vietn the word East or South without borrow-ing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or to-Lucant, 3, 3, 7,

wards the East or South. In the place of Genesis the eleventh he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East , they found a Plaine in the v.a. land of Shinar, but in this of Cain he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of Nod towards the East fide of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South, of the East.

But as we may conjecture that these Nations tooke name of Henoch, the Cittie of Cain, or of the Region wherein it flood, when the same was repeopled after the floud: fo it is probable that these Henochij of Colchis, and other parts adjoyning, were 30 not the first of that name, after the sonnes of Noah beganne to fill the world againe: because, had this Henoch the Cittie of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then beene feated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as Plinie findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of Colchis (now Mengrelia) Plin 1.5.c.s. Sanni Heniochi; Ptolomie Zani; beyond which an hundred and fiftie mile Eastward Ptolsab. Afia. 3 he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these againe he discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountaines of Paro-panifus, between them and the great river of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North fide; and these 40 Henochij are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very garden

And although we cannot be affured, that these Henochij tooke name from the memorie of the Cittie of Enoch directly, yet because they inhabited due East from Paradife, and afterwards spred themselves Westward (as all Noahs sonnes did that came into Shinar) the conjecture is farre more probable, then that of Annius the Fryar, who fets Henoch in Phanicia, quite contrarie to Mofes word : Phanicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And befides these severall Nations of the Henochii, Stephanus findeth a Region cal- steph. de Vrb. led Henochia, and the same also in the East, with divers mountaines about Bactria and 50 Sogdiana of the fame name. Only the Gracians (according to their fabulous inuen-

tions of all things elfe) out of the word (Heniochi) which fignifieth Carts or Coachmen, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of Castor and Pollux Nat, comes cal-(to wit) Amphites and Telchius, who attended them in the enterprise of Infor into leth them Rive-Colchis. And though I doe not denie, but that Infon with other Greekes ranged the Nat. com. 1.8.c.9

Strabo.L. I.

coaftes of Afia the leffe, in an open Boate or kinde of fmall Galley, \* of whom I shall In the fe- speake in his owne time : yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece cond booke of this first Part, was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boate, which could Cap. 13. \$.5. hardly carry their owne Rowers, being foure and fiftie, there was no place and leffe vie of Coach-hories or Waggoners.

#### ð. III.

Of Moses his omitting fundry things concerning CAINS generation,



Vt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the Cittie of Henoch in prophane storie, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answere some few objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of Genefis: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for Cain (having no other affistance then

his fonne Henoch) to performe fuch a worke as the building of a Cittie, feeing there is thereto required fo many hands, and fo great a maffe of all forts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious race) Moses vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole storie of the first race, 20 which wasted by the least account 1656. yeares, in fine short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lines solong a measure, as 800. and 900. yeares, that in fuch a space Cain had not want of leasure and meanes to build many fuch Citties as Henoth, be the capacitie answering to what other of the world focuer: for in what age of Cains life he built it, the Scriptures are filent : as of whose times, and the times of his iffues Mofes had the least care. And as it was faid of Cain, that he built a Cittie: fo was it faid of Noah, that his three fonnes peopled all the world; but in both the processe of time required to be understood; which adulse feeing Moses vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writthe 30 Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the birth of Abel, and oblation of Cain, he spake it in this fort, Fuit autem post dies multos or à fine dierum (that is) in processe of time it came to passe that CAIN brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to be understood of Cain, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the Cittie of Enoch or Henoch,

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built Enoch, so of Salomon, that he built the Temple of Hierusalem; yet it is well knowne of Salomon, that he employed in that worke 1 50000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to fay, The King inuaded; when he caused an inuasion to be made: and he built, 40 when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we finde, that Moses had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of Cains iffues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also passeth ouer in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance : for of Cain, Moses writeth in this manner: CAIN also knew his wife, who conceived and bare HENOCH, and he built a Cittie, and called the name of the Cittle after the name of his sonne Henoch. And to Henoch was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHVIAEL, and MEHVIAEL begat METHY-

SAEL and METHYSAEL LAMECH.

£.6. v.5:

Now of Seth, Moles writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. And SEVH lined 107. yeares, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lined after he begat ENOCH 807. 50 yeares, and begat Sonnes and Daughters : fo as all the daies of SETH were 912. yeares, and he died: as for the yeares and times of the wicked they were not numbred in libro viuentium, faith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Mo-

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.5. S.4.

fes walked in, and finished it with care, passing ouer the reprobate generation (as aforefaid.) Of the line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight generations, reckoning Adam for one, and of the line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam alfo therein, as followeth:

### TI. ADAM.

2. Cain. 2. Henoch.

4. Irad. s. Mahuiael. 6. Mathulael.

Lamech, who by Ada had 8. Iubal and Tubal, and by Silla Tubalcain, and Woema.

Cainan.

Mahaleel. Israd. Henoch.

Mathusalem. 9. Lamech, and

These be the generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention : but Iofephus giueth vnto Lamech three score and seuenteene Sonnes and Daughters , by his two wines Ada, and Silla : and to these three sonnes of Lamech, Moles ascribeth 20 the invention of Pastorage, of Musicke, and the working in mettall; for it seemeth that Iubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and brought them into heards and droues: Tubal invented Mulicke, Gen.4.30,21.13 and Tubalcain the working in braffe and yron: the one being addicted to hulbandrie, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to idlenesse and pleasure. In whom beganne these three meaner degrees of Sheep-heards, handy-crafts-men, and Musitians. And in the issues of Seth beganne the services of God, Divinitie, Prophecie, and Astronomic: the children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

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#### d. IIII.

Of the diversities in the ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their children.



Second fcruple hath beene made, How it came to paffe that the Patriarchs begat their children at fo divers ages, as Cainan or Cenan at feuentie yeares, Mahaleel and Enoch at three score and five yeares, whereas Iared begat not any of his untill he was 162. yeares old: Mathusalems begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Woah at 500. yeares. Now this

difference hath beene the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either Iared, Mathusalem, or Lamech abstained from marriage out of the religion of ab-40 stinence, seeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his singular fanctities, begat children before he was three score and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof arifeth in this, that Mofes did not number the generations before the floud precifely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors were they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Iarad, nor Lamcch the first borne of Mathufalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contraric, but that Noah might have had many fonnes before Shem, Ham, and Japhet, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be 50 the Fathers of mankinde after the floud; and therefore when we finde Mahaleel to be

begotten by Kenan at three score and ten yeares who was the first sonne of Kenan, and then reckon that Mathusalem begat Lamech in the 187. yeare of his life, the difference feemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldest. But Mofes rejecteth all the other sonnes of Mathusalem but Lamech only, because he was the Father of Noah as a-

foresaid. Of this St. Augustine hath somewhat else in his 20. and 21. Chapters, De Cinitate Dei.

But as Moses counted the generations of the first age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him, so doth St. Matthew recite the Genealogie of Christ, not by the eldest fonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitoric only; and therefore the Enangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael were first in time : so doth he take Iacob the younger, and not Esau the elder; neither is Christ derined from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Leur, but from Inda a fourth brother, and so from Danid a younger sonne of Iessa; 10 and lastly we finde, that the Kingdome it selfe of Inda was not given to the Heire in nature, but to the Heire of grace, namely Salomon.

Matt.1.2.

Of the long lines of the Patriarchs : and some of late memorie.



He third objection is, that the great difference of yeares between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well neare seene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the 20 fame measure as in after-ages, seeing that soone after the floud men liued not a third part of that time, and in fucceeding ages and to this

1.1. c.8. Plin.l.7.c.48.

They that have hereon resolued that those yeares were but Lunarie yeares, (to with of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Ægyptian yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas Seth begat Enosh in the yeare of his life 105, if those yeares bee taken but for Moneths, then had Seth lived but eight yeares and one Moneth when he begat Enolb: and if the time of Enolb have the fame allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enoth at that time have beene but ' yeares and fortie eight weekes old; and fo it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only 12 , who was created perfect in 20 his kinde, as were the trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feede. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to giue an abilitie of generation at 6. 7. or 8. yeares, agreeth with the fhort lines of Se Pigmies, and not with the conflictations of our first Fathers, who being descended from Alam, the workemanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the world, had length of daies and abilitie of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunarie yeares, then there would follow this extremitie, that those which lived longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that accompt but the time of foure score and ten and odde yeares, which were not only lesse by farre then the Patriarchs lived after the floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many 40 exceede foure foore, and fome hundred yeares. Further (if neede be) to diffroue this reckoning, whereas its written Gov. 25. That Abraham died in a good age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunarie yeares) makes but feuenteene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we feeke for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or little differing; for of the first and purest seede there must of necessitie spring up the fairest and fruitfullest Plants. Secondly, the earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and foode for man, without any fuch mixture of harmefull qualitie, as fince that time the curse of God for 50 the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and mankinde : Neither had the waters of the floud infused such an impuritie, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Hearbes, and fruits you the earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things under the Sunne have one time of strength, and anCHAP.5. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

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other of weakeneffe, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie: fo Time it felfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose winges all things decay and wither) bath wasted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants: year the Heauens themselues being of a most pure and cleansed matter shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who makes 2026 by the ordinance of God receive operative vertue from the superiour.

But belides the old age of the world, how farre doth our education and fimplicitie of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of children, first fedde and nourished with the milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnatural curiositic haumo taught all women (but the begger) to finde out Nurfes, which necessitie only ought to commend vnto them: The hastie marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her felfe hath not yet any roote fufficient to maintaine her owne toppe; and fuels halfe-ripe feedes (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the budde, and waxe old euen in their infancie. But aboue all things the exceeding luxuriousnesses this gluttonous age, wherein we pressenature with our waightie burdens, and finding her strength defective we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ftrong waters, hot fpices, and prouoking fawces: of which Lucan hath these elegant Verses:

Pharfal.1.4

o prodigarerum Luxuries, nunquam paruo contenta paratu: Et quasitorum terra pelagoá, ciborum Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloriamense, Discite quam paruo liceat producere vitam; Et quantum Natura petat. Non auro myrrhâque bibunt : sed gurgite puro Vita redit : satis est populis sluvius q. Ceresq.

O wastfull Riot, neuer vvell content With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of cates by land and sca farre fetcht and sent: Vaine glorie of a table fumptuous. Learne vvith how little life may be preferued. In Gold and Myrrhe they neede not to carroule. But with the brooke the peoples thirst is served: Who fedde with bread and water are not sterued.

The Agyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, be- Pier, Hierot Lax 40 cause the heart in a perfect bodie waxeth and groweth to strength liftie yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decaieth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philo-Sophie that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twentie yeares and Berofus to a hundred and seventeen yeares. These opinions Plinie repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrarie. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth Region of Italie, there were found in the roll (faith Plinie) Plinity and foure and fiftie persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen and fiftie of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twentic: foure, of an hundred and thirtie: as many that were hundred and fine and thirtie, or hundred and feuen and thirtie yeares old: and last of all three men of an hundred and fortie: and this search was 50 made in the times of Velhalian the Father and the Sonne.

The simple diet and temperate life of the Essans gave them long account of ma- 1060, antiquità ny yeares: fo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian ceremonics, to the Perlians, Wa- cap. 8. gicians and Indian Brachmans. The Greekes affirme out of Homer, that Nestor lived Plin.1.7.c.43 three ages, and Tirefias fixe, Sybilla three hundred yeares, Endymion of the leffe Afia

birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to fuch, as ferued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priefts. Of the first the Cabala of the Jewes was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to Zoroafter, Mercurius, Cadmus, and others; but falfely. This Cabala importeth a Law received by tradition and vnwritten. Cabala in He- Cabala of Ci-

brew is receptio in Latine, and a recining, in English. And this custome was also held contrast before by the Druids & Bards of our ancient Brittaines, and of latter times by the Irifh Chro- P. M. 82. niclers called Rymers. If then fuch as would feeme wifeft in the vie of reason wil not Micand. 116 fee acknowledge, that the storie of the Creation or beginning of all things was written

to by infpiration, the holy Ghoft guiding the hand of Moles; yet it is manifelt, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then yied) be deliuered ynto him by a more certaine prefumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquitie had preserved and left to their successours: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injurie of the time and other hazards. For, leauing to remember that Adam instructed Seth, and Seth his children and succesfours, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that Methusalem lived together with Adam himselfe two hundred fortie and three yeeres, and Noah with Methufalem no leffe then fine hundred yeeres: and before Noah died Abraham was fiftie and eight yeeres old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinarie way 20 might come to Ifrael, and fo to Moles.

But befides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancie of the world, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of ftone and Bricke by Enoch: of which Iofephus affirmeth, that one of them remained Inch. euen in his time, (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to Seth. But of these prophecies of Enoch Saint Inde testifietth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in Arabia fælix in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba: (faith Origen) of which Tertullian affirmeth that hee had seene and read some whole pages. It is not therfore strange, that Moses came to the know- Origen. Homit :

30 ledge of the Creation and storie of the first age; seeing hee might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before hee wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Bookes of Enoch, how focuer fome men make question of them, sure I am that Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gazeus, (with others) cite Orig. Hamilas, them in their History and the Company of them in their writings: although Medina, for an argument to prooue them vnwritten traditions, all eageth that Pope Gelassus among other the Apolnyphall Script Europelaban, ten traditions, all eageth that Pope Gelassus among other the Apolnyphall Script Europelaban, Script Europelaban tures (which he rejecteth) named not these of Enoch; but that whatsoener was remembred out of them, the same was deliugred by Tradition from the Jewes. Bur.

40 Irather thinke with Pererius that fuch a Booke there was, and that the fame was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereinto by heretikes, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquitie thereof, and out of that place of Michael contending with the deuill about the body of Atafes; to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is that neither Philo, nor Iosephus (the most diligent searchers of Antiquitie) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint A v-CVSTINE, Scripfisse quidem nonnulla diuina En och illum septimum ab ADAM negare non possumus: That ENOCH the sewenth from A DAM did write divers divine things we cannot denie. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquitie, & of fables of Giants supposed to be begotten of Angels, and 50 others, and by fo much the more, because no such Booke was found amongst those Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Armario Iudates (faith Tertuldian) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might bee preferred by Tertul de kajin.

Noah. Surely that Enoch wrote the prophecies remembred by Inde no man can multuram.

litric leffe: Alfo Mafiniffa of Numidia lived very long, and Dando of Illyria. Among the Kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeares (faith Ephorus ) Hellanicus atfirmeth of the Epcians, that some of them line full two hundred yeares; and so doth Diodorus Siculus of the Egyptians; and that these reports are not fabulous; To sephus bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as, Marethon, Berofus, Mochus, Ellius, Hieronymus . Egyptius, Hecataus, Ephorus, and others. And Anthonie Fume an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the years 1570, there was an Indian prefented to Solyman, Generall of the Turkes Armie, who had out-lived three hundred yeares. I my felfe knew the old Counteffe of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munster, who lined in the yeare 1589, and many yeares fince, who was married in Edward the 10 fourths time, and held her Ioynture from all the Earles of Defenond fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Auntler can witnesse. Strozzius Cigogna, out of Torquemada Maffaus, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not only farre exceeded the terme preferibed by Epigenes; but beene repaired from the withered cltate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the abilitie of men in those daies wherein Galen the Philition lived, it may calify prove vnto vs what reedes we are in respect of those Cedars of the first age. For Galen did ordinarily let bloud fixe pound weight. whereas we (for the most part) stoppe at fixe ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three thinges (not counting Constellations) which are the natural causes 20 of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ftrong Parents, a pure and thinne aire, and temperate vse of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring ftone, cannot ftand long vpright; on aire we feede alwaies and in euery inflant, and on meates but at times : and yet the heavie loade of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure aire, and a temperate vse of those thinges which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition : and that  $E \bowtie o c \bowtie writ before the floud.$ 

Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to Moles, seeing there was no Storie thereof written, and if any fuch had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memorie of Antiqui-tic perished in the vniuerfall floud.

But if we consider the curiofitie and policie of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also coursed 40 and hid from the vulgar fort, as iewels of ineftimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoener was attained vnto concoming God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wife men to a posteritie equally zealous. Ex animo in animum fineliteris, medio intercedente verbo . From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by Efdras, Origen, and Hilarius, (as Mirandula conceineth) that Mofes did not onely you the Mount receive the Law from God, but withall fecretiorem of veramlegis enarrationem, a more fecret and true explanation of the Law, which (faith he out of the fame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to Iofuah, and Iofuah to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, 50 which he called feeretion to the rude multitude were no other quam dare fanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas, then to give holy things to Dogges, and to cast pearles before fivine. In fucceeding times this understanding and wisedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and letters bearing the forme of beaftes,

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denie; how they were deliuered to posteritie I know not, whether by the Ienes Cabala, or by what other meanes, the fame is but mans coniccture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to Noah of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to fome of his fonnes, to Zoroaster, and then to Abraham, it is very probable that Noah had seene and might preserve this booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was fuddenly invented and found out, but left by Seth to Enoch, and by Enoch to Noah, as hath beene faid before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of Seth to Enoch, and that Noah lived with Methnfalem, who lived with Adam, and Abraham lived with Noah, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how Moses 10. came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by Cabala and Tradition, had the vindoubted word of God neede of any other proofe then felfe-authoritie,

#### d. VII.

of the men of renowme before the floud.

Ow let vs confider the relation of Mofes, who nameth seuen descents of Cains children, and of Adam by Sethten: Seth being given by God in fread of Abel; and of Seth was Enosh begotten, in whose time men be- 29 ganne to proteffe Religion, and to offer factifice in publike. For although Adam inftructed his children in the knowledge of God their

Creatour, as appeared by the facrifice offered by Cain and Abel; yet it feemeth that after the birth of Enosh men beganne publikely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ferued and praifed God by Communion and in publike manner, or calling vpon the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguilhed from the wicked. From the birth of Enosh the sonne of Seth to the time of Henoch the sonne of Lared there is nothing remembred by Moses, but their owne births, the births of their fonnes, the length of their lines, and deaths. But of Henoch it is written, that he walked with God, and he mas no more feene : for God tooke him a- 30 way. By that, that he walked with God, was meant, that he was a inftand vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obayed God. For the same phrase Moses vieth of Noah. NOAH was a just and upright man in his time, and NOAH walked with God. The Seuentie conuert it , ENOCH placuit Deo : HENOCH pleased God. And although Aben-Ezraand others understand this place, (tuliteum Deus:) scilicet, mortuus est, God tooke him away (that is) he died, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tookehimaway, when hedied; yet the difference which Moles maketh betweene the pictic of Henoch and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which hevfeth to all elfe, makes it manifest, that Henoch was not dissolved as the rest. For to all 40 the rest of the Patriarchs, Moses wieth these wordes, Andhe died; but of Henoch he spake otherwise, saying only, he was missing, or he was not seene. Et non inueniebatur (faith the Epistle to the Hebrewes) quia Deus eum transfulit, And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away. In the same place it is expressy added, that he saw not death.

But whether this taking away of Enoch were not with the same kinde of changing, which St. Paul promifeth when he faith, that when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Henoch, Mofes passeth ouer to Methusalem and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death : sauing that Lamech prophecied of his fonne Noah, faying, This fame shall comfort us concerning our worke, and forrow of our 50 hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curfed. Of Noah, Mofes writeth more amply, then of any of the rest of Adamschildren by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his familie) preserued, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and pollicie of these strong and mightie men, so able both in bodie and wit, there is no memorie remaining: whose Stories if they had beene preserved, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight have beene left to posteritie. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisedome and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatfoeuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner beginne to know, but we beginne to die; according to Hippocrates.

10 Vita breats, art longs, tempus praceps, (which is) Life is short, Art is long, and Time is About, headlong. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses, These were mighty men, Gos, 4 which in old time were men of renowne. But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of bodie and crueltie of minde) trufled fo much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the pietic of Seth, and the waies wherein Henoch walked : for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, only V. 5. enill, and continually enill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of Cain, but it was then vniuerfall, when the children and fonnes of God, (or of the godly) were corrupted and misted by their idolatrons wines, the Daughters of Cain, or 20 of those other men louing themselues and the world only.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauticof wo- Gens, v. 14 men accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely Lactantius and Eufebius milled by Iofephus: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this militaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselues with large answeres and very needleffe; the question being vncapable of dispute; especially since St. Chrysoflome and St. Augustine have answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrarie, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ

30 witneffeth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer for sake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become Incubi, or Succubi, contrarie both to nature and grace, were more then madneffe to imagine.

#### d. VIII.

That the Giants by Moses fo called were indeed emen of huge bodies: as alfo diners in latter times.



F these Giants which Moses calleth mightic men, Goropius Becanus an Antuerpian (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall then the bodies of Nimred or Hercules) hath written a large discourse, intituled Gigantomachia, and strained his braines to proue, that there were neuer

any fuch men: his reasons (whosoeuer delires to loose time) he may finde them in the Treatifes before named. It is true that Cyrillus reproues the Græcian Poets for their monstrous fictions : who affirme shamelesly, That the Giants haue in elder times not only cast vp mountaines vpon mountaines, but remoued stands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting vp hils,

50 and making warre with the Gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the storie of Nimrod, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God faw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of Orpheus and Hessodus, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the fonnes of God, and by

Gen.5.29.

I.Cor.15.51.

Bar. 3. v. 26.

the Earth the daughters ofmen: which verses of Orpheus are by Iohn Cassam (who hath written a wittie discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine.

> Nomine calestes illos dixère Gigantes Orti auòd terr à fuerint & (anguine cali.

From the Earth and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came, Whome thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and felfe-beleeuing men dispute of and make doubt 10 of, if they cannot conceine that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have beene in all times fince? Seeing the Scriptures auow the one mani-

feltly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatine straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to oppressours and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent flature: fuch men might with better reason call them oppressours becausethey were Giants, and therefore had abilitie to oppresse, then say, That they were called Giants onely, because oppressours. For first Moses himselfe calleth them mightie men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others; and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenturous action. And if the 20 same stature of body, and abilitie had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of Moses have more willingly hearkned to a diffoute, and veelded to interpretation.

But befides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referue to accompanie the Giants of Albion in the Storie of Britanie) the Scriptures doe clearely and without all allegoricall construction auow, That, besides Nimrod, there were found of these Giants in the time of Abraham, of Moles, of Iolua, and of David; namely the Rephaims in Afteroth; the Zuzai or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Paut, 2.v. 21.20 Emims, which dwelt anciently in the land of Moab: whom Moses (for stature) com-

pareth with the Anakims, which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants 30 as the Anakims: Likewise where Moses speaketh of the land of Ammon, he vieth these words. That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein aforetimes: and, whome the Ammonites call Zamzammims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Asteroth and Karnaim, and the Zu-Eai or Zanzummims, Chedorlaomer King of Elamouerthrew, affisted by other Kings

his affociates. Also the Prophet Amos found among the Ammonites men of Giantlike stature, whome he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oakes; and the Prophet BARVCH, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of og, King of

Deut.3. v.11. Balan, that his bedde of yron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only 40 Of King of Basan remained of the remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, foure hundred yeares after the expedition of Chedorlaomer. Moreouer those discouerers and searchers of the Land of promise (sent by Moses from Cadesbarre in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those

Numbara.v. 24. people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of Anak, in these wordes. All the people which we faw in it are men of great stature : for there we faw Giants , the sonnes of AN AK which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like grasse-hoppers, and so we were in their fight, (that is) the fearchers found in their owne judgements a meruailous difference betweene the Anakims and themselues : insomuch that the Israelites were fo ftricken with feare, as they rather fought and defired to return again into 50 Agypt, and were more willing to endure their former flauerie, then to fall by the C. 14.4. z.Sam.17.4.

strokes of those fearefull Nations. Furthermore the Scriptures put vs out of doubt, that Goliah the Philistine of Gath was a Giant of fixe cubits and a spanne long: the armour which he wore waighed fine thousand shickles of braffe: the shaft of his speare

was like a weauers beame, and his speare head waighed fixe hundred shickles of yron. Alfo in Samuel there is mention of another Goliah ill rnamed Getheus; because he was samanare of Gath: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slaine by Iehonathan; Da- 1. chron. 20. 41. uids Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes; a man of great flature, and

his fingers were by fixes, even foure and twentie.

Also that Sampson was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a Lion 14d, 14.6. as it had beene a Kidde, and after flew thirtie of the abilifities, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a jawbone of an Affe, And lastly he tooke the gates

of Azzah, and the two posts, and lifted the manay with the barres, and put them or von his houlders, and carried them to the toppe of the Mountaine before Ebron.

If then it be appround by chery judgement; that both Nature and the Heatens waxe old, and that the great age of time hath (with it felfe) infeebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more frong and beautifull then it did in after-ages : fo also those Giants, those mightic men, and men of renowne as farre exceeded the proportion, nature and strength of those Giants remembred by Moses of his owne time, and after him their fuccessours, as the ordinarie proportion of all men ingenerall; soone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne 20 in the withered quarter and Winter of the world: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourthage, much more in the first flourishing youth and new-

neffe of the world. But the wickednesse (especially in crueltie and oppression) of these men was such. as God therefore by the floud gaue end to all flesh, but to the just 200th and his fatmilic. And Godrepented him that he had made man, which St. Augustine thus expound Gene, 6. deth: Nequeenim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui parnitet, cuius est de omnibus om. De ciuit. Dei. i nino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa prascientia. Sed si non vtatur Scriptura talibus 15.625, verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinaabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult este

confulture of peterreal juperiorines, & excite regulgents, & exerceat quarentes, & 30 alat intelligentes, God (faith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (asmen ve to doe) but if the Scripture did not ve those wordes or the like, it should not (in a fort) infinuate it felfe familiarly to all forts of men, for whom it would prouide : that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the

negligent , exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that under-

## C H A P. VI.

Of idolatrons corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in sables and old
Legends:

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.



ERE before we proceede any further, the occasion offereth it felfe for vs to confider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, 20 and by breaking into parts the Storie of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumperie, haue fought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those intermixt discourses of God and Nature for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne

out of the bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of 20 the most healthfull hearbs and plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) fo, contrarie to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which feeke after God and Truth finde out enery where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Storie of the first Age, with all the workes and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely exprest.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient : as in the familie of  $N \circ AH$ , and in the old Ægyptians.



Vt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one haujing erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankinde it tooke luch effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being withdrawne) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a

perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmefull qualitie, as the waters of the generall floud could not fo walh out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of Noah there 50 were found frong effects of the former poyfon. For as the children of Sem did inherit the vertues of Seth, Enoth, and Noth; so the sonnes of Cham did possess the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans beganne foone after the floud to ascribe divine power and honour to the crea-

ture, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Agyptians and Phanicians did not only learne to leave the true God, but created twelue feuerall Gods, and diuine powers, whom they worthipped; and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus faith, duodecim Deo-Herodin Euter. rum nomina primos Ægyptios in v su habuisse, atque Gracos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, cosa, peprius aras, & imagines, & templa Dijs sibserexisse, The Agyptians (faith he) first deuifed the names of the twelve Gods, which the Greekes received from them, who first erected unto themselues Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.

J. III.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater : as appeareth in the groffe superstitions of the

Vt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices wiknowne, and daylie trausalle towards their eternall perdition: 16 did thefe groffe and blinde Idolaters euery age after other defeand lower and lower, and thrinke and flide downers wards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not

thereby erre in worthipping mortall men only, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Eucning, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Paffions and Affections of the minde, to Paleneffe, Sickneffe, Sorrowes, year to the most vinvorthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemie Rhodius Anaxandrides de- Mat. Com. L. L. T. rideth in this manner.

> Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem, Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego Obsoniorum credidi suauisimum. Carnes Suillas tu caues, at gaudeo Hüsmaxime: canem colis, quem verbero Edentem vbi deprehendo forte obsonium.

I facrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore. I broile the Egyptian Eeles, which you (as God) implore: You feare to cate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet. You worship Dogs, to beate them I thinke meete, When they my store denoure.

## And in this manner IVVENAL.

Porrum aut cape nef as violare aut frangere morfu: O sanct as gentes, quibus hac nascuntur in hortis N umina!

Sal.15.2.9.

The £gyptians thinke it sinne to roote vp, or to bite Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ferue with holy rite : 70 O happie Nations, which of their owne fowing Haue store of Gods in euery garden growing.

ð. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient records among the Ægyptians and others, the first Idols and fables were invented : and that the first Ivriten was CAIN. VVICAN. TVBALCAIN. 66.

Vt in fo great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselues there is no agreement or certaintie, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borowed or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not 10

certaine, that the Agyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of what former was done therein, partly from fome inferiptions youn flone or mettall remayning after the floud, and partly from Mizraim the fonne of Cham, who had learnt the fame of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah. For all that the Agyptians write of their ancient Kings and date of times cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Jupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans, and Aug. 1.19.c. 22. Mercuries with the rest which St. Augustine out of Varro; Eusebius out of many prophane Historians, Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, andmany more haue observed, Enter 11. Prop. 1 Enter 14. Prop. 1 to wit, the Phanicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greekes, and other Nations; yet was Cain the fonne of Adam ( as fome very learned men conceine ) called and reputed for the 20 first and ancient Iupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Iupiter was said to have Arnob, 4, cont. inuented the founding of Citties; and the first Cittie of the world was built by Cain. which he called Enoch of whom were the Henochij before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of Plate in Protagoras, which also Higinus in his 275, chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Citties were founded by diversmen, Tamen primam latifimam à primo et antiquissimo Ioue adificatam yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient I v P I T ER Scatted in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Mofes: And Cain dwelt towardes the East side of Eden &c, where also the Henochij were found after the floud. And therefore was Iupiter by the Athenians called

Gen.4.16.

Cic./.3.de nat.

Policus, a Founder of Citties, and Herceios, an Incloser or strengthener of Citties; (fay 30. Phorn. L. de na- Phornutus and Paufanius) and that to Jupiter Herceios there were in very many platur. Decrum.
Paulini, 14.5-6. ces Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Citties built before the floud. Plato also witneffeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Citties; which as his meaning he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third booke of lawes: for hee faith, that Citties were built an exceeding foace of time before the destruction by the great floud.

This first Jupiter, of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the some of Adam. who marrying his owne fifter (as also Jupiter is faid to have done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de vrbibus placeth the Cittie Henochia. And besides this Cittie of Henoch, Philo Indans conceineth that Cain built fixe others, as Maich, Iared, Tehe, 40 Gen. 4.20.21.22 Jesea. Selet and Gebat; but where Philo had this I know not. Now as Cain was the first

Jupiter, and from whome also the Ethnickes had the Luention of facrifice: so were Libal, Tubal and Tubalcain (inventors of pastorage, smiths-craft, and musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane writers Mercurius, Vulcan and Apollo: and as there is a likelihood of name betweene Tubalcain and Vulcan: fo doth Augufine expound the name of Noema or Naamath, the fifter of Tubalcain, to fignific Venusta, or beautifull Voluptas, or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is said to be Venus, the Lady of pleasure and beautie. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Inpiter, Eua Rhea, and Noema or Naamath the first Venus: so did the fable of the dividing of the world betweene the three brethren the fonnes of Saturne arife, 50 from the true flory of the dividing of the earth betweene the three brethren the fonnes of Noah: so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted Enah: fo was Paradyfe it felfe transported out of Africa, and made the garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that

Christ should breake the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the fables of Hereules killing the Serpent of Helperides, and descending into Hell, and captinating Cerberus: fo out of the taking vp of Henoch by God was borrowed the conversion of their Heroes (the Inventors of Religion and such artes as the life of man had profit by ) into flarres and heavenly fignes, and ( withall ) that leaving of the world, and afcention of Altraa; of which Ouid,

Vltima cæleslûm terras Astraa reliquit

Ouid Alet J. 1

· Aftræa laft of heauenly wights the earth did leaue.

For although thereby the Ethnickes would understand Justice it selfe to have Nat. com. i.z. failed, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is viuall among the ancient Poets to describe vertues and vices by the persons of men and women as defire by Cupid, valour by Mars, beautie or luft by Venus, fo doe they also the persons of men by like vertues and vices; and therefore by Iustice and Aftrea, Enoch: the Iustice and pietie of Enoch being in the same manner exprest, as that of Noah was by Moses for Noah was faid to bee a just man; And Gones, 22,24 NO A H walked with God. And of Enoch it is written, that he walked with God, and he was no more leene: for God tooke him away.

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the fonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whome Mo/es calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great actes of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel by the Giant Nimrod, as St. Augustine termeth him. Which warre of their Gi- Late civit. Del.

ants Cornelius Seuerus thus describeth.

Tentauêre (nefas) olim detrudère mundo

Sydera, captiniá, I o v 1 s transferre Gigantes : Imperium, & victo leges imponere calo.

> The Giants did advance their wicked hand Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe And robbing I o v E of his Imperial crowne On conquered Heavens to lay their proude command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the Starres, should burie them under the mousture of a second floud, but that by 40 this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof Virgil both in the eight and twelfth of his Æneides hath atouch, was as it feemeth borrowed from Mofes, Exad. 24. Who when he read the Booke of the couenant sprinkled the people with blood,

We finde also many remembrances of Seth, the paternall Ancester of Henoch and Inseph.l. Leons. Noah: for Amenophis, the same King of Agypt, which reigned at such time as Mofes Applian. caried thence the children of Ifrael, (as of late some learned men mistaking his rime Supposed) called his sonne and successour Setho, of Seth, and of the same Seth (as

many men of good judgement have graunted) were the Princes of Thrace called 50 Seuthes, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memoric of Plutin Tide. Seth most manifestly preserved, that the Agyptians worshipped Seth, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whome they called a principall Province Setheitiea. We also find in Bithynia the Cittie of Sethia, and others of Strabol.17. the fame name elfewhere. And fure from the Agyptians did the Gracians borrow,

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this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie præceding their owne; and that they might not feeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the fame names to their owne Idoles which the Agyptians did to theirs.

Q. V
Of the three chiefest IV PITERS; and the strange storie of the third.

Vt of all those Armies of Inpiters remembred by the Ancients . Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most same; which other writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their 10

The first was Iupiter, the sonne of Ather and Dies, so called beconfethe one had reference to his caleftiall conditions (for ather is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discouered his naturall vertues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witneffes of mens actions.

The second was said to bee the sonne of Coelum or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this Jupiter was an Arcadian, and King of Athens.

The third of whom all the Gracian fables were denifed, was of Creete ( now Candie) the sonne of Saturne and Ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of Jugans Pater, from the Greeke word Zeus, it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. 20 Boccas in his genealogie of the Gods conceineth, that his name was borrowed from Jupiter the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was gimen to men. I know not. Jupiter is hot and moift, temperate, modeft, honeft, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions might be called there after Inpiter; but how socuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and sirnames: great Princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation in the world. (howfocuer descrued) as the worthiest, that ever were, acquired by their well descruings. Joues omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kinges IVPITERS as 30 TZETZES in his Variahistoria confirmeth: Reges olim Ioues vocarunt omnes: In old times all Nations called their Kings IVPITERS. But where this last and most remembred Jupiter was borne it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of Creet: o-Mat. com. la. c.7 thers, that he was but fent thither by his mother opsor opis, to be follered and hidden from the fury of Titan his vncle: because it was conditioned betweene Saturne and Titan, that Saturne being a yonger brother, and raigning (for his owne life) by Titans permiffion, he should put to death all his male children, least the Titans might be interrupted by any of them in their fuccession; which agreement because Saturne performed in his first borne, it is fained that Saturne denoured his owne children. Hercof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine.

> Haud fit pinguior, Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filis.

SATURNE to be the fatter is not knowne By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene Titan and Saturne, Sybilla also witnesseth in these. Conceptis verbis : TITAN iurare coegit SATVRNVM, de se natum ne nutriat vllum, Quo possintregnare senis post fata Nepotes.

> Things thus agreed: TITAN made SATVENE fweare No Sonne to nourish; which by raigning might Viurpetheright of TITANS lawfull Heire,

But opis, the mother of Impiter, being deliuered at once both of Impiter and Imp. connected Inpiter (first called Lyfanias) into Crete, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where hee was brought vp in Gnoffus, the chiefe Citie of that Island, by Cresta the King, or by the Curetes, a people and nation thereof. Essis, a Temp.

CHAP. 6. S.5.

Others challenge him to be of Thebes, and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: others make him of Melsena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by honic-bees in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skinnes into yellow; a reward well fitting fuch a God: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle Greekes haue many prettie tales. But in the end when Titan had knowledge, that Saturne had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him

and his wife prisoners, whom Jupiter againe rescued and deliucred. But lastly, the Father and the Sonne æqually ambitious, the one doubted the other. Saturne being the leffe powerfull fled into Italie, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of Inpiter was given him; yet, after he was once fetled and became potent, he gaue himfelfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as doe ascribe the actions of many to one Inpiter, that not therewith satisfied, he was after-

20 wardes knowne to offend in the finne of Sodome with Ganimedes and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne fister Iuno, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time. within the limits of his owne kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, Niobe, Laodemia, and Alemena the wife of Amphitryon, by whom he had Pelasgus, Sarpedon, Argus, and Hercules: by Taggete he had Taygetus, of whom the mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another sonne called Saon, of whom Sauona: by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: by Lada, Castor & Pollux, Helen & Clytemnestra: by Danae Perseus: by Iordana Deucalion: by Charme (the daughter of Eubulus) Britomartis, by Protogenia he had Athlius the fa-20 ther of Endymion; and by 10 (the daughter of Inachus) Epaphus, the Founder of Memphis in Agypt: which Epaphus married Lybia, of whom that Countrie tooke name, for fo the Greekes afterward called Africa. He rapished Agina, the daughter of Afopus, and carried her into the Island Oenopia or Oenotria, afterward called Agina, on whom he begat Lacus: by Torrhebia he had Archestlaus and Carbius: by Ora Colaxes: he had also Dardanus by Electra, who built Dardanium, afterward Ilum

Hee had besides these (if they belie not their chiefe God) Phileus and Pilummus, inuentors of Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not bee father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre diffe-40 ring. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wines, daughters and fonnes, buying of virgins, and the likecame in all those ancient fables of histransformations into showers of gold, Eagles, Buls, birds, and beafts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Græcian forgerics. And yet did not the Greekes and Romanes feare to entitle this monster, Optimus Maximus, though Cicero in his second booke de natura Deorum affirme, that he descrued nothing leffe, and in his Oration pro domo fus reprocheth Clodius for his incest, by the Latin Garif. name of Jupiter. His buriall was in Crete (faith Lucian) Cretenfes non folum natum

and Troy. Hee begat the brothers Talici, on Thalia, and on Garamantis Hiarhas,

apud se & sepultum I ove m testantur, sed etiam sepulshrum eius ostendunt. The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that IVPITER was borne and buried among them, but 30 they flow his graue and fepulsher: which Epiphanias also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the mountaine taffus. This Callimachus in his hymnes also witnesseth, but as offended thereat saith thus.

The Cretians cuer lyars were, they care not what they fay: For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu it alway.

But

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Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the Lybian fables, confirmed (as he faith) by some Greeke writers, that the original of these Gods was from the westerne parts of Africk. For there among the Atlantide raigned one Vranus (which fignifieth heauen) called fo for his great skill in Astrologie, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wines 45. fonnes; but by his principall wife Tites he had 17. fonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the Titanes. Of Titealikewise it is said, that thee for her goodnesse was canonized as a Goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of Tites, her daughter Bafflez (which name founding as Queene in English, shee is by the Latine tran-10 flator of Diodorus called Regina) excelling therest as far in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall confent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed torule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a virgin. Shee tooketo husband her brother Hyperion, to whom thee bare a fonne and a daughter, called Sun and Moone. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children mooned her brethren to enuie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the fuccession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the river Eridanus, now called Poe. The loffe of this childe caufed his fifter to breake her owne neck; and the loffe of both her children made the mother to play many mad prankes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde falhion, in fight of all the people, before whom thee is faid to haue vanished away. Ere shee 20 died, her sonne (as the sable hath it) signified unto her in a dreame, that he and his filter by the providence of God should become immortall, that also the Sun and Moone should be called by their names, and that their death should be reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is faid, that the people did fo call those two Planets, and withall held her felfe as a Goddesse, and tearmed her the great mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherithing her brethren whileft they were yong. Hyperim and hisrace being extinguished, the other fonnes of Pranus divided the kingdome. Of these Atlas and Saturne were chiefe. Atlas raigned ouer the Countries lying about the mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a inft and wife Prince, deeply skilfull in Aftrologie, 20 and for invention of the sphere faid to have supported Heaven. He had many fonnes; but the principall of them called Hefterus, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was faid to have beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high hill in the midst of his contemplations, and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of Atlas were also said to haue bene excellent Ladies, who accompanying fuch as came to be defield, orregifted among the Worthies, brought foorth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pletades* tooke name. Saturne the brother of Atlas raigned in Sieilia, part of Africk and Italie. Iupiter another of the sonnes of Vranus, raigned in Crete; who had tenne sonnes which he 40 called Cureres; he called that Iland after his wives name Idea; in which Ile he died, and was buried. But this Inpiter must not have beene that great one, but vncle to the great Inpiter, if these fables of the Lybians were true. Saturne (as these Lybians tell the tale (was a great tyrant, and fortified firong places, the better to keepe his people in fubication. His fifter Rhea was married to Hammon, who raigned in some part of Africk. Hammon louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called Minerua, neere to the river Triton, who thereupon was called Tritonia. Hee also begat on Amalthea a sonne called Bacchus, whom he caused secretly for feare of his life to be brought up at Nyla, an Iland in the river Triton, under the tuition of his daughter Minerua, and certaine Nymphes. To Amalthea he gaue in reward a goodly 50 Countrie, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of Amaltheas plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard these newes, she fled from her husband to her brother Saturne, who not onely entertained her as a lifter, but tooke her to wife, and at her infligation made warre vpon

Hammon, vanquished him by affiftance of the Titanes, and made him flie into Crete, The Caretes, Jupiters children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named Crete by Hammon, after the name of Creta the Kings daughter, whom he tooke to wife, and had with her (women as may feeme being very gratious in those times) the kingdome. Bacchus was growne a proper yong man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things eife commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that Saturne was comming against him with the Titanes; he leuied an Armie, to which the Amazons living not farre from

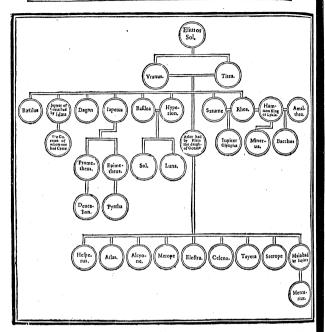
10 Nyla, added great forces, in loue of Minerua, who was entred into their profession. So Bacchies leading the men, and Minerua the women, they fet forward against Saturne, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the Titanes prisoners, returned to Avfa; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prapared for a fecond expedition. In the fecond expedition he behaued himselfe so well, that he wanne the loue of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of Saturnes rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemie as much enfecbled by daily revoltes. Comming to the Cittie of Hammon, he wanne a battaile of Saturne, before the very wals. After which Saturne with his wife Rhea fled by night, fetting

20 the Towne on fire to despight Bacchus. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by Bacchus, and kindly entreated. Saturne had a yong sonne by Rhea, called Jupiter. This childe Bachus tooke with him in a great expedition that he made into the East countries; and comming into Agypt, he left this Jupiter, being then a boy, gouernour of the Countrie; but appointed vnto him as an Ouerfeer, one Olympus, of whom Jupiter grew to be called Olympius. Whilest Bacchus transiled through all nations, as far as into India, dooing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his father Hammon in Crete, and began to warre vpon him. But Backhus returned out of India; with whom Iupiter from Agent, and his fifter Mineria, together with the rest that afterwards were held

30 as Gods, joining all their forces, went into Crete, ouerthrew the Titanes, chafed them, tooke, and flew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when Hammon and Bacchus were dead, they were deified; and the great Jupiter the sonne of Saturne fucceeding them, raigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the Titanes left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the Lybian Gods, and the Agyptian fables of Ofiris, there is a rude refemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true historie. For the expeditions of Ofiris, and of Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one storic, of the Titanes in the other; the kingdome of Agypt given by Hercules Lybicus to Orus, by Bacchus to Iupiter, the rattles of Isis, and the Cymbals of Basilea, with many pettie circumstan-

40 ces, nearely enough refemble each other, how focuer not alike fitted to the right persons. Sanchoniato (as Eusebius cites him) would have all these to be Phanicians, Eusebili.1.6.7 and is earnest in saying, that it is a true storie, and no Allegorie. Yet he makes it feeme the more allegoricall, by giving to Vranus or Heaven for daughters, Fate and Beautie, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by Diodorus. though Diodorus haue enough. To the genealogie he addes Elius or the Sun, as father of Vranus, and among the children of Vranus, Iapetus, Batilus, and Dagon, (whom Diodorus doth not mention by their names) giving withall to Vranus the proper name of Terrenus or Indigena, and of Illus to Saturne, but omitting Jupiter of Crete, The Pedigree of them is this section in the land of the section

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Of CHAM, and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.



F Jupiter Belis, the sonne of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod, it seemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred : for long after these times were the Greekes but Saluages, if they seeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Ægyptians, euen after the floud, began (somewhat before this Chaldaan Jupiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Mizraim, Jupiter Chammon, or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greekes deduce abarenis, from the fandes, is ridiculous (faith Pencer); neither yet is his owne much Снар.б. §.7. of the Historie of the World.

better, who brings it from Hammath, which fignifieth heate; because the faid Temple of Iupiter Hammon was feated in Lybia, where the ayre is exceeding hote and fcortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter Jupiter (among the Greekes and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of Troy, as by many of his fonnes is made manifest; namely, Castor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, which lived in that age of Priamus, vnder whom, and with whom Trey was destroied.

Now feeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius. 10 Nero, Caligula, and others fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same Deitie be denied vnto Laurentia and Flora, which was given to Venus? feeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as the was.

### ð. V I I.

That the wifer of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

Vt that euer Pythagoras, or Plato, or Orpheus, with many other ancient and excellently learned, belieued in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer busily) have mixed their

owne inuentions with the Scriptures: 10r, in punious of the fictions, did Pythagorus hang both Himer and Hefiolus in Hell, where hee fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that Homer had read ouer all the bookes of Mofes, as by places ftolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which Iustine Martyr remembreth many in that Treatife converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he diffembled in some things, for feare of the inquilition of the Arcopagites, yet St. Augus

30 stine hath already answered for him (as before remembred) Et mirifice is delect atus est, que de uno Deo tradita fuerant, And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, faith Infine Martyr. Now howfoeuer Lactantius pleased to reprehend Plato. because (saith he) Plato sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, neglecting the Ienes, and the bookes of Moses: Eusebius, Cyrillus, and Origen, finde Euseb. prep. 60 reason to beleeue the contrarie, thinking that from thence he tooke the grounds of opin. 1911. all by him written of God, or fauouring of Diuinitie; and the same opinion had St. Han. Ambrose of Pythagoras.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possessall those learned Phi- ambra ad Iren. losophers and Poets, that Plate also published (not under the right Authors names) 18.6.4.1. 40 those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the seucritic of the A- Arcopagus, or those things which he had read in the scriptures; or learning the trade by poylon, downs for more reopagites, and the example of his Master Socrates, by them put to death by poylon, darin, 34. 12. I cannot judge. Instine Martyr (as it feemeth) ascribeth it wholly to Platees teare, his hills house whose wordes among many other of the same officet, are these; PLATO MOSIS wherein capimentionem sacere, ob id, quod unum solumis, Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum
were tried 16 won putauit, veritus Areopagum, PLATO fearing the Areopagites thoughtit not fafe called at first: for him among the Athenians to make mention of Moses, that he taught that there is but therein first one God. But for that Divinitie which he hath written in TIMAEO; idipfum de Deo pleaded his disseruit quod & Moses, he discoursed and taught the same of God (faith Instine Martyr) cause for the which Moses did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere Moses, firmular o

50 Ego sam existens (which is) I am; and existens missione advos, I am hath sent me unto Paulania stille. you, herein did Plato (faith Infine Martyr) no otherwise differ then that Moses vied har com. 11.2. theword (qui) and Plato the word quod: Moses enim qui exiflit (inquit) PLATO Jug. Mor. adm. quod exiflit. For Moses faith, He who is; PLATO, That which is. Now of Godsin-sensitis. comprehensible nature, and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, Exady, 14.

Pencer de Q-

he giueth this testimonie: Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quam inuentum impossibile digne profari, It is as hard to finde out the Creatour of the Vniner all, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily. And what can be more agreable De Legio. 1.10. to the Maiestic of Gods nature, then this propertie by Platoacknowledged ? Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum : malorum autem omnium non causa, God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good : but of any thing that is eaill he is no cour, and for agencias) the conject out that is good tone of any thing that is enume is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei suit causa sationis mundi, & originis omnium return, The lone of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things. Apuleius the Platonist. Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiams natura dignitate: Et nihilest Deo similius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus, The 10 most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature : neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God then a man of a perfect heart, Thales affirmed that God comprehended all thinges, and that God was of all thinges the most ancient, quia nunquam effe capit, because hee neuer had any beginning: Zeno, that God beheld even the thoughts of men: Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to bee carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreable to Moses storie of the creation, then this opinion and description of the worldes beginning in Euripides, Scholler of Anaxagoras?

> Calum terrag, vnius formæ fuit: Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo, Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita, Arbores, aues, fera, quafg, affert mare, Genufá, mortalium.

Heauen and Earth one forme did beare? But when disloyned once they were From mutuall embraces.

All thinges to light appeared then, Of trees, birds, beafts, filhes, and men The still-remayning races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: fo we finde the fame excellent understanding in Orpheus, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, though heevie the name of Iupiter, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those thinges to the Sonnes of men and mortall creatures, which he doth to this Iupiter, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (faith Mirandula) quos ORPHEVS canit, non decipientium damo- 40 num, à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumg, sunt nomina, The names of those Gods whom ORPHEVS doth sing, are not of deceiuing Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and diume vertues. Yea that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his infiruction to Musaus, and the Hymne following teach vs. Respiciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt : Ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipfe nihilominus omnes intuetur. 50

Antogenes.

Then marking this my facred speech, but truly lend Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend, And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one Begotten of himfelfe, from whom is borne alone

All elfe; in which hee's still, nor could it ere befall A mortall eye to fee him once, yet he fees all.

And againe the fame Authour.

IVPITER omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem; IVPITER est caput & medium: I o v 1 s omnia munus: IVPITER eft fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi. IVPITER & maselt, & famina nesciamortis. Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis IVPITER ignis. Et Pelagiradix, SOL, LVNA est IVPITER ipfe Rex, & origo simul rerum eft, & terminus idem. Nam priùs occuluit, magno post numine, lacrum Cor reserans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he. God is the head and midft, yea from him all things be; God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie. He is the male and female too, shall neuer die. The spirit of all is God, the Sunne, the Moone, and what is higher. The King, th'originall of all, of all the end. For close in holie brefthe all did comprehend, Whence all to bleffed light, his wondrous power did fend,

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Gracians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Instine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eugubinus, Peucer, Plessis, Daneus, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demaunded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and

30 properties. Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, vilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, seuere, frée, alwaies doing good, safe without seare, glarious, and selse-charitie. Epicharmus affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced cuery nature, was only and every where powerfull: agreeing with Democritus. Rex omnium ipse solus, He is the only King of all Kings; and with Pindarus the Poet; Deus vnus, Pater, creator fummus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum meritaprabet, One God, the Father, the most high creatour, and best artificer, who giueth to enery thing divers proceedings ascording to their deferts. This God (faith ANTIS-

THENES) cannot be refembled to any thing, and therefore not elfewhere knowne. Nifim 40 Pavia illa pereinti, cuius imaginem nullum habes, Saue only in that euerlasting countrie, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS. Vnus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among Gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and XENOPHON, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potens g, quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat, God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at refe, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none, saw only to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light. Finally, Plato faith, Totius rerum natura

causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, aternus animantium sospitator, assi-50 dans mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore villo comprensus, eog, paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis, God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall preserver of living creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprchended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is,

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Hieron. in Com. Therefore was it faid by St. HIEROME, Sienim cunctos Philosophorum renoluas liis Dan. In prin- bros, necesse est witness reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, vt apud PLATONEM, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud ZENONEM Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in PLATO, God the creatour of the world: in ZENO Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall foules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wisedome of all ages, wee shall finde that there never was man of folid vnderstanding or excellent judgement: neuer any man whose minde the art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensiue inspection aduised; but 10 that he hath found by an vnresistable necessitie, one true God, and enerlasting being, all for euer cauling, and all for euer fultaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, then that Agyptian Hermes, how soeuer it failed afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuilish pollicie of the Ægyptian Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new Gods, and those innumerable, best forting (as the Denill persuaded them) with vulgar capacities, and sitted to keepe in awe and order their common people.

#### à. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Indassime, after many wounds were at length about the same time under IVLIAN miraculously confounded.

X O Vt all these are againe vanished: for the inventions of mortall men are no leffe mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a God, is crept into enery mans chimney, which the lacke of fewell flarueth, water quencheth , and want of aire fuffocateth : Inpiter is no more vexed with Innoes ielousies; Death hath perfinaded him to chastitic, and her to patience; and that Time which hath denoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the bodies and images of him and his : yea, their 20 stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings crected to Baal, can no where bee found vpon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple conscerated to Diana. There are none now in Phanicia, that lament the death of Adanis; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Theffalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counfaile or helpe from Impiter. The great God Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apolloes Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuils telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait Agyptians, and cousening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouerthrowes and dishonours: for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chiefe Mansions) was 40 many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himfelfe it received the last and otter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and ornaments therein by the Eubwan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly fackt: Thirdly, by Pyrrhus the Sonne of Achilles: Fourthly, by the Armie of Xerxes: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the Phocenfes: Sixtly, by Nero, who carried thence fine hundred brazen images : all which were new made, and therein againe set up at the common charge. But what soeuer was gathered betweene the time of Wero and Constantine, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such 50 time as Iulian the Apollata fent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprife, at which time it was vtterly burnt and confumed with fire from Heauen; and the image of Apollo himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten downe and Jost in the earth.

The like fuccesse had the Iewes in the same Iulians time, when by his permission

thevassembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Hierusalem: for while they were bussed to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the Lewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others flaine, and scattered by tempest and thunder: though Am. Marcellinus report it more fauourably for the lenes, ascribing this to the nature of that element. ... For, faith he, Allypius and the Ruler of the Prouince of Iudea, being by Iulian bufied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming bals of fire iffuing neare the foundation, and oft confuming the workemen, made the enterprise frustrate.

d. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.



Ow the Deuill, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this world (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes in the day of the first carry and the minds of men, and in-habiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effe-chall adoration of himfelfe then cuer. For whereas hee first taught

20 them to facrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beasts, birds, and other mixt Natures; hee now fets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie. the all-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hee tels them that Truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions : that chastitie is the enemie of nature ; and lastly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense : for true wisedome (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this Arch-politician finde in his Pupils any remorfe, any feare or feeling of Gods future judgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens foules, that he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions; inter-20 rupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the minde of man hath two ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouergrowne with graffe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: fo hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miferie passing by the one, worldly prosperitie by the other: at the entrance of the one we finde our fufferings and patience, to attend vs: (all which have gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible forrow) staying

forvs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemie was euer most dili gent : fo is he now more laborious then cuer : the long day of mankinde drawing fast towards an euening, and the worlds Tragedie and time neare at an end.

K,

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII. Of Noahs Floud.

Of Gods fore-warning : and some humane testimonies : and some doubting touching the truth of No AH's Floud.

30/cpb.l.1.c.4

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F this destruction it pleased God to give warning vnto Neah: who (faith lofephus) fearing to perish among the rest, secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migrauit, He departed with his children, and trauailed into another Region. And of these Giants from whom Noah withdrew himselfe, Berolus writeth in this manner, That they exceeded in all forts of inhumane and unnaturall wickednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis & Deorum , contemners of religion and of the Gods: a- 20 mong which mightie men (faith Berofus) vnus erat aui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic

nomen erat NOAH. There was one more wife and reverencing the Gods then therest, whose name was No AH: who with his three sonnes Sem, Iaphetus, and Cham, and with their wines, and the wife of Noah, (namely Titea the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla) preserved themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded Noah to prepare: And God Said unto No AH, make thee an Arke of pine trees: thou Shalt make cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch. For God made Noab to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell generations were already fashioned in the cloudes, which soone after 20 should swallow up and couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the aire: Noah

and his familie excepted.

Gen.6. 14.

V.13.

But this vniuerfall graue of waters, and generall deluge bath not been received by all for divine testimonies doe not perswade all natural men to those things, to Lett. in Prefide which their owne reason cannot reach: dum obvoluta in observo veritas latet, whilest the truth lyeth wrapped op in obscuritie. Many there are who have disputed against the universalitie of this overflowing, and have judged that this floud of Noah fell but on some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there have beene many other floudes (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof Nicholaus Damascenus writeth in this manner, as his wordes are cited by I osephvs. 49

Istepant.l.s.c.4. Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos consugientes sermo est diluui temporeliberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuectum in huius vertice halisse, lignorumá, relliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse is suit, de quo eilam Moses Inderum Legislator scribit : thus farre this Authour. There is (faith he) aboue Minyada (or the Countrie of Minya) an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris : on which it is reported, that many having fled thither were faued in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested upon the toppe of the mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine peeces thereof; and this might be the same, of which Moses the Law-giver of the lewes maketh mention. And of this opinion were the Thalmudists (faith Annius) that many Giants faued themselues 59 vpon Mount Syon.

But Berofus (who after Moses was one of the most ancient, how socuer hee have beene fince deformed and corrupted) doth in the fubstance of all agree with Moses as touching the generall floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Historic in these words. Ante aquerum cladem famosam, qua universus perin arbis éce. Before that samous destruction of Waters, by which the World Konersali perisped ::witnessing withall, that Woah with his wife Titea, and his three fonnes with their wives (in all eight persons) were onely sauce and the same of the same of the

of the floud in the time of Octobers and that this was not NOAHS floud.

Vt from the vanity of the Greekes, the corrupters of all truth (faith Lactantius) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, cane the errour first of all; who therein flattering themselves also, sought to persuade the world, that there was no floud praceded the floud of ogges, king of the Theban in Baotia, or rather of Attiea;

and therefore faith Rhodoginus Ogygiumid appellant Poeta, tanquam pernetus dixeris, abalias, e. 33 ab OGYGE vetulissimo. The Poets gave the name of OGYGIA to things exceeding an-

cient, as of OGYGES the most ancient.

But let ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he 20 liued but in Incobstime (though Eufebius makes him later, and in Mofes time) and Eufebius makes him later, and in Mofes time and Eufebius makes him later and time and (and then was he farre later) as Rhodoginus in the ninth booke of his antiquities remembreth : funt tamen qui in Egypto regnaffe autument hung : unde fit CADMYS aui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, aboue iugulato fic nuncunatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe. There are (faith bee) who thinke that this OGYGES did raigne in Agypt, whereby he should be CADMV s, who traucling into Greece built Thebes. to named of a beefe flame : because in the Syrian language a beefe is called Thebe.

But this floud of ogyges fell in the years of the world 3440. according to Eulebius, who followed the account of the Septuagint : and the floud of Noah in the yeare 30 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200, yeares betweene these flouds, wanting but two, though heerein Eusebius was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chronologie, Now although the very yeare and time of this ouerflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, be not præcifely fet downe, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet who foeuer makes it most ancient, findes aboue

500. yeares difference betweene that and the generall floud.

For Paulus Orofius affirmes, that this tempest fell upon the Athenians but 1040. Linear veares before Rome built. Bucholzerus faith it was 1043, elder then Rome; which was founded (according to the same Bucholzerus) in the worlds yeare 3210 though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the storic of 40 Abraham) it was built in the worlds yeare 3280. Now the generall floud præceded the building of Rome (laith Bucholzerus) 1563, yeares: and the floud of Ogyges (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by calle calculation, that (if he place Ogyges in his true age) the difference betweene these two flouds must be \$20. yeares, to which we (allowing 60 more) finde 780. And that this of ogyees was not the fame of Noah (except we call Noah Ogyges prifcus, as some doe) it appeares by this, that xenophon Asi the floud of Ogyges then king of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any further manus. then the bankes of Archi-pelago, or the Legwan Sea. For whereas Mela, Plinie, and Mela line Solinus witnesse, that the Cittie of Joppe in Judea was founded before the floud; and Plindis. that (notwithstanding the waight of waters) there remained on certaine Altars Solea 47. 50 of stone the title of the King, and of his brother Phineus, with many of the antiquissimum grounds of their religion : fure, it is no where found among prophane Historians or the total purpose nor in the scriptures, that ever the floud of Ogyges spread it selfe over any part of Sy-tionem terraria, much leffe ouer all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica rum conditum. about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it see-

Ouid, Metam li.15.303.

Si quaras Helican, & Buran, Achaidos orbes, Inuenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground Are fought in vaine, but under sea are found.

Nat.Com.li.1.

Of this floud of ogyges was invented the fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latona 10 the daughter of Caus, the sonne of Than, being beloued and forced by Inpiter, and by him gotten with childe, Juno thereat enraged permitted her (as they fay) no part of the earth to be delinered on; and withall caufed the monstrous serpent Python to follow and affright her, wherefocuer the transiled, till at length arriving at the the of Ortreio the was there received : in which the was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twinnes; whereof Barlaam makes this expolition: That at fuch time as the deluge (which happened in Ogyges his raigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled fuch thicke mifts and fogges, that in Attica, and along the coasts of the Legan fea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by 20 night could pierce the ayer, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the aver began to be cleare, and the people of Ortygia espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and Phin. 14.46.11. and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared : sabulously (because Diana repræsented the Moone, and Apollo the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of Ortygia thereof afterwardes called Delos : which fignifieth manife-

And furely it is not improbable, that the floud of Ogyges, being fo great, as Hi-Brories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre fenfibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the skies. Varro in his bookes De 20 gente populi Romani (as he is cited by S. Augustine) reporteth out of Castor, that so great a miracle happened in the starre of Venus, as neuer was seene before, nor in after times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as Adrastus Cyzicenus, and Dion Neapolites, famous Mathematicians affirmed in the time of ogyges.

Now concerning the course of that or any other planet, I doe not remember, that I have any where read, of fo good Astrologers flourishing among the Greekes, or else where in those daies as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets fo exact, that it should neede no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I fee no reason why the difference found in the starre of Venus should bee 40 held miraculous; confidering that leffer miftes and fogges, than those which couered Greece with folong darkneffe doe familiarly prefent our fenses, with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should vary, questionlesse it was very ftrange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ftands well with good reason, that the fide of Venus which the Sunne beholdes, being enlightened by him, the op. posite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet, would vnto our cies, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to bee horned, as the Moone doth sceme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension

Galilaus, Galilaus, a worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective 50 glasses hath found in the starres many things viknown to the ancients, affirmeth 6 much to have beene discouered in Venus by his late observations. Whether some waterie disposition of the aire might present as much to them that lived with ogyges as Galileus hath seene through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the difcouerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince man of ignorance, then nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular floud of ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of St. Augustine) accompanied with fuch vnufuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) fignes testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the floud of Noah which was generall and altogether miraculous, may feeme to have had no other token, or forelhewing, then the long preaching of Noah himselfe, which was not regarded : for they were eating and drinking, when the floud came fodainely, and Links 17, 22.71 tooke them all away.

of DEVCALIONS floud: and that this was not NOAHS floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniner fall floud,

Second floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of Deucalion in Theffalia, of which S. Augustine out of Varro. His temporibus (vt V ARRO scribit) regnante Atheniensibus CRANAO. Successore Cecropis (vt autem nostri, Evsebivs & Hierony-

MVS) adhuceodem CECROPE permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis: (that is) In these times (as VARRO reporteth) CRANAVS the Succession of CECROPS governing the Athenians, or (as our EVSEBIVS and HIE-ROME (ay) CECROPS yet living, that floud (called Deucalions) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth these wordes. Eduxit ergo Moses ex Egypto populum Dei nouisimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios MARATHYS, apud Arginos TRIOPAS. MOSES led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter times of CECROPS King of the Athenians, ASCATADES

raigning ouer the Assirians, ouer the Sicyonians MARATHUS, and ouer the Argines 30 TRIOPAS: fo as leauing the curiofitie of a few yeares, more or leffe, it appeareth, that this floud of Deucalion was either at the egreffion of the children of Ifrael out of Azypt, or neare it: and then after Noah 753. yeares, according to Functius, who makes Cecrops to live in the yeare of the world 2409. or if we follow Mercator, then 739 yeares after Noah, and in the yeare of the world 2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the world 2356. according to Codoman; then giving vnto Deucalion fourtie yeares of age when this floud happened, it falleth within one yeare of Mercators account. But Deucation by all approued Historians is faid to have beene 82. yeares old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this floud of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaetons time, by the raigne of 40 Crotopus King of the Argines; but Crotopus lived King of the Argines fixe yeares after Ifrael departed Ægypt, which makes twentie yeares difference according to Funetius, who will have this floud and burning to have fallen fourteene yeares before

Moses left Agypt: for hee gaue of the worldes yeares to the floud and burning the yeare 2440 and to Mofes his egreffion the yeare 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinks that cedron I. Gas Moses was more ancient, and lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the floud of Deucalion, and the burning of Phae:on, preceded the floud of Ogrees, which is denyed by all: for that of Theffalie (called Deucations) followed that of Atties (called Ogygia) at least 250. yeares or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. and fo doth P. Orofius: Eusebius about the 50. yeare of Moses life, and 50 Cyrillus about the 67. and both after Washs floud 770. yeares: for these bee Clemens

Acxandrinus his wordes. Fuit autem in Gracia tempore quidem PHORONEI, qui clem. Alexa. fuit post IN ACHVM, inundatio que fuit tempore Ogygis, There happened in Greece in the Break City. time of PHORONEVS, who lined after INACHVS, the floud of Ogyges. Now if the floud of Ogyges in Atica were 1020. or 1016. yeares before the first Olympiad, ac-

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cording to Eufebius and Orofius; (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020, it fals out that Ogyges floud happened before the Hebrewes left £gypt 250. yeares, or 260. yeares, according to the difference between the o-Falch, in Chron. pinions of Eulebius and Orofius. And for my felte (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60. yeares more to Abraham after the floud, then the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these flouds in this sort. The generall floud was in the yeare of the world 1656. Jacob was borne in the yeare of the world 2169. fo as from the beginning of the floud to Iacobs birth there were confumed 512. veares. Ogyges floud happened 100. yeares after Incob was borne; and therefore after the generall floud 613, yeares. Now Deucation was borne in the yeare of the 10 world 2356, and had lived 82, yeares, when his Kingdome of Theffalie was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356 make 2438) his floud was after Woals floud ended 782, yeares. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700 yeares between the generall floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. years of his age(as before) and then the floud of Theffalie followed the generall 782. yeares. The wordes of that Xenophon are these. Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deventionis, (ecundo anno Sphari, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Thes-(aliam vidit inundatam, From the drowning of the world to the birth of DEVCALION. in the second yeare of Spharus, are numbred 700. yeares, and when DEVCALION was 82. yeares old, he faw Thessalia drowned. This floud happened in the winter time a- 20 bout Parnaffus: witnesse Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom St. Augustine so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this floud of Descalion to have happened in the time of Cranaus, who fucceeded Cecrops: Orolius thinkes it fomewhat later, Amphitryon raigning in Athens, the third from Cecrops. Onely this of Dencalion was very great, and reached not only ouer Thessalie it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward; but it couered the greatest part of Italie : and either the same, or some other particular floud then happening opprest £gypt, faith Enfebius. And therefore did the Greekes either thinke it or faine it to be vniuerfall; and Deucalion, then King, fauing himselfe and some others on the mountaines of Thessalie (of all other the highest, faith Solinus) was by reason 30 thereof (as Strabo witneffeth) faid to be the preseruer of mankinde. That this floud couered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus make it probable: who affirme that the people then inhabiting Italie were therefore called sussess quia ab imbribus diluui Superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his second: which Vmbri these Authours make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to bee the Parents of the Samnies, Piceni, Lucani, Brutij, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Vmbri were not the inhabiters of Italie before the floud of Noah, and so tooke name by saving themselves upon the Appenine mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs: shewing who, and who only then were preserued, 40 which is fufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling vs that the first people Attenues dipno- which after the generall floud inhabited Italie, were the Camefenes; (fo named from feet 1 15. out of Camele, whom Cato in originibus, another of Annius his Authours names for a con-Disco Congress faith that Ca. fort of Janus) which people lived altogether a favage life; till fuch time as Saturne mole was the arriving on those coasts, denised lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whose

Solia l 14.

Straho.l.9.

Plin 1.3,c.14.

Plin, ibid.

Æs. 1,8. 319.

Primus ab athereo venit SATVRNVS Olympo, Arma I o v 1 s fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis, Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis Composuit, leges á dedit ; Latiumá vocari Maluit.

of lands.
Laff.Li.e.13. mong the Latines haue preferred; and of whom Virgil:

wife and fifter acts in that Region Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cassius and Varroa-50

SATVRNE descending from the heavenshigh, Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne, His Kingdome loft, and banisht thence doth flie. Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne To live together, and by lawes: which done He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them of the Sicari: Nations, which againe fought to displant the ancient inhabiters:

Tum manus Aulonia: er gentes venere Sicani.

Vire. 1.8. A.

Then came th' Aufonian bands, and the Sicanian tribes.

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine and sate downe in Italie) Thueydides and Pliniegiue Thueydile. testimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligit, faith Thucydides. After all these Plinting. e.s. plantations and replantations came the Vmbri, descended of the Galles (faith Annius) Annius ex Sanot of those Galles of France, but of those of Systhia, who commanded a great part of Italie, euen all Hetruria and Campania; as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionyfus, haue al. 20 fured vs; and therefore this floud of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all Plin.l.3.c.s. thole Nations were planted in Italie, and disposses of Italie againe; before the Vmbri were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then Sicania; before the Vmbri (in whose

time Deucations floud happened) possess the same, about 306, yeares before the war of Troy: Lycaon then gouerning Areadia; who being the Father of two and twentie Sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrius invaded Italie, who gave it the name of Oe- Paulan Aread. notria. This name it held vntill Italius of the fame Nation changed it into Italie, lib. 3. after his owne name, about 250. yeares before the fall of Troy. After these came Arif polycator the Pelafgi, of whome Plinie in his third Booke and fift Chapter; and Strabo in his

30 fift; Thucydides in his fixth speakes at large: and after them the Lydi vnder Tyrrhenus Hood. 1.2. their Captaine, that gaue name to the Tyrrheni; who casting thence the Vmbri, tooke Plind 3.6.4. from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Citties; to which (after they had possest and past ouer the Appenine Mountaines) they added divers others. whereof Telfina (afterward Bononia) was one.

Now that there was not anciently fuch a Nation, as these Vinbri, in those parts, I doe not affirme : having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And Stephanus thinkes, that the name was derived from the Greeke word ombros; but that these Vmbri of Italie were descended of the Nation of Soythians (called Galli) it shall bee

fhewed hereafter.

#### d. IIII.

Of some other records testifying the universall sloud: and of two ancient deluges in Ægypt: and of some elsewhere,



Aint Augustine out of Varro affirmeth that the Greekes and Latines made not any mention of the vniuerfall floud, because they had nothing of antiquitie foregoing that of ogyges; and therefore (according to Rhodoginus before remembred) were all thinges among the

ding to Khoaagamus before rememored ) were an uninger among enGreekes (which antiquitie had worme out of knowledge) called Ozygia,
which we in English commonly call (worme-caten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were fuccessfuely planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inftant: fo did every familie which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of di-

Abydenus, which may feeme a true description (though in other termes) of Noahs floud.

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Cyrillus also affirmeth, that Alex. Polyhistor maketh mention of this generall floud. And Plate in Timee produceth an Egyptian Priest, who recounted to Solon out of the holy Bookes of Agypt, the storie of the floud vniuerfall, which (faith he) happened long before the Gracian inundations. Fryer Annius his Xenophon remembreth 20 a third floud, which also Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, somewhat more ancient then that of Ogyges in Attica. For he named the generall floud : for the first, which happened (faith he) vnder the old Ozyges, fub profes Ozyge, which was Wosh; he calleth the second Williams: Hercules and Prometheus then living, 44. yeares before that of Attics, in the 2.4. yeare of Belochus King of the Affyrians, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this floud concred a great part of the nether £qipt.

especially all that Region subject to Prometheus; and hereof came the fable of the 35st, Com. 14st. 6 Vulture on Prometheus his liver, afterward flaine by Hercules of £gypt: which fiction Diod. Siculus deliuereth in these wordes: Flunium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemá, aquarum Aquilam tune appellatum, HERCVLEM cum confilij magnitudine, 20 tum virtuse, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Vnde & Greci quidam Poete rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, HERCVLEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEL jecur depascentem occidiste, This floud (meaning of Wilus) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but HERCVLES by his great judgement and vertue did againe compresse and Oxage ten this River, to farre extended and overfixed, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Pacts (connerting this labour and worke of HERCVLES into a fable) denifed that HERCVLES flew the Eagle, which fed on PROMETHEVS liner; meaning that he deliucred Prometheus of that forrow and torment, which for the Ioffe of his people and Countrie (by the waters destroyed and couered ouer) hee 40

A fourth floud chanced about Pharus in Agypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexandria, as Annius conceineth out of his Xenophon, who in this briefe fort Remp. de aquin, writeth of all these inundations. Inundationes plures fuere : prima nonimestris inunda-Comm. per An- tio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge : secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many inundations (faith this fame Xenophon) the first which was universallof nine Moneths, and this happened under the first Ogyges: the second was Niliaca, and of one Moneths continuance in the time of Hercules and Prometheus Agyptians: a third of two Moneths under Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of three Moneths in Theffalia under Deucalion; and a fift of the like continuance (called Pharonica) vnder Proteus of Egypt, about the time of Helens 50 rape. Diodorus in his fift booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authours, remembreth a floud in Afia the leffe and elfewhere, of no leffe destruction then any of the other particular inundations, faying, that the same happened before that of Deucalion : the Sea of Pontus and Hellefoont breaking in ouer the land.

CHAP.7. \$.5. of the Historie of the World.

But there have beene many flouds in divers times, and ages, not inferiour to any of thefe two last remembred . Miliaca and Pharonica in Agypt : as in the yeare of our redemption 190. when in October of the same yeare, Gregorie then being Bishop of Rome, there happened a maruailous ouerflowing in Italie, and especially in the Venetian territorie, and in Lyguria, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning : after which followed the great plague at Rome, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp and left vpon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the yeare 1446, there perifhed 10000, people, by the breaking Munfler. in of the Sea at Dordroch in Holland: of which kinde I take that floud to be of Achaia or Attica. Before that and in the yeare 1238. Trithemius speaketh of an earthquake Ecopoli, & towhich fwallowed many thousands: and after that of a floud in Frifeland, in which remains common there perished 100000 persons. Strozius Sigog, in his Magia omnifaria, telleth of mills bon non mills aprile. an inundation in Italie, in the time of Pope Damafus, in which also many Citties of runt, Friha quoq Sicile were swallowed another in the Papacie of Alexander the sixth: also in the yeare for martiness fluctus tota pene 1515. Maximilian being Emperour. Hee also remembreth a perilous overflowing [ubmersa sait of in Polonia, about Cracouia, by which many people perished. Likewise Viginier a perierunt plus-French Historian speaketh of a great floud in the South part of Languedoc, which fell quam 100000, in the yeare of our Lord 1557, with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world, and judgement day; faving, that by the vio-

20 lent descent of the waters from the mountaines, about Nilmes there were removed diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both covne of filter and gold, divers neeces of plate, and veffels of other mettall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the Goths inuaded that Prouince, in the yeare 1156.

Q. V.
That the floud of No AH was supernaturall, though some say it might have, beene foreseene by the Starres.

Ow howfocuer all thefe flouds and many other, which have concred at seuerall times seuerall Regions, not only in these parts of the world, at retictation restriction. The state of the

of the earth by a power aboue nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himfelfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the deepe: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, then any abilitie of nature could effect, or any fecond causes by whatsoeuer vnion could performe, without receiuing from the Fountaine of all power, 40 strength, and faculties supernaturall. Henricus Mediniensis, a Scholler of Albertus Magnus, in his Commentaries vpon the great conjunctions of Albu Mafar obserueth, that before the floud of 2 oah, the like conjunction of Jupiter and Saturne, happened in the last degree of Cancer, against that constellation since called the ship of Argos; by which the floud of Noah might be foretold, because Cancer is both a waterie figne, and the house of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of Astronomie, and common experience. And this opinion Petrus de Aliaco vpon Genesis confirmeth, affirming that although Alio de concer-Nonly did well know this floud by dinine reuelation, yet (this conjunction being no-dia 1 holes. et torious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only fignes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which

is God himselfe: and further that by \* Catarractic coli (Englished the windores of \* The word

properly fignifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downewards, dasheth and breaketh; of a page a little or frange. Hence, because windores doe not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (Windores) for barres or floud gates.

heaucn)

heauen) Moses meant this great and waterie conjunction; the word (Catarracta) fignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now(faith P. de Aliaco ) it pleafed God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby for sake those wicked waies wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercie.

Of this judgement was Gal. Parifienfis, who vnderstood that the wordes Catarratta cali, or windores of heaven were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these wateriesignes, Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion, and of the Planets. Mars, Venus, and the Moone: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His owne words are these, Wondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraorum catarractas 10 cali voca se, nisi partes illas cali, que generative sunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, vt Cancer &c. as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meaneth by those words (Catarralta celli, or windores of Heauen) sulesse to thereby understand those exclessing powers, by whose influences are en-gendred the raine, and inundations of waters, such as are the waterie Signes of Can-

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable wisedome this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and facultie, and gaue to euery operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and fountaines, commaunding them to cast out the whole treasure and 20 heape of their waters; taking retention from the Cloudes, and condenling ayer into water by the ministeric of his Angels, or howsoener else best pleased his Al-powerfulnesse.

That there was no neede of any new creation of matter to make the universall floud : and what are Catarract a Cali. Gen. 7. verf. 11.



Owif it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new (pecies) which graunted, it may feeme that then all the earth & ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable world sifteene cubites aboue the highest mountaines. Of this proposition whether

20

God hath so restrained himselfe or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to ouercouer the highest mountaines, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish; for it is written, that the fountaines of the great deepe were broken up (that is) the waters for look the very bowels of the earth; 40 and all what focuer was differft therein peirced and brake through the face thereof. Then let vs confider that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that circle feuen thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand fine hundred miles: Take then the highest mountaine of the world, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas, the mountaines of Armenia or Soythia, or that (of all other the highest) in Tenuerif, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest stretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand fine hundred miles deepe should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirty miles vpright being found in the 50 depths of the earth one hundred and sixteene times: for the fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp, and the waters drawen out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly if we confider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the ayre ouer and aboue it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleafed God to condense but so much of this avre as euery-where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conversion of ayer into water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seeme strange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinarie understanding that the Earth (God so pleasing) was coursed our with waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Aliacensis, to which I may adde Berofus and others, That fuch a conjunction there was, foreshewing that defruction by waters which followed; and that by the word Catarract a call, or Windores of heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needes no other answere then to that observation of Ludonicus Vines, who affirmeth that by the gravest Astrologians it was observed, that in the yeare 1524, there should happen the like conjunction, as at Noahs floud, then which (faith he) there was never a more faire, drie, and feafonable yeare; the like destruction was prophecied of the yeare 1588. But Pieus Earle of Mirandula proueth that there could not bee any fuch conjunction at that

To conclude, I finde no other mysterie in the word Catarra Te cali, then that the clowdes were meant thereby: Moles vling the word Windores of Heaven (if that bee the fense of the word) to expresse the violence of the raines, and powring downe of waters. For whofoeuer hath feene those fallings of water, which sometimes hap-20 pen in the Indies, which are called the Spowts (where clowdes doe not breake into drops, but fall with a reliftleffe violence in one body) may properly vie that manner of speech which Moses did; That the windores or floud-gates of heaven opened; (which is) That waters fell, contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loofened the power retentine in the vppermost aire, and the waters fell in abundance : Behold (faith I o B) he which holdeth the waters, and they drie 100 1.12,015 up, or better in Latine, Et omnia siccantur, and all things are dried up; but when hee sendeth them out, they destroy the earth : and in the 26. Chapter. Hee bindeth the waters in the clandes; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the generall floud, and called up the waters which flept in the great deep : and these joyning together couered 30 the earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, hee then com- Gen. 8.12 maunded them to returne into their darke and vaft caues, and the reft (by a winde) rarified againe into aire, formerly condenfed into drops:

#### ). VII.

of some remainder of the memorie of No AH among the Heathen.

O A H commaunded by God, before the fall of those waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne wife, and his fonnes, and his former wince, taking with them of eueric recture, which tooke life by generation, feuen of the cleane, and of the vncleane, two. Neah, according to Philo, lignifieth quietneffe: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father Lamech, ceffation; to whome after-times gaue many names answering his antiquitic, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, The first Ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges there was also a great floud of Achaia: Saturne they called him, because hee was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the name of Prometheus, who was faid to fleale away Iupiters fire; fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and foresight. Hee had also '50 the name of Ianus, (idest) vinofus, because Iain, fignifieth wine in the Hebrew. And fo Tertullian finds him written in libris ritualibus, in the bookes of ceremonies, preceding both Saturne, Franus, and Joue: which three enjoyed an elder time then all the other ancientest fained Gods. And this name Iain is taken from the Hebrew and Sy-

rian, and not from the Latine: for it was in vie before there was any Latine Nation,

orany Kingdome by that name knowne. Of the antiquitie of Janus, Fabius Pictor giucth this testimonic. IANI atate nulla crat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum haserat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit I A NVS ad facrificia; primus enim aras cr. Pomæria er facra docuit. In the time of I A N v s (faith he) there was no Monarchie : for the delire of rule had not then folded it Celfe about the hearts of men. I ANV s first taught the people to (acrifice Wine and Meale : he first fet up Altars, instituted gardens and solitarie groves, wherein they veed to pray; with other holie rites and ceremonies. A greater testimonie then this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth fo well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest Noah flourished, there was not any King or Monarch : Nimrod being the first that 10 tooke on him four raigne authoritie. Secondly, 20 oah after the floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a hulbandman; and therefore offered the first fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, hee was the first that raised an

Gex.8,20.

Grn 9.20.

Altar, and offered facrifice to God, a thanks-giuing for his mercifull goodneffe to-wards him. Noah was also fignified in the name of Biffons (which was given to Iz-Armsont,gent. nus ) because he beheld the times both before and after the floud, quia praterita nonerit, & futura prospexerit, saith Arnobius. Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of Innus shadowed by the name of Chaos, and semen orbis, the seede of the world; because as out of that consused heape was drawne all the kindes of beafts and plants; fo from Nosh came all mankinde; 20 whereof ouid in the person of Janus:

Quid, defaffis, La

Nat.Com. 1.5.

6 13.

Callus.

Gen.9. 20.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam [um res prifea) vocabant. Aspice quam longi temporis act a cano.

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeares By those old times, of which I fing, appeares.

He was also intituled Calum and Sol. Heaven and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomic : Vertumnus, Batchus, and Liber Pater; not that latter, which 30 Diod. Siculus, and Alex. Aphrodifeus fo call, because he was the restorer of the Greekes to their former libertie, but in respect of the floud. For the Greekes called Liber 2"s, and his Nurses Hyades, of raine, because Noah entred the Arke, when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres Hyades, a constellation in the brow or necke of Taurus, and cuer after a monument of Noahs floud. He was also by others furnamed Triton, a Marine God, the Sonne of Neptune: because hee lived in safetie on the waters. So was he knowne by the name of Diony fus, quafi diariogou, mentem pungens, bite-braine, or wit-flinger, though Diodorus conceine otherwife, and deriue that name à patre esloce, of his Father, and the place of his birth, (to wit) of Joue, and Nifa a Towne of Arabia falix, faith Suidas out of Orpheus. He had also the by-name of Taurus, or Tauro- 15 phagus; because he first voked Oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of Moles. And No A H became an husbandman. Now how socuer the Gracians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus (otherwife Dionyfus)it is certaine that the name was borrowed. and the invention stollen from Noah. But this name of Bacchus, more anciently Boacus, was taken (faith Gul. Stuckius, and out of him Danaus) from Noachus, (N) being communations, & changed into (B); and it is the more probable, because it cannot bee doubted but Dancus depit that Noah was the first planter of the Vine after the floud : and of Noah (the first and ancient Bacchus) were all those fables deuised, of which Diodorus complaineth in his fourth Booke, and fifth Chapter. This first Bacchus (to wit) Noah was surnamed Nylius, of the mountaine Nylain India, where the Gracian Bacchus neuer came, what- 50 focuer themselves faine of his enterprises, and these mountaines of Nysioyne with those of Paropanises. And those other Easterne mountaines, on which the Arke of North rested after the floud.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second parent of mankinde

might the better be preserved, there were founded by his issues many great Citties which bare his name; with many rivers and mountaines: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we finde the Cittie of That Le. Noah vpon the bankes of the red Sea and elsewhere: the River of Noas in Thrace, Steph de Pris. which Strabo calleth Noarus; Ptolomie Danus; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus Strabol. 1. much for the name.

#### d. VIII.

Of Sundrie particulars touching the Arke : as the place where it was made. the matter, fashion and name.



CHAP. 7. S.8.

Ow in what part of the world Noah built the Arke, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I finde any approved Authour A that hath written thereof : only Goropius Becanus in his Indo-Scythia conceiveth, that Noah built his Arke neare the mountaines of Caucalus. because on those hils are found the goodlieft Cedars: for when Alex.

Macedon made the warre among a people, called Nyfei, inhabiting the other fide of 20 Caucafus, hee found all their burials and Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (faith Becanus) Woah repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Arke; to which allo hecaddeth the conueniencie of riuers, to transport the Timber which hee vsed, without troubling any other car-

Only this wee are fure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne world; and to my understanding, not farre from the place where it rested after the floud. For Noah did not vse any mast or faile (as in other ships) and therefore did the Arkeno otherwise moue then the Hulke or body of a ship doth in a calree Sea.

o Also because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right raines there were any windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written: Godmade a winde to passe Go.S.1. won the earth, and the waters ceased; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion bectrue, as it is very likely, that the Arke had fundum planum, a flat bottome, and not raised in forme of a thip with a sharpnesse forward, to cut the waves for the better speede.

This kind of Veffell the Hebrewes call Thebet, and the Greekes Larnax, for fo they 40 termed Deucalions ship and some say, that the hill Parnassus, to which in eight dayes hearrived, was first called Larnassus, and by the change of (L) into (P) Parnassus, but suphaevro, Pausants thinks that it took name of a Sonne of the Nymphe Cleodore, called Par-solars,

nassus, the inventour of Auguration. Pencerus findes the word ( Parnaffus ) to have no affinitie with the Greeke, but De Oracut folthinks it derived from the Hebrew word Nahas, which fignifieth Auguration and 94-Distination : or from Har or Parai, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the leafe before

Iosephus cals the Arke Machina, by the generall name of a huge Frame: and Epi- Epiph, in Anow. phanius out of the Hebrew Aron; but herein lieth the difference betweene Aron 50 and Thebet, That Aron fignifieth properly the Arke of the Sanctuarie, but Thebet fuch a Veffell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe upon the waters.

Lastly, this Arke of Noah differed from the fallion of a ship in this, that it had a couer and roofe, with a creft in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the roofe of an house; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder Noals

himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselues from the noysomneffe of the many bealts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

Of what wood the Arke was built it is vncertaine. The Hebrew word Gopher once and in this place only yield is diverfly vnderflood; and though the matter bee of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Genena Translation cals it Pinetree, the Rabbine Cedar, the Seuentie square timber, the Latine smooth timber. Others will haue it Cypres trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at funerals. But out of doubt if the word Gopher fignific any speciall kinde of timber, Noah obayed the voice of God therein; if not, hee was not then curious as touching the kinde or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace to and mercie for his defence. For with Noah God promised to establish his conenant. Plin. Lac. 40. Plinie affirmeth that in Egypt it was the vie to build ships of Cedar, which the worme cates not; and he auoweth that he faw in Vica, in the Temple of Apollo Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Cittie, and that they were still found in his time, which was aboue 1188. yeares after: prouing thereby, that this kinde of wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is casie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet sauour, lasting also better then any other wood, and because neare the place where the Arke rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountaines of the East, befides those of Libanus, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: 20 which bath belides the other commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therfore fittest to build ships withall: Pererius conceineth that the Arke had divers forts of timber, and that the bottome had of one fort, the decke and partition of another; all which may be true or falfe, if Gopher may be taken for timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will ferue for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for masts and vards. But Noah had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and heighth, and to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines, thereby to feuer the cleane beafts from the vncleane, and to preserve their severall forts of foode; and that it might be capable of all kinde of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when 30 Ness had gathered together, hee call his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels fleered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compaffe or the North starre. The pitch which Noah vsed, is by some supposed to have beene a kinde of Bitumen, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of Sodome and Gomorra, now the dead Sea or Alphaltes: and in the Region of Babylon, and in the West India, and herein it exceedeth other pitch that it melts not with the

Pererias.

IX.

Sunne, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard waxe.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacitie.

He Arke according to Gods commaundement had of length three hundred cubites, fiftie of breadth, and thirtie deepe or high : by which proportion it had fixe parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which St. AVGVSTINE. Procul dubio in length to one of deput; of which of the ceit ) Ecclefie, queft falua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus : nam & mensuraipsalongitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinis go eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines pranunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (faith he) it 50 is a figure of the Cittie of God, transiling in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, faued by the tree whereupon the Mediatour betweene God and Man, the man Iefus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth, and breadth, answereth the shape of mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath beene a disputed que-

ftion among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect thefe. The first kinde of cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The fecond (the palme cubit) which taketh one handfull more then the common. The third is called Regius Cubitus, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the facred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly there is a fift cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth fix common cubits. But of all these sortes.

10 which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies; fo is the common cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of

the middle finger, of leffelength then it was in elder times.

St Augustine considering the many fortes of beastes and birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometricall cubit, which containeth almost fix of the Common. For measuring the Arke by the yulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Athen, dipnosoo, For measuring the zark by the voils at the state of the pater. But St Jugu. The strength with the of Systaulis, or the fluip of Ptolomic Philo-pater. But St Jugu. The films (who at the first was led by Origen) changed his indegenent as touching the Control,

20 Geometricall cubit; and found upon better confideration, that there needed not fo huge a bodie to præserue all sortes of creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of filhes into the Arke, because they were kept liuing (faith St Augustine) in their owne element. Non fuit necesse conferuarein Arca qua poffent in aquis vivere; non folum mer fa ficut pifces, verum super-natantia, ficult mult a dites. It was not needfull to conferue those creatures in the Arke, which could line in the waters ; and not onely fiftes which can live under water, but also those fowles which sit and finimme on them : and againe, Terranon aqua, maledicta, quià Adam non huius, fed Aug de Civili. illius fruotum vetitum comedit. It was the earth, and not the waters, which God curfed for Dellis as 37 of the feebidden fruit of the earth and not of the Sea, did Adameat; fo as St Augustine 30 gathereth hereupon, (as aforefaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.

And if wee looke with the cies of judgement heereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischiese and of ignorance, then of any reuerend reason finde many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true that many of the Species, which now feeme differing and of feuerall kindes, were not then in rerum natura. For those beafts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to præserue them : seeing they might bee generated againe by others, as the Mules, the Hyana's and the like: the one begotten by Affes and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolues. And whereas by dif-

40 couering of strange landes, wherein there are found divers beastes and birdes differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts, it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed skinnes, or seathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and were plaine russet or black: they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion I finde no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Ounce of India; and even those dogges which are become wilde in Hispagniola, with which the Spaniards yied to denoure the naked Indians, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattle, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crowe and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the deal bid India

50 drown'd and low Islands of Caribana; and the Blackbird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation: in the North parts of Virginia. The dogfish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Black-mores non animalia rationalia not men, but some kinde of strange beastes : and so

the Giants of the South America should bee of an other kinde, then the people of this part of the World. Wee also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best Mellons will change in a yeare or two to common Cowcummers by being fet in a barren foile: Therefore taking the kindes præcifely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced: The Arke, after the meafure of the common Cubit was fufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed : For it we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the Common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantlie stature ( and lesse ai- 10 lowance we cannot give to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot deepe.

But first of all to make it manifest, that the Geometricall Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of og King of Bafan had been nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80 foot : and Goliah, who had the length of 6. Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull, a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54 foot in heighth and vpwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of Goliah been nine footlong, and farre waightier and big- 20

ger then all Dauids bodie, who carried it away.

Againe if the Geometricall Cubit had been yfed for a measure in the Scripture as many Commenters have obscrued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubites of length, fine of breadth and three of heighth) haue reached the length of 2.7. foot vpright, and so must their Priestes have ascended by steps or ladders to have performed their facrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in these wordes : Thou shalt not goe up with sleppes unto mine altar, that thy shame beenot discouered thereon; and therefore was the Altar but three Common Cubites high which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was 30 not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might give much the more capacitie to the Arke, although it be also probable, that as the men were. fo were the horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose lines cannot bee præserued in the waters, might according to their præsent quantities bee contained in a vessell of those dimensions which the Arke, had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now viuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large bodies which were in the daies of 200th 40 might have roome fufficient in the Arke, which was meafured by a Cubit of length

How the appointed number of creatures, to be faued (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might have place in the Arke, Butao hath very learnedly declared: the briefe fumme of whose discourse to that purpose is this. The length of the Arke was three hundred cubits, which multiplyed by the breadth, namely fiftie cubits, and the product by the heighth of thirtie cubits, sheweth the whole concautie to have beene 450000. Now whereas the posts, walles, and other partitions of lodgings may feeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the heighth of the roofe which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500. cubicall cubes, was a 50 fufficient recompence : If therefore in a ship of such greatnesse wee seeke roome for 89. diffinct Species of beafts, or (leaft any should be omitted) for 100. seuerall kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the birds, which in bignesse are no away answerable to them, and for meate to sustaine them all. For there are three

forts of beafts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe. and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to Arilletle) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Becues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and fo of the rest. Of beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater fort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the law of Moses, whereof seuen of a kinde entred into the Arke, namely three couples for breede, and one odde one for facrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, fo that in all there were in the Arke one and twentic great beafts cleane, and fixe and fiftie vncleane, estimable 10 for largenesse as 91. Beeues; yet for a supplement (least perhaps any Species becomitted) let them be valued, as 120. Beeues. Of the leffer fort, feeding on vegetables were in the Arke fixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for sunplie, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which denour flesh were two and thirtie kinds. answerable to three score and soure Wolues. All these 280, beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the Arke in their seuerall Cabbines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his familie, and all their necessaries.

That the Arkerested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucafus) betweene the East Indies; and Scythia.

A praterition of some questions lesse materials: with a note of the vse of this question; to finde out the Metropolis of Nations;

Hat time Noah tooke to build the Arke, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the Commandement from God 100 yeares before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leifure fufficient. As for the number of decks & partitions, which origen deuides into fource

St. Augustine into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the Crocodiles (now called Alegartos) the Sea-cowes or Sea-horses, were kept in the Arke, or no, I thinke it a needleffe curiofitie; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a fish-poole might bee made aswell within the Arke, as in Hiero his ship of Syracuse. Lastly, to consider or labour to disproue the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the Arke was lightened by a Carbuncle, 40 or had windores of Cristall to receive in light, and keepe out water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I feeke most to satisfie my felfe and others in, is in what part of the world the Arke rested after the floud : because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the seate of the terrestrials Paradife, and the refting of the Arke) doe only and truly teach the worlds plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the floud; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

t. II

A proposall of the common opinion, that the Arkerested upon some of the hils of Armenia.

Nd first, for the true place where the Arke rested after the floud, and from A Nd first, for the true place where the Arke rened and their first settlement what part of the world the children of Noah trauailed to their first settlement and

1.5 am 17.4

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writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinkeout of my humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfeon the originall and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the Arke flaved upon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphraft hath converted Kardu, meaning the hils Gordai or Gordiai in Armenia the greater: (as the wordes Gordai and Kardu feeme to bee one and the fame) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are ; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any fuch thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater 10 Armenia. Nicolaus Damascenus cals this mountaine of Ararat, Baris, being the same which the Chaldean nameth Kardu, to which mountaine the Fryer Annius (citing this place out of Infephus) makes him finde another adioyning, called Ocila, and to fay that the Arke (of which Mofes the Lawginer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this Ocila. But I doe not finde any fuch mountaine in being, as this Ocila; neither is there any mention of it in the place of Iofephus. Strabo remembreth a Promontorie in Arabia falix, of that name, and Plinie findes a Mart-towne fo called in the same, which Ptolomie cals Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger Zidon. But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Annius, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian mountaines. Berofus calleth those mountaines of Armenia Cordiai, and Cur- 20 tius Cordai: Ptolomie Gordai and Gordiai: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this Nicolaus Damascenus called Ninyada, perhaps (as Becanus coniectures) for Hierem 51.27. Milyada or rather Minni: which word is vied for Armenia Minor. And the very

and plantation, I am refolued ( without any prefumption ) that therein the most

Washifuls.c.12 we should say Minni of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Syria, Plinic witnesseth. Epiphanius placeth the Cardyes about these mountaines, whom others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The mountaines are feated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of mountaines called Taurus, or Niphates in the plaines of Armenia the great, neare the Lake Thospitis: whence the River of Tigris floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines 30 Gordiei (that which furmounteth the rest) Epiphanius cals Lubar, which in the Artoteph. de Antiq. menian fignifieth a place of descent: but this out of Iosephus; which name (faith Iunius) was of the euent, because of Noshs comming downe with his children. But this alfo I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hill, from whence on euery side wee must descend, may thus be called: as Junius corrects the place in Iosephus Aus Capie (Kubaris.) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because Ioseph 1.1.0.4. faics, the place is called disofartions (as it were the descent or comming downe) and Epiphan.l. 1. cont. Heref. cals it Adoug: which word in the Armenian and Egyptian tongue signifieth descent, of Lubar, which is to descend; whence also Lubra is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place; whereof also the Latine Delubrum may seeme to be derived; and Ast. 6.9. they that belonged to the

word of Armenia seemes to be compounded of this word Minni, and Aram: as if

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have 50 come sooner, had they come from so neare a place as Armenia.

 ${f B}$  Vt there are many arguments to perfuade me , that the Arke of NoAh did not rest it selfe in any part of Armenia, and that the mountaine Armen was not Bartis, nor any one of the Gordiaan mountaines.

Synagogue of the Agyptims are called Libertini, for Lubratenu. Yet this opinion

hath beene embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and al-

lowance without any farther examination; although the name of Lubar might o-

therwise rightly be given, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage

was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, then to any of the rest adioyning.

CHAP. 7. S. 10. 1.4. of the Historie of the World.

For first, it is agreed by all which follow Berofus, that it was in the 130. years, or Berofit. in the yeare 121 after the floud, when Wimrod came into the valley of Shinar, which Valley was afterward called Babylonia, Chulb, and Chaldea. If then the Arke had first found land in Armenia, it is very unprobable, that the children of Noah which came into that valley could have spent so many yeares in so short a passage; seeing the Region of Melopotamia was onely interiacent, which might by easie journeles haue been past ouer in 20 daies; and to hasten and help which passage the nauigable riuer of Tieris offered it felfe, which is cueric where transpaffable by boats of great burden : fo as where the Defart on the one fide refifted their expedition, the river on

10 the contrarie fide ferued to advance it; the river rifing out of the fame Ledge of mountaines, or at the foot of them, where the Arke of Noah was first supposed to fettle it felfe: Then, if the Nations which followed Nimrod still doubted the furprife of a fecond floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundethill to the eare of reason, that they would have spent many yeares in that low and ouerflowen Valley of Melopotamia, so called of the many Rivers which imbroider or compasse it : for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes, which they vndertooke, their vnbeliefe; being no fooner arrived in Shinar, but they beganne to prouide themselves of a defence (by creeting Babel) against any future or feared inundation. Now at Babelit was that Nimrod beganne his Kingdome, the 20 first knowne Cittie of the world founded after the floud, about 121, yeares, or (as

others suppose) ten yeares later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vndertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, Toget vs a Gento, to name (faith the Text: ) Secondly, thereby to viurge dominion over the reft.

#### t. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glorie.

30  $F^{\rm Or}$  a fecond Argument : The civilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the Eaft parts of the world first abounded) hath more waight then any thing which hath beene, or can be faid for Armenia, and for Noahs taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other thinges which the East had) may easilie perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East Indians (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordinance of batteric, confirmed by the Portugals and others, makes vs now to vnderstand, That the place of Philostratus in vata Apollonij Tianai, 1.2.c. 14. is no fable, though express in fabulous wordes: when he faith, that the wife men, which dwell betweene Hyphafis and Ganges, vie not themselves to goe forth into battaile : but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning fent from Jupiter By which meanes there it is faid, that Hercules Apyptius and Bacchus, joyning their forces were defeated there; and that this Hercules there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, because he brought them first into Greece : of which the people (then rude and fauage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leffe ancient then Seth or Henoch were: for they are faid to have written on pillers of flone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Easterne world it was that John Cuthenberg a Germane, brought the deuise of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed, brought the practise thereof 50 to Rome: and after that Nicholaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to bee but newly borne, the Chinaos had letters long before either the Agyptians or Phanicians; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any civill know-

ledge; or any letters among them.

And

And that this is true, both the Portugals and Spaniards have witneffed, who about an hundred yeares fince discouered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein : for the Chinaos account all other Nations but Saluages, in respect of

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of Alex. Macedon may justly bee called to witnesse, who found more Citties and sumptuositie in that little kingdome of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the East India, then in all his other travailes and undertakings. For in Alexanders time learning and greatneffe had not travailed fo farre to the West as Rome: Alexander escerning of Italie but as a barbarous Countrie, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his 10 eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sunriling, and heare Paulus Venetus what he reporteth of the vttermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall finde that those Nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civill, the farther West the more faluage. And of the Isle of Japan (now Zipingari) Venetus maketh this report. Incolereligioni, literis, & sapientie sunt addictisimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nibilillis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) facris in delubris exercent : vnum cognofcunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth : there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they we in their 20 Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, civilitie, riches, fumptuous buildings, and pollicie in gouernement, is reported to be fuch by those who have beene employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

#### The third argument, From the wonderfull relistance which SEMIRAMIS found in the East Indies.

B Vt for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasi-on of Semiranis before the indifferent and adulted Reader: who may consider in what age sheelined, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as Diodorus Siculus out of Ctelias reporteth) of more then three Millions to inuade India, to which headioyneth alfo 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeue but a third part, it shall suffice to proue that India was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein thee lived: All Historians confent, that shee was the wife of Ninus; and the most approved Writers agree, that Ninus was the Sonne of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, 40 that Wimrod was the Sonne of Culb, Culb of Cham, and Cham of Noah. And at fuch time as Nimrod came into Shinar, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Cittle and Tower of Babel may appeare; and being then so multiplyed and increased, the two descents cast betweene Nimrod and Semiramis, brought foorth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whome shee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie : euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her owne, conducted by Staurobates King of India beyond Indus; of whole multitudes this is the witnesse of Diod. Siculus. STAVROBATES, auitis maioribus quam que erant SEMIRAMIDIS copis. STAVROBATES gathering together greater troups then those of SEMIRAMIS. If then 50 these numbers of Indians had been encreased but by a Colonie sent out from Shinar, (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of Staurobates must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered

might easily grow up in that time, from so great a troupe as Nimrod brought with him into Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the storie of Israel) so could not any fuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the Indian armie victorious ouer Semiramis, if the Colonies sent thirther had beene so late as Babel ouerturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 67. yeares time after the floud, before Nimrod was borne: of which, 30. yeares to Culb ere he begat Seba, after whom hee had Hauilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha: Gen. 10.71. and then 30. yeares to Raamah, ere hee begat Sheba and Dedan, both which were

borne before Nimrod: and fine yeares to his fine elder brothers, which make 65, and then twice 30. yeares for two generations more, as for Nimrod, Sheba and Dedan with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third generation might growe vp, which makes in all 125, yeares, there will then remaine fixe yeares to have beene spent in trau illing from the East, ere they arrived in Shinar in the yeare after the floud 121. And so the followers of Wimrod might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at Shinaar in the yeare 101: and the confusion to haue beene at Pelegs birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time, and build Nimrods Tower in the averand not on those low and marish groundes (which require sound foundations) in the Plaines of Shinaar. For except that huge Tower were built in a daie, there could 20 be no confusion in that yeare 101. of at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that 2\immad vsurped regall authority in the 131. yeare after the floud, (according to Berofus) and that the worke of Babel lasted fourtie yeares (according to Glycas)hominibusin ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus : Men labou- Glycin Gen. en to Giyeas hommibusm ea perfectned tous 40, mmn months and the state it was 170, de Turis ex-ring in vaine 40, yeares to finish it. By which account it fals out, that it was 170, de Turis exveares after the floud, ere a Colonie was fent into East India; which graunted (the one 173.

being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly bee belieued, that Stair obates could have exceeded Semiramis in numbers : who being then Empresse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one

# †. V I4. The fourth Argum, from divers considerations in the person of No A.H.

 $\mathbf{F}_{ ext{and had}}$  lived therein the long time of 600 years, was all that space 130, years after the floud without any certaine habitation. No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conducter of those people, by Noah destined 40 and appointed to fill and inhabite that middle part of the earth and the westerne world'; (which trauailes Noah put ouer to yong and able bodies) and that Noah him-felfethen couered with many yeares planted himfelfe in the same place which God had affigned him; which was where he first came downe out of the Arke from the waters: For it is written, that after Noah came downe out of the Arke he planted a vineyeard, and became a husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth, and not to range ouer fo many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia fælix, where hee should (if the tradition be found) haueleft certaine Colonies; thence into Africa towards Triton; then into Spaine, where they fay he fetled other companies, & built Citties after the names of Noela and Noegla his fons wives : from 30 thence into Italie, where they say hee found his sonne Cham the Saturne of Agypt, who had corrupted the people and subjects of Gomer in his absence : with whom Noah (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeares; but then finding no amendment they fay hee banisht him out of Italie. These be but the fancies of Berofus Annianus, a plaine imitation of the Gracian fables. For let euery reasonable man

conceine, what it was to trauaile farre in such a forrest as the World was, when after fo great a rotting of the earth by the floud the same lay wast and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeares, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or paffage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in

those yeares were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that Woah neuer came into the valley of Shinaar, as we need not suspect his passage into Italic or Spaine: For Noah, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authoritie, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and iffues to haue wndertaken that vnbeleeuing prefumptuous worke of Babel. Rather by his prefence 10 and prevalent perswasions he would have bound their hands from so vaine labours. and by the authoritie which he received euen from God himfelfe, hee would have held them in that awfull subjection, as what socuer they had vainely conceived or feared, yet they durft not have disobayed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regal authoritie ouer his children and people. Certainely, Noah knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was bv themselues purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raife vp building against his Almightie power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the fame, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that euer he came so farre West as Babylonia; but ra- 20 ther, that he fent those numbers which came into Shinaar (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder 2 mred, or those vppon whom he vsurped. Nauclerus and Caleslinus take the testimonie of Methodius Bishop of Tire for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) Nimrod, Suphene, and Ioctan: of which Nimrod commaunded theiffues of Cham, Joetan of Sem, and Suphene of Japhet. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sonnes of Sem: 10ct an Hauilah, and Ophir, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the East india. The rest of Sems issues had also the Regions of Persia and 30 the other adjoyning to Indus, and held also a part of Chaldea for a time: for Abraham inhabited Vr, till hee was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of lectan, or of all the reft a certaine number (Cham and his iffue only excepted) that Noah kept with himfelfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall

speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moues me to beleeue, that Woah stayed in the East far away from all those that came into Shinar, is that Moses doth not in any word make mention of Noah in all the storic of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Noah, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosenseruant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or negle- 40 Red, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) with drawne himfelfe, and refted a part with his best beloued, giving himfelfe to the fernice and contemplation of God and heavenly thinges, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For hee landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and dreft the earth; after which, and his thanks-giuing to God by facrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, because hee was so farre away from those Nations of which Moses wrote : which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

t. VII.

#### t. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of ANNIVS the Commentor upon BEROSVS; who finds divers places where the Arke refled; as the Caspian and Gordiean hils which are three hundred miles a funder; and alfo some place of Scythia.

T remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier An-1 nius, who in his Commentaries vpon Berofus and others, laboureth maruailously 10 to proue, that the Arke of Noah rested upon the Armenian mountaines called Caspy; which mountaines separate Armenia from the upper Media, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines Gordiei, hee hath no other shift to vnite these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, then to charge those men with errour which haue carefully ouerfeene, printed, and published Ptolomies Ptol.tab. Asia. 3. Geographic, in which they are altogether differenced. For that last edition of Mercators, fets these hils fine degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) afunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of Villanouanus and others, we shall finde nothing in them to helpe Annius withall: for in those the mountaines

20 Caspij stand seuen degrees to the East of the Gordies, which make 420 miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie Annius strengtheneth himselfe. Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgement vpon them in the like dispute. Aberrarunt vero omnes, non negligentia, sedregnorum situs ignorantia, They have allerred Diod. 1.32 (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the lituation of Kingdomes. But for an induction, to proue that the Arke of Noah flood on the mountaines of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquitie of the Seythians: and to proue the same hee citeth Marcus Portius Cato, who anoweth that 250 yeares before Nimus, the earth cato devite. was ouerflowne with waters, oin Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus, and that in Scy- parsprima thia Sagathe flocke of mortall men was renewed. The fame Authour also teacheth that

30 the Vmbri before remembred (who were so called, because faued from Deucalions floud) were the Sonnes of the Galli, a Nation of the Scythians. Ex hijs venisse I ANVM cum DYRIM & Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum; From thefe Scythians, he faith, that IANVS came with DYRIM and with the Galli the progenitours of the Vmbri; And againe, Equidem principatus originis femper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway given to the Scythians. And herein truly I agree with Annius, that those Regions called Scythia, and now Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia Afiatica, were among the first peopled : and they held the greatest part of Asia vndertribute till Ninus time. Also Plinie calleth the Imbri which long fince inhabited Plinia call Italie, Gens antiquissma, a most ancient Nation, who descended of these Scythians. Now

40 that which Annius laboureth, is to proue that these ancient Scythians (meaning the Nephewes of Woah) did first inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the Arkerested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in Armena, he faineth a nation of Seythians called Araxea, taking name of the mountaine Ararat, neare the River of Araxes. And because his Authour Cate helpeth him in part (to wit, That in Scythia mankinde was restored after the great floud, 250, yeares before Ninus) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding the word Saga, as in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, in Scythia Saga mankinde was restored, hee therefore in the Proame of his Commentarie vpon Berofits, leaueth out the addition Berofits. of Saga altogether in the repetition of Cato his wordes, and writes homines in Scythia

50 Saluatos. For Scythia Saga or Sace, is vindoubtedly vinder the mountaines of Paropa- Pio. Afee. tal. 2. nifus, on which, or neare which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground; and from those East parts (according to Moses) came all those companies which ere-Eted the Tower of Babel in Shinaar or Babylonia.

But now the best authoritie which Annius hath is out of Diodorus : where he hath

read, that the Soythians were originally Armenians, taking name à Soytha Regeeorum, from Scythatheir King. But (in a word) we may see his vanitie, or rather (indeede) his fallhood in citing this place. For Diodorus a most approved and diligent Authour beginneth in that place with these wordes. Fabulantur Scytha, The Scythians fable: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giveth this title to that very Chapter. Scytharum origo & successive, fabula, The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable. And (indeede) there needes no great disproofe hereof, since Ptolomie doth directly delineate Seythia Saga, or Sasa, and fets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the Perlians (faith Herodotus ) call all the Seythians, Sace, which Plinie confirmeth: for in respect that these Sace (faith Plinie) are the next Scythians to the Persians, there- 10 fore they give all the reft that name. Now that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man beleeueth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the Sace; and the Countrie about Araxes Ptolomie calleth Colthene and Soducene and Sacapene, without any mention of Seythia at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed Soythians, either within Imaus or without, to the number of 100. feuerall Na-Tab. Alia 7.6 3 tions are by Ptolomie precifely fet downe.

L.6.c.17

But to come to those later Authours, whereof some have written, others have Seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence : First, Marius Niger boundeth Seythia within Imaus, in this manner: 20 (for Scythia without these mountaines is also beyond our purpose.) Scythiaintra Imaum montem ea est, que proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur : ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte : à Septentrione terra incognita : à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, v/g, ostia Oxa amnis in Hyrtanum mare exeuntis; & parte iplius maris hine vfg, ad Rha fluminis offia terminatur, Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the world, which in their owne freech is at this time called Gaffaria; and the fame is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of Asia) on the East by the Imaan mountaines : on the North by unknowne lands : on the South by the Sacce (which are the Sace) the Sordiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a Rha now Wolga. Part of the same Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.

Com. 2 Afic.

Now if Niger lets all Sarmatia Afiatica, to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qua magna lane rezio est, & que innumer as nationes complectitur, Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations, (faith Niger, much of it being betweene Seythia and Armenia, doth fufficiently warrant vs, that Armenia can be no part of Scythia; and to make it more plaine, he diffeuereth Sarmatia it felfe from any part of Armenia, by the Regions of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, which hee leaueth on the right hand of Sarmatia, and yet makes Sarmatia but the West bound of Soythia.

Ad meridiem flexo Boffboro pars (eptentrio-nalis ponte Euxini viā, in oftin Coracis Runiy: unde relichs à Colchis Iberis, maris prouenit. Spec.bifl.l.30.

And for Paulus Venetius, he hath not a word of Armenia among the Tartarian, or Scythian Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier Iohn Plancarpio (cited by Vincentius in his description of Seythia) make any mention of Armenia; neither doth Haytonus 40 an Armenian borne, of the bloud of those Kings; (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a Tartarian, or of the Scythian races descended : though he write that storic at large, gathered by Nicholaus Saleuni, and (by the commandement of Pope Clement the fifth) in the yeare 1307. published. Neither doth Mathias a Michou (a Canon of Cracouia in Polonia) a Sarmatian borne,

and that trauailed a great part of Sarmatia Afiatica, finde Armenia any way within the compasse of Tartaria, Seythia, or Sarmatia; and yet no man (whose trauailes are extant) hathobserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disprouing many thinges, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others hee burieth that ancient and received opinion. That out of the mountaines Riphai, and 50 Hyperborei in Seythia, fpring the Rivers of Tanais or Don, Volga or Edel; prouing by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such mountaines in rerum natura; and (indeede) the heads and fountaines of those famous Rivers, are now by the trade of :Musconia knowne to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie,

and marish grounds. The River of Tanois or Don, ariseth to the South of the Cittie Tulla some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called Iwanowesero in the great wood Okenitzkilies or Iepiphanolies, Volga, which Ptolomie cals Rha, and the Tartars call Edel, rifeth out of a Lake called Fronow, in the great wood Vodkonzki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Borysthenes (now Nyeper) and Defina or Signer Rivers Dividna. And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia Europiana, &c. are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscoujans, and those adiovning, bounded on the West by the River of Vista (the name perchance Crisens called misprinted Vissa for Vistula, a River which parts Germanie and Sarmatia) and for the this River 11-10 East border he nameth Tanais or Don. Sarmatia Asiatica he cutteth from Europe by [121,Niger Drathe same River of Tanais and the Caspian Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther Pom. Mela, Vi-East: this Asian Sarmatia being part of that Soythia which Ptolomie calleth Soythia India & Clin.

intra Imaum montem, Scythia within the mountaine Imaus. And the same Mathias Michon farther affirmeth, that the Seythians (which Frier Annius would make Armenians) came not into Sarmatia, Aliatica it felfe aboue three hundred and a few odde veares before his owne time : thefe be his wordes. Conflat camefie gentein nouam e aduentitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis sedibus), paulo plus abbine trecen is annis . Asia Sarmatiam ingressam, It is manifest (faith he, speaking of the Seythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasis of the East : from whence they entredinto A-20 fia, and gat new feates a little more then three hundred yeares fince. For (indeede) before

that time the Gothes or Pouloci inhabited Sarmatia Afiatica. And this Mathias lived in the yeare 1511 and this his discourse of Sarmatia was printed at Augustain the year 1506. as Buch olzerus in his Chronologie witneffeth. Now these Seythians (faith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the Arke of Noah rested; and the Sevthe Sace were those people which lived at the North foote of those mountaines of Taurus or Ararat, where they encounter or beginne to mixe themselves with the great Imais. And were there no other testimonie then the generall description of the earth now extant, and the witnesse of Ptolomie, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of Armenia and Scythia, there are not only those three Regions of Colchis, Ibe-30 ria, and Albania, but the Caspian Sea : on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeede) a Nati-

on of Scythians (called Ariace) betweene Inxartus and Inctus; but what are these Serthians to any Ariaca, or Soythia Araxea which Annius placeth in Armenia, more then the Seythians of Europe?

#### t. VIII.

The fift argument, The Vine must grow naturally neare the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the confideration of this part of the Text, That No A H plan- Gomg. 20, ted a Vineyard, we shall finde that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin diel not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in Italie and France, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in Armenia, being a farre colder Countrie. For Tyrrhenus first brought Vines into France, and Saturnus into Latium : yea Servius Encid, at fuch time as Brennus and the Gaules invaded Italie, there were few or no Vines in Entropus, France. For (faith Plutarch in the life of Camillus) the Gaules remained betweene the Pyrensi and the Alpes, neare vnto the Senones, where they continued a long time, vn-50 till they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of Italie; and after they tafted thereof they hafted to inhabite that Countrie, which brought forth fuch pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in France, but from Italie brought thither; as by Saturne from elsewhere into Italio.

Now it is manifest that Woah trauailed not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counfaile how to dispose of the world among his children; and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his facrifice and thanks-giuing to God; and wherefocuer the Arke rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare that he trauailed farre; for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Hulbandman, and not a Wanderer.

#### t. IX.

ΙO

Answere to an objection out of the wordes of the Text. The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

No that all the children of Noah came together into Shinar, it doth not appeare, fauing that it may be inferred out of these wordes (from thence) because it is written : So the Lord feattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these wordes of Sybilla (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into Shinaar, for they have this limitation. 20 Ouidam eorum turrem adificarunt altisimam, quasi per exm calum essent ascensuri, Certaine of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the heavens.

An answere to the objection from the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia : and the heighth of the hilles there.

D Vt before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of D Scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that 30 the Arke of Noah was forfaken by the waters on the mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath only these wordes. The Arke rested on (or vpon) the mountaines of Ararat or Armenia, faith the marginall note of Geneua, the Chaldean Paraphrast cals it Kardu; of which the highest bath the name of Lubar, saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which the Septuagint doe not convert at all, but keepe the fame word) is taken to be a mountaine of Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name : fo as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Arke first sate thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is Ararat of Armenia allone, neither is any part, or any of those mountaines of equal stature to many other 40 mountaines of the world; yet indeede it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest mountaine of all other to rest on : for the Plaines were also vncouered, before Noah came out of the Arke. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, wee might give more credit to the conceit. For in the bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, vpon which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these mountaines, and to proue them in Phrygia, and not Armenia, they are placed where the Cittie of Caelenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same description finee maketh mention of Marsyas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia, 50 and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the River Meander, which is farre from the Gordinan mountaines in Armenia. Wee may also finde a great mistaking in Iosephus, (though out of Berofus, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Io-Sephus sets Ararat betweene Armenia and Parthia toward Adiabene, and affirmeth

affirmeth withall, that in the Prouince of Caron by others Kairos and Arnos, fo called byreason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor iffue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes referred some peeces of Noahs Arke. But Parthia toucheth no where vpon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Pronince of Affria: fo that all Media and a part of Affria is betweene Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the discoucrie of the mountaines Cordiei was first borrowed out of Berofus by Iosephus; yet the Text which Iosephus citeth out of Berofus, differs farre from the wordes of that Berofus, which wandereth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by Annius. For Berosus cited by Josephus hath these wordes, 10 Fertur & nauigy huius pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiscorum [uperesse, & quos dam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hunus homines vii solent. (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordinan mountaines; and that divers doe scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they we it in steade of an amulet. But Annius his Edition of the fragment of Berofus vieth these wordes. Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordiaimontis vertice quieuit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime vtuntur ad expiationem. For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordiaan mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the bitumen to purge by facrifice therewith foas in thefe two Texts 20 (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diversly written. The ancient Berosus writes Cordiai with a (C) and the Fragment Gordiai with a (G:) the one that the Bitumen is vsed for a preservative against poyson or inchantment; the other in sacrifice; And if it be faid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Authour: for one of them yfeth the word (fertur) the other (dicitur) the one, that foit is reported, the other. that foit is faid; and both but by hearefay; and therefore of no authoritie nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report af-

ter it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it. Furthermore, these mountaines which Ptolomie cals Gordiei, are not those moun-30 taines which himselfe giueth to Armenia, but he calleth the mountaines of Armenia Molchici. These be his owne words: Montes Armenia nominantur ij, qui Moschici ap- Pio Afictib, pellantur, qui protenduntur v [q, ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum ; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur, The mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, which stretchalong to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians : also the hill which is called Paryardes; which mountaines Plinie calleth Pariedri; and both which lye to the Plin 16.6.6 North of Gordiei of Baris, in 43, and 44, and a halfe; and the Gordiean mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie; doe still remaine Christians. Concerning 40 the other suppositions, that the mountaines of Gordiai, otherwise Baris Kardu or Lubar, (which Ptolomie calleth Togordiaion) are the highest of the world, the same is ab-

†: X I.

Of Caucasus, and divers farre higher hils then the Armenian.

folutely false.

Cor the best Cosmographers with other, that have seene the mountaines of Arme $oldsymbol{\Gamma}$  nia, finde them farre inferiour, and vnder-fet to divers other mountaines even in 50 that part of the world, and elsewhere : as the mountaine Athos betweene Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolomie cals Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith Caftaldus) is farre furmounting any mountaine that cuer hath beene seene in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which Plutarch. Athos adumbrat latera Lemnie houis, Athos (hadoweth the Cory of Lem- Plutar, Munh.

nos.

Gen.8.14.

nos. Also the mount of Olympus in Thessale, is said to be of that heighth, as neither the windes, cloudes, or raine ouertop it. Againe, the mountaine of Antandrus in Mysia, not farre from Ida, whence the River Scamandrus floweth, whichrunneth through Troy, is also of a farre more admiration then any in Armenia, and may bee feene from Conftantinople. There are also in Mauritania neare the Sea, the famous mountaines of Atlas, of which Herodotus. Extat in hoc mari Mons, cui nomen Atlas. ita sablimis esse dicitur, vt ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non possint, Vpon this coast there is a mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is said to be such, as the eye of no Arifot Met. cor. mortall man can different the top thereof. And if we may believe Ariflotle, then are all these inscriour to Cancalus, which hee maketh the most notorious both for breadth 10 and heighth. Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui assiuum ad ortum sunt, acumine atá, latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur v (q, ad conticinium ab ortu : & iterum ab occafu, Caucasus (saith Aristotle) is the treatest mountaine both for breadth and heighth of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned by the Sunne beames, of and conticinium (which is faith Macrobius) betweene the first crowing after midnight and the breake of day : Others affirme that the top of this mountaine holds the Sunne beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot believe either; for the highest mountaine of the world knowne is that of Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. leagues together but the Ocean Sca, yet doth it not enioy the Sunnes companie at any fuch late houres. Befides, these mountaines which A- 20 ristotle calleth Cancasi, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucasus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, from Sarmatia: for heacknowledgeth that the River of Phasis riseth in the same mountaine, which himselfe calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those hilles which sunder Colchis from Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea two degrees to the North of Trapezas (now Trabefunda) howfocuer Mercator bring it from Peryardes.

#### t. X I I.

30

Of divers incongruities, if in this storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

CO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certainetic what mountaine Ararat Dwas: for the bookes of the Sybils set it in Phrygia: and Berosus in Armenia: and as for Berofus authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from

Secondly, that Baris was the highest hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and supposition have equall credit: for there are many hils which exceede all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not 40 follow (as is before written) that the Arke should fit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any fuch Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris: for Baris (faith Hierome) fignifieth high Towers: and so may all high hils be called indifferently; and therefore wee may better give the name of Baristo the hils of Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) then to any hils of Armenia. For those of Caucafus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the mountaines Gordiai stand: for Ptolomie distinguisheth the mountaines of Armenia from the Gordinan, and calleth those of Armenia Moschici and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is seated neare the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West sideri- 54 feth Euphrates, and out of the East fide Araxis : and the mountaines Moschiei are those hils which distoyne Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Countrie of the Georgians) from Armenia. t. XIII.

t. XIII.

Of the contrarie situation of Armenia to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same ledge of hils running from Armenia to India should keepe the same name all along : and even in India be : called Ararat

Astly, we must blow up this mountaine Ararat it selfe, or else wee must digge it L downe, and carrie it out of Armenia; or finde it elfewhere and in a warmer counto trie, and (withall) fet it East from Shinaar: or else wee shall wound the truth it selfe. with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, weemust understand, that Ararat (named by Mofes) is not any one hill, fo called, no more then any one hill among those mountaines which divide Italie from France is called the Alpes: or any one among those which part France from Spaine is the Pyrenian; but as these being continuations of many hils keepe one name in diuers Countries : fo all that long ledge of mountaines, which Plinie calleth by one name Taurus, and Ptolomic both Plinie in his Taurus, Miphates, Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, vntill they encounter and croffe the description of mountaines of the great Imaus, are of one generall name, and are called the moun-20 taines of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise,

So all these mountaines of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspij, Moschici, Amazonici, Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diverfly called by Plinie and others) Ptolomie cals by one name Caucasus, lying between the Seas Caspium and Euxinus: as all those mountaines which cut a funder America, cuen from the new Kingdome of Granado, to the streight of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these mountaines of Ararat runne East and West: so doe those maruailous mountaines of Imaus stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well neare are called by the name of Imaus, euen as Plinie calleth these former hils Taurus, and Moses the hils of Ararat. The. reason of seuerall names given by Ptolomie was thereby the better to distinguish the 20 great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and diffeuer = as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persia, Parthia, Caramania, Aria, Margiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paropanifus: having all these Kingdomes either on the North or South fide of them. For all the mountaines of Asia (both the leffe and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) Taurus, Imaus, and Caucafus: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the lesse on the North fide, are called Taurus; and those mountaines which part it from Comagena (a Prouince of Syria) are called Amanus: the mountaines called Taurus running East and West, as Imaus doth North and South. Through Taurus the River of Euphrates for-40 ceth her paffage, leaving the name of Amanus to the mountaines on her West bankes and on her East fide the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of Taurus, (as in Ptolomies three tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates: (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation fo long as they bound Armenia from Mesopotamia: and after the River of Treris cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, vntill they separate Affria and Media; but then they call themselues Coatras, though betweene the vpper and nether Media, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but runne through the Easterne Media by peeces: in the middle of which Region they call themselines Orantes, and towards the East part Coronus; out of the Southerne 50 part whereof the River of Bagradus rifeth, which divideth the ancient Persia from Caramania: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they giue to the Parthians and Hyreanians their proper Countries. This done, they change themselues into the mountaines of Sariphi, out of which riseth the River Margus, afterward yeelding her felfe to Oxus: (now Abia) and drawing now nearetheir waies

end, they first make themselues the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the title of Paropanisus; and lastly of Cancali, euen where the famous River of Indus with his principal companions Hydaspis and Zaradrus spring forth, and take beginning. And here doe these mountaines build themselues exceeding high, to equall the strong hils called Imaus of Scythia, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37.degrees of latitude, and in 140. of longitude: of the which the West parts are now called Delanguer, and the rest Nagracot; and these mountaines in this place onely are properly called Caucasi (saith Ptolomie) that is, betweene Paroponisus and Imaus: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of Caspium and Pontus.

#### t. XIIII.

of the best vine naturally growing on the South side of the mountaines Caucast and toward the East Indies : and of other excellencies of the Soile.

N Ow in this part of the world it is, where the mountaine and River <code>Ianus</code>, and the mountaine Nyfeus ( fo called of <code>Bacehus</code> Nifeus or Nos) are found: and on these highest mountaines of that part of the world did Goropius Becanus conceiue 29 that the Arke of Noah grounded after the floud: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approued. In his Indoscrethica hee hath many good arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34. 35. and 36. degrees of Septentrional latitude are the most delicate Wines of the world, namely, in Iudaa, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana, and under these mountaines, Strabo affirmeth that the most excellent Vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of Palestina, where the searchers of 30 the land by Moses direction found bunches of equall bignesse at Escol.

The fruitfulneffe of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these hils, Curtins witneffeth. For in Marginan neare the mountaine of Meros did Alexander feath himselfe and his Armie ten dayes together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

#### t. X V.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diners chiefe points.

A Nd therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those mountaines doe also trauerse Armenia: yea, and Armenia it selfe sometime is knowne by the name of Ararat. But as Plinie giveth to this ledge of high hilles, even from Cilicia to Paroponifus and Caucafus, the name of Taurus : and as the hils of France and Germanie are called the Alpes: and all betweene France and Spaine the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of hils for 3000. miles together, the Andes: fo was Ararat the generall name which Moses gave them; the diversitie of appellations no otherwife growing, then by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the 50 Mediterran and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the coasts of Carthage, and ouer against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: betweene Italic and Greece, Ionium: from Venice to Durazzo Adriaticum: betweene Athens and Asia Ageum: betweene Sestus and Abydus Hellesport : and after ward Pontus , Propontis , and Bosphorus . And as in

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Judge which cannot erre-

these. so is the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland called Deucaledonroum: and on this fide, the Brittan Sea: to the East, the Germane and Baltick, and then

euen to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense : seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction then the wordes beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plaine, (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subse-

to quent inconvenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our felues any new or ftrange exposition; and (withall) to resolue our selues, that euerie word (as aforefaid) hath his waight in Gods Booke. And therefore wee must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such fort as St. Augustine hath taught vs touching the Gospell of Christ Iesus ( which is ) Neguis aliter accipiat, quod narrantibus di (cipalis Christi) in Eu angelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit. That no man otherwise take or onderstand that which hee readeth in the Gospell, (the Disciples of Christ having written it) then if he had seene the verie hand of the Lord, which hee bare in his owne bodie, setting it

20 The wordesthen of Moses which end this dispute are these. And as they went Govern V. to from the East they found a Plaine in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode, which proueth without controuerfie, that Nimord and all with him came from the Eaftingo Shinaar; and therefore the Arke of Noah rested and tooke land to the Eastward thereof. For wee must remember, that in all places wherefocuer Moses maketh a difference of Countries, hee alwayes precifely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were feated: as where he teacheth the plantation of ToEtan he nameth Sephar, a mount in the East: where hee remembreth Cains departure from the presence of God, he addeth. And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towardes the East- Gen. 10,30; fide of Eden: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of Abrahamaf- Gen.4.16.

30 ter he departed from Sechem, he vied these wordes. Afterwardes remoduing thence Guilas. unto amountaine Eastward from Bethel, he pitched his Tentes : having Bethel on the Westfide, and Hai on the East: and afterwarde in the ninth verse of the same chapter it is written. And Abraham went forth iournying towardes the South: also when Ezechiel Excels 28.6. prophecied of Gog and Magog, hee sheweth that these nations of Togorma were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of Saba it is written, that shee came from the Mat. 12.42; South to vifite SALOMON: And the Magi (or wifemen) came out of the East to offer pre- Mat. 2.V.14 fents unto Christ. And that all Regions, and these travailes were precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the World, it is most manifest:

for Eden was due East from Judaa, Saba South from Hierusalem: the way from An Bethel to Agypt directly South; and the Calefyrians, the Tubalines and Magogians inhabited the Regions directly North from Palastina : and so of the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moses. For to come out of Armenia, and to arrive in that valley of Babylonia, is not a journying from the East, nor so neare vnto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of Moses ( whose handes the holy Ghost directed ) that hee erred tota calo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in fortie fine; and those Gordiean mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the Arke rested, standing in fortic one. But Babylonia, and the valley of Shinaar are fituated in thirtie five, 50 and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the

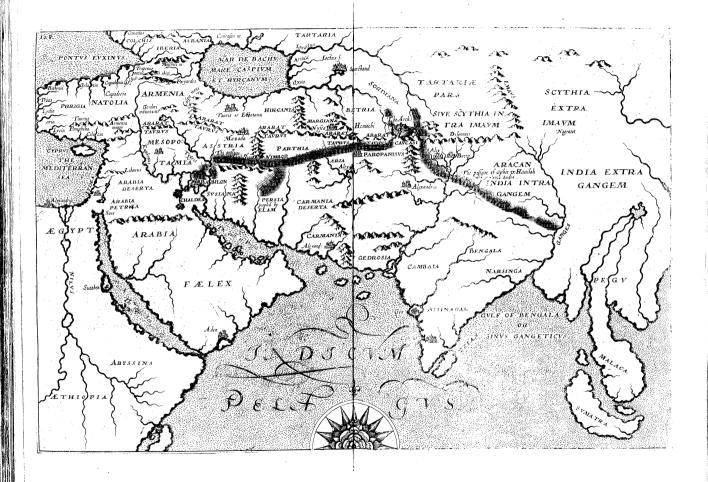
Gordinan mountaines stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of Shinaar in 79. and 80. And therefore Armenia lieth from Shinaar Northwest ninetic five degrees from the East; and if Armenia had beene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the compasse. But Gregoric and Hierome warne vs, In ferrpturis ne

minuna disferentia omitti debet : nam finguli fermones , fyllabe , apices, et puneta in diuma minima aujer entia vimitis acver in am junguit jet mones, 1 junas, apiets, et puncia matuma fortplure plema funt fensibus, in the scriptures the least difference may not be comitted; for enery fpeech, flable, note, or accent, and point in dinine scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing Mojes teacheth vs that the children of Nosh came meanings. And therefore reeing suger teachers value the children of 1 mar and for freak by from the Eaft, we may not beleeue Writers (of little authoritie) who also speake by hearefay and by report, of fertur, o vi dietur, as Berofus and Nicolaus Damafeenus, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all aduenture. But this is infallibly true, that Shinaar lyeth West from the place where the Arkeof Noah rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from Whence came the first knowledge of all thinges. The East parts were first civill, 10 whence came the first knowledge of all thinges. The East parts were first civill, 10 which had Noash himselfe for an instructer; and directly East from Spinsar in the which garden of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armics all fame degree of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. fo, which our topped in number those Millions of Semiramic, proue that those parts to, which our copped in number those various of seminants, so the that there pairs were first planted: And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor reason sufficient: for my self- I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs. that the Sonnes of Nouh came out of the East into Shinaar, and there they abode. And therefore did the Arkerest on those Easterne mountaines, called by one generall name Taurus, and by Mofes the mountaines of Ararat, and not on those mountaines of the North-well, as Berglin first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where Noah rested, 20 where he planted the Vine, where heetilled the ground and lived thereon. Plaent vero No Acho agriculture studium, in qua tractanda i fe omnium peritissimus esse dicitur ob camp, rem fucipfins lingua I s H-A D A M A T H (hoc est.) telluris vir appellatur celebratuff, cit, The fludie of Husbandrie pleased NoAH (faith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANYS) in the knowledge and order of which it is faid, that No AH excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his ownel anguage a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that hee was no wanderer: and that hee troubled not himselfewith the contentions, beginning againe in the world, and among men, but flayed in his deflined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first delinered out of the prison of the Mrk.,

whereinto God had committed him to preferue him and man-

kinde.

CHAP.



# CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SEM, HAM, and IA-PHET, by whom the earth was repeopled.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder then IAPHET.



F these Sonnes of Noah, which was the eldest there is question made. St. Augustine esteemed Shem for August. de cinie. the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japhet for the yon- Della 6.0.3. geft : and herein the opinions of Writers are diucrs. But this we finde enery where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was neuerany respect giuen to the eldest in yeares, but in vertue, as by the examples of Henoch, Abraham, Iacob, and Danid, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuerlie? The Latine translation, and so the

Geneua, hath converted this Scripture of Genelis the 10.2.21. in these wordes. Vnto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER. and elder brother of IAPHET, were children borne. But Iunius agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same wordes in this manner. To SHEM also the Father of all the 20 Sonnes of HEBER, and brother of IAPHET, the eldest some were children borne: So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for Iaphet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods bleffings are not tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for Iaphet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainely understood without any danger or inconuenience, it feemeth strange why any man of judgement should make valuation of coniccturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the fine hundreth yeare of his life, begat the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Iaphet: 40 and in the fixe hundreth yeare (to wit) the hundreth yeare following, came thegenerall floud; two yeares after which shem begat Arphasal, which was in the yeare 602. of Noah life, and in the yeare of shem life one hundred: so as shem was but 100. yeares old, two yeares after the floud: and Noah begat his first borne being 500. yeares old; and therefore, were shem the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeares old at the floud, and in the fixe hundreth yeare of Noahs life, and not two yeares after. Which feeing the Scripture before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written. Then No AH awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had Gonal was done unto him (to wit) HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to Taphet. This younger sonne so converted by the vulgar and Geneua, Junius turnes it filius minimus, 30 his youngest some; but St. Chrysostome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or second brother, and Imphet the youngest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakednesse hee derided) was

difinherited, and loft the preheminencie of his birth, as Efav and Reuben did. Pere-rus conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but

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augweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of rounger and youngelt, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Show himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth chanter of Genesis, Shem is accounted before Japhet : in the second Verse Moles leaveth to beginne with the iffue by Shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this waightie refoest, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David; and Christ our Sauiour were descended of him. And therefore, whether wee shall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneua, who agree in this conversion, SHEM frater I APHET major: or with the Septuagint, Junius, and Tremelius, SHEM fratri IAPHET majoris: 10 OF with Pererius, SHEM frater IAPHET ille magnus: inferring that Shem was the great and famous brother of Iaphet, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that saphet was the eldest. For where Perevius qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That Shems age at the time of the floud did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures any such Gen. 1. v. 10. neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM was an hundred yeares old, and begat AR-PHAXAD two yeares after the floud; and againe in the 12. Verse. So SHELA lived after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeares, &c. fo as the number of two yeares, of three yeares, of flue yeares, and afterward of two yeares were alwaies 20 precifely accounted.

ð. I I.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all Histories must yeeld to Moses: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction : and that the knowne great Lordes of the first ages were of the issue of HAM.

Vt let vs goe vnto the worlds plantation after the floud, which being

Cicero de nat.

rightly understood, we shall finde that many Nations have supposed or fained themselues those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer faw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures howe the Sonnes and iffues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if amy prophane Authour may receive allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, wee must know that both the truth and an- 40 tiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonic of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all carefull observers of time have noted; among which thus writeth Eusebius in the Proceme of his Chronologie. Moses is found more ancient then all those whom the Gracians make most ancient, as Homer, Heston, and the Troian warre; and farre before HERCYLES, Mysaevs, LINYS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLYX, ÆSCVLAPIVS, BACCHUS, MERCURIUS, and APOLLO, and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or Prophets: and before all the deedes of IVPITER, whom the Greekes have feated in the toppe and highest Turret of their Divinitie.

For of the three Iupiters remembred by Cicero, the ancientest was the sonne of Æther, whose three sonnes begotten on Proserpina, were borne at Athens, of which Cccrops was the first King ; and in the end of Cecrops time did Atofes bring the children of Ifrael out of Egypt. Eduxit Mos Es populum Deiex Egypto nouissimo tempore CECROPIS Atheniensis Regis, Moses brought the children of Israel out of A gypt, in the last dayes of CECR OFS King of the Athenians (faith St. Augustine) and yet De Chill. Del. was not Cecrops the Founder of the Cittie it felfe, but Thefeus long after him. But 118.211, because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authours, I will not cut a funder the purpose in hand by alleading many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

The Sonnes of Gomer were, Танап. The Sonnes of Iaphet were, Tubal. The Sonnes of Iauan were, Dodanim.

First, we are to consider that the world after the floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of Noah wings, to flie from Shimar to the vttermost border of Europe, Africa, and Asia in halte, but that these children were directed by a 20 wife Father, who knew those parts of the world before the floud, to which he dispofed his children after it, and fent them not as discouerers, or at all-aduenture, but affigned and allotted to every Sonne and their iffues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end then to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Augustus in the fiction of Aneas) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build herein vpon the Scriptures themselues, and after them vpon reason and nature. First, therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth enery where had in the 130. yeare after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest valleys with our owne barren and cold ground, informe our felues thereby, what wonderfull defarts, what inpaffable fastnesse of woods, reedes, 20 bryars, and rotten graffe, what Lakes and standing Pooles; and what marishes, Fens and bogges, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountaines) was peftered withall. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresset all vegetative and growing nature, for one halfe of the yeare in effect) yet in twentie or thirtie yeares these our grounds would all ouergrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offensive thickets and bushments: much more did all forts of plants, reedes, and trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the climate of a long and warme Sommer, and having withall the flart of 130. yeares, to raife themselves without controlement.

This being confidered it will appeare, that all these people which came into Shiand ouer whome Nimrod (either by order or strength tooke the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to bee a mightie people disperse themselues into the Regions adioyning to the said vally of Shinaar; which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Chaldea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: fome of them towards the South, others towardes the West and North. And although there were allotted to Shem many Regions, both East and West from Shinaar, with the Dominion of Palestina, which the Canaanites first possest; yet could hee not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For we find, that Abraham the true succeffor of Shem dweltin Chaldea at Vr; and from thence (called by God) he refted 50 at Charran in Melopotamia: from whence after the death of Thare he trauailed to Sichem in Palestina; and yet there had passed betweene Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselues) seuen descents, before Abraham moued out of Childea: where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded inhabited for many yeares, and whence Nimrod went out into Affyria, and founded Niniuie. In-

deed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can knowe were, in that age of the iffues of Ham; the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shem and Japhet taking leffe effect, vntill divers veeres were confumed, and vntill the time arrived, which by the wisedome of God was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan came the people and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of Babylonia, Syria, and Ægypt for many descents together.

### ð. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETS portion: of BEROSVS his too feedic feating GOMER the sonne of IAPHET in Italy; and an other of IA-PHETS Sonnes T VBAL in Spaine: and of the antiquitie of Longingue Nauigation.

O beginne therefore (where Moles beginneth) with the fonnes of Jatheth, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were divided: which diuision, as well to Japhets sonnes as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the divition were made at Phalegs birth) in the yeare of the world 1757. or 1 7 5 8. and (by that account) in the yeare after the

floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

Now the habitations proper to the fonnes of Japhet were the Iles of the Gentiles. which include all Europe with all the Ilands adjoyning, and compaffing it about: Europe being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea Hellesport and Ageum, Bolthorus and Euxinus cut it off from the great continent of Alia, as also because Europe it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to Alia by the North, for it hath those seas before named to the East, the Mediterran to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and Brittills, Germane and Baltick Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North Northeast, and Northwest. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or Ileslying betweene Greece and the leffer Afia, and the Isles of Rhodes, Cyprus, Creet or Candia, Sicilia, Corfica, Sardinia, Malta, the Isles of 30 Brittanie and Zealand, with their yong ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of Lapheth, with the part which he held in Alia, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that bleffing of God by Noah. Dilater Deus IAPHETH, Let God firead abroad (or increase the posteritie of ) IAPHETH, and let him dwell in the tents of SHEM. For though Junius here vieth the word (alliciat) and not dilatet: and the Geneua perfuadeat; yet the Septuagint have dilatet or amplificet; and fuch was the bleffing given to our Fathers, which God promifed to Abraham and his feed for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of Shem was a bleffing by God to the posteritie of Japheth: noting not onely an enlargement of territories; but that thereby they should beemade participant of Gods Church. 40 But to come to Lublets fonnes, of whome Gomer is the eldeft. This Gomer (if wee may believe Berglus and Annius, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late writers have followed ) did in the tenth years of Nimrods raigne depart from Babylonia, and planted Italie: which also Functius confirmeth in these words. Anno decimo NIMRODI, ere, Inthe tenth yeare of NIMRODS raigne. COMERUS GALLUS planted a Colonie in that land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeare of the same NIMRODS raigne TVBAL feated himfelfe in Asturia in Spaine (now called Bifcay) which was in the 140, and in the 142, yeares after the floud, according to BEROSVS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimrod in- 50 to Shinaar. Let vs therefore confider with reason, what time the building such a Cittie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe fuch a worke as Wimrod had creeked (and as Functius himselfe out of his Authour Berofus witneffeth,) ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium, to

the heighth and magnitude of the mountaines. Sure that both this Cittle and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witnesse. But the Lord came downe to fee the Cittie Gracette and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of bricke to fuch a worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuerfall floud couered the highest mountaines fifteene cubits; Let vs build vs a Cittie and a Tower (faith Nimrod) whale top may reach unto the heaven : meaning, that they would raife their worke about lifteene cubits higher then the highest mountaine, otherwise they could not affure themselves from the feare of a second inundation; a great part 10 whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the worke. They also begannethis building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forceably overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifelt, approved also by the Prophet Hieremie, speaking of Babylon in these wordes. Thou that dwellest woon many waters. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation, for fo high a raifed building on a mariff ground : and to which Glyens youn Genelis giueth fortic yeares. For it feemeth, that the Tower was neare finished when God ouerthrew it : it being afterward written, So the Lord feattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the Cittie. Out of which place it may bee gathered 20 (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neare had performed the worke of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Cittie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to bee noted that till fuch time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was throwne downe) these nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered General them upon all the earth, (that was) when they perceived not one an others speech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newnesse of the world ( wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that Tubal and Gomer in the same yeare could creepe through 2000 miles of Defart, with women, children, and cattle : let those light beleeuers, that neither tye themselves to the Srin-20 ture, norto reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of Noah was 100. yeares in building, or but neare fuch a time, (and then) when the world had food 1556. yeares, it were more then foolishnes and madnes it selfe, to thinke that such a worke as this could be performed in ten; when the world (from the floud to the arrivall at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131, yeares, and whereof they had spent some part in tranailing from the East. Againe, if all Asia set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of Diana, and yet they con-pan fumed in that worke 400. yeares (or beit but halfe that time) and in fuch an age as when the world flourished in all forts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials and carriages: This worke of the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all 40 the former wants supposed) bee erected in those few yeares remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgement waigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or familie of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travaile 2000 miles through woods, bogges, and defarts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall finde it rather a worke of 100, yeares then of 100, dayes. For in the West Indies of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrie ten miles in ten yeares. And if Nimrods people spent many yeares by the account before remembred in passing from the East-India or the higher part thereof, which standethin 115, degrees of longitude, untill they came into Shinaar which lyeth in 79. degrees (the di-50 stance between those places containing 36. degrees, which make 720, leagues, which is 2 160. miles) and did all the way keepe the mountaines and hard ground: then the difference betweene Babylon and Bifeay is much more : for the bodie of Bifcay lyethin ten degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, (as aforefaid) in 79. fo the length of way from Shinaar to Asturia or Bifeay is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or

of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod tooke divers yeares to find Shinaar, which was but 2160. miles : or (supposing that the Arke rested in Armenia) little aboue 400 miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeares to Gomer and Tuballto trauaile 2000 miles to countries leffe knowne vnto them by farre: then the land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Paradyle was knowne to Noah before the floud; and fo was the Region of Eden by Moles afterward remembred:

but what hee understood of most part of the world else it is unknowne. And therefore did Annius ill aduife himfelfe to plant Gomer in Italie, and Tubal in Spaine, in the 5(4),1.66.2.8. tenth and twelfth of Nimrods raigne: Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be borne at once? But it may be objected. That the Sonnes of Japheth might come by Sea, and fo faue this great trauaile through Defarts by land. But we never read of any nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque fo great a people as we may justly suppose those conductors carried with them, will not eafily believe, that there were any veffels in those daies to transport Armies, and (withall) their cattle, by whose milke they lived and fed their children; for milke and fruit were the banquetting diffees of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of nations valued themselves by the heards and numbers of their Cattle; who had flocks of sheepe, and great drougs and heards of their owne, and their owne sheep-heards and heardsmen. Now if Tubal had past by Sea from any part of Palastina, Syria, or Cilicia, hee might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have overgone Granado, Valentia, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of Gibralter, disdained all Andalusia and Portugall, with all those goodly Ports and countries; and have fought out the yron, wooddie, and barren Countrie of the world (called Bifeay) by a long and dangerous nauigation. But before the journey of the Argonauta there were scarce any vessels that durst croffe the Seas in that part of the world : and yet that which Iason had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance fuch as they vse this day in Ireland: which although it carryed but foure and fiftie passengers, yet Died. Situl. 1.4. was it farregreater then any of the former times: Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum vsus, For in former times they wsed very small Vessels. I denie not but that the Ty- 20

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rians gaue themselves of old to farre-off natigations, whence Tibullus ascribed the inuention of ships vnto them.

Tibull, Eleg. 7. Strabe. L.16.

Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

Tyrus knew first how ships might vse the winde.

to Semiramis: Archimachus to Ageon: to which invention the Erythrai are faid to have added certaine numbers of Oares: and then Aminocles the Corinthian to have increased them: the Carthaginians afterwards to have brought them to foure banks: the Quing, Remi first to have beene vsed by Nesichthon the Salaminian, with which Vessels in those parts of the world, the Romans served themselves in the Punick war. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the denising of these Gallies on Sefestris, though Semiramis vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer Indus in Abrahams time. So it is said, that Danaus was the first that brought a ship into Greece: and yet the Samothracians others to Neptune; Thueydides to the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the Egyptians vsed to coast the shores of the red Sea vpon raffes, deuised by King Erythrus: and in the time of the Romans, the Brittans had a kinde of

Died, Sicul-Li, And for those boates called longa naues or Gallies, Plinie faith that Agefias ascribeth Plin. 1.7.6.56. the denile to Paralus: and Philostephanus to Iason: Ctesias to Samyras; and Saphanus 40 Euleb. de prop. challenge the invention; and yet Tertullian (on the contratie) gives it to Minerua: 50 Boat (with which they croft the Seas) made of small twigs, and courred ouer with

leather: of which kinde I have feene at the Dingle in Ireland, and elsewhere. Naues ex corio circumsute in Oceano Britannico (faith Textor): of which Lucan the Poet-

> Primam cana falix, madefacto vimine, paruam Texitur in puppim, cafog, induta inuenco. Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem. Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusog, Britannus Nauigat Oceano.

The moifined Ofver of the hoarie Willow Is wouen first into a little boat: Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, vpon the billow Of a proude River, lightly doth it float Vnder the Waterman So on the Lakes of ouerswelling Poe Sailes the Venetian : and the Brittan fo On th'out-fpred Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when Noah by Godsinspiration was instructed 20 in fo many particulars concerning the Arke, that then many things concerning nauigation were first reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference be-tweene the Arke of Noah, and such ships as were for any long nauigation. Yeaancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as also common reason can tell vs, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, fuch voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that age of Nimred any ship, or vie of ships, fit for any long pauigation. For if Gomer and Tubal had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of nauigation would not have beene dead for so many hundred 30 yeares after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries farre off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of Moles and the Prophets: to which truth there is ioyned both nature, reason, pollicie, and necessitie: and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

> of Gog and MAGOG, TUBAL and MESECH, feated first about Asia the lesse, out of EZECHTEL.

Ow although many learned and reuerend men haue formed (Iknow not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath beene in and streeting ten a plantation tile word, which also interested in the streeting type I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainely, that great learned man of this latter age, Arias Montanus was also in some thinges much mistaken: and for tafephus, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errours with-all, fo was he in this plantation of the world very groffe and fabulous, whereby both Eusebius, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his testimonies for 30 currant, haue beene by him farre misled. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the world Gomer the first sonne of Japhet possest, as also Tubal, it is needfull to beginne with Magog: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog, which two names haue troubled many Commentators, faith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I finde

L.z.de Fide.

most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet Exechiel chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapter directeth vs, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians : of all which Gog was Prince or chiefe Conducter in their attempts against Ifrael. For belides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of the greater Asia, which Japheths iffues poffelt, all Alia the leffe was peopled by them. And that those of the iffue of Japheth ( whom Ezechiel speakes of ) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare if wee confider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, Ezechiel prophecieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of Ifrael and Inda, after their deliterie from 10

By which prophecie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; And DAVID my servant shall bee King over them, and they shall have one sheepe-heard, (that is ) they shall bee writed as they were in Davids time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter Exeshiel prophecieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of Israel, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the Ifraelites after their returne, and fought to subject them : all which were the subjects or Allies of Gog, 20 Prince of the Magogians, or Cale/grians, next bordering Palastina or the holv Land. followed also by the rest of the Nations of Asia the lesse, which lay North from Indea. The wordes of Ezechiel are these: Sanne of man fet thy face against Go G, and against the land of MAGOG, the chiefe Princes of MESECH (Or MOSOCH) and Tv-BAL: and afterward. Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and TV-BAL: and in the fixth Verse; Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorma of the North quarters. Hercin Ezechiel having first delivered the purpose of his prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that fhould in vaine affaile Ifrael. He joyneth them together under their Prince Gog, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Juda, and how feated and joyned together. Gog fignifieth 30 in the Hebrew ( faith St. Hierome ) tectum or covering of a house and Pintus vpon Executed affirmeth, that by Goe is meant Antichrist : for (faith hee) Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum (ub specie humana, That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Deuill under humane form. Hee addeth that Magog is as much to fay as Gog: the letter (M) being an Hebrew Præpolition, and importeth as much as of or from: so he taketh Magog for those people which follow Antichrist. So farre Pintus; at least in this not amiffe, that he expoundeth Migog not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this observation of Beroaldus. Magog (faith he) in Hebrewis written Ham-Magog, which sheweth Magog to bee a Region or Nation : for the letter ( He ) which is vied but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call Heliaiedia) is neuer ad- 40 ded to proper names of men, but often to place. So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called either Magog, or according to others the people of Gog) also Prince of Melbech. (or Moloch) and of Tubal: as by the first Verse of the 39. Chapter is made manifest. Behold, I come against thee Goo the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and Tv-BAL. This must needes be meant by the successours of Seleucus Nicanor, who did not (as other conquering Nations) feeke to make the Jewestheir Tributaries onely, but endequoured by all meanes, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the religion it felfe (which the Hebrewes profest) and the acknowledging of one true God : and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten Gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. St. Ambrofe and Isi- 50 dore take Gog for the Nation of the Goths: belike because they inuaded Europe, and facked Rome, and many other places and Citties thereabout. Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela deriues the Turkes from the Soythians, effected Magogians of Gog. Mamy take Gog for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation

inhabiting a Region, as Iunius, who faics that Gog is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeke stories call Gyges: who in former time hauing flaine Candaules the Lydian, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called Greades: and thereof also the Greens Lake: which Lake Strate also finderb in Lydia, (of which Gyges was King) fortie furlongs from Sardis. Plinie calleth Strabolio 12: it Gygeum stagnum, Herodotus and Nicander set it about the Rivers of Hyllus, and Mander; but the difference is not great. Marius Niger maketh mention of this Gyges King of Lydia: who after hee had fubdued the Countrie about the River Rhodius which runneth into the Hellesponte, called the Promontory Trapele after his Suid col 2075 10 owne name Gyges. These opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of Junius, For

Migog faith he, is that part of Alia the leffe, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his sonne Crassis; who (as Junius further notes) having maistred all those Regions Junin, Ezech, as farre South as Libanus in that border built the Cittie Gigarta or Gogkarta ( which 38. in the Syrian fignifieth the Cittie of Gog ) feated in Calefyria, whose people were the ancient enemies of the Jewes.

Now that Aggog is found in Calefyria, Plinie affirmeth faying; Calefyria habet Bambycen, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Calefyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Migor, He further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll Atergatis, called by the Greekes Derceto, was 20 here worshipped, Lucian makes mention hereof, faving that the Cittie had anciently another name, which yet he expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if wee may believe Strabe, Strab lib 16. then was Edella in Melopotamia the fame Bambyee or Hierapolis, where the fame Idoll was worshipped. Ortelius is doubtfull whether one of these Authours did not mistake the place of this Bambyce or Hierapolis. It may well enough bee that the fame name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from Palestina, and were both subject vnto the Kings of the race of Seleucus. Now I doe not condemne the opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus following Iosephus, but grant that perhaps Magog might also bee the Father of the 30 Soythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the Prince of Magog, the nations of Gwlefyria and the North partes adjoyning bee meant by Magog: for by a latter plantation from these partes they might bee propagated into Scythia. Yet it is not to bee denied, that the Seythians in olde times comming out of the Northeaft wasted the better part of Anthe lesse, and possest Calefyria, where they built both Seythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog. And that to this

Magog Exechiel had reference, it is very plaine; for this Cittle Hierapolis or Magog

standeth due North from Ind.ea, according to the wordes of Ezeehiel, that from the

North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which insested the Israelites were the Ptolomies Kings of Azypt: so those of the North were the Kings of Asia and Syria, the successions of Seleneus, the succession of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius thinkes that this Hierapolis is that Rages, men- Lib 4, cap de tioned in the florie of Tobias, Plinie takes it not onely to have been called Bambreo belle Sacro. as we have faid, but also Edessa: not that by Euphrates; but another of the same name; now the knowne name is Allepo: for fo Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This Cittie had the title of facred as the facred Cittie, ( for fo the word Hierapolis fignifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatrie; and wherein was worlhipped the Idoll of the Mermaide Atergatis, or Attraitis, according to Plinie,

which the Greekes call Derceio.

CHAP. 8. S.4.

If then we conferre the wordes of Ezechiel in the third verse of the thirty eight 50 chapter, wherein he joyneth together Gog Mefech, and Tubal: and withall remember that Hierapolis was the Cittie of Magog, which also is seated directly North from Index: with whome also Ezechiel coupleth Gomer, and all his bandes of the North quarters; we may (as I conceiue) fafely conclude, that these followers and vasfals of Gog (which were Northerne Nations in respect of Iudea) were not the Gomeri-

ans of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the leffer Afia, and Calefyria; and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, Iofephus, and who foeuer else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if tolephus referre himselse to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Alia passe into Spaine (to wit from that peece of land betweene Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania: (most part possest by the Georgians) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation passe into the Countries neare the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after Ages into Spaine.

Josephius makes mention of the Ibert, faying, that they were anciently called Thobe- 10 los, as of Tuball; from whence ( fayth Instine ) they passed into Spaine to search out the mines of that Region: having belike vnderstood that it was a Southerlie Countrie and mountainous. For it feemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other mettals, as Apollonius witnesseth in these fol-

lowing verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them.

H.c gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro, Sed ferri ven as feindit fub montibus altis: Mercibus hac mutat, que vite alimentaministrant:

The Calybes plough not their barren foile, But vndermine high hilles for iron Veines: Changing the purchase of their endlesse toile For merchandize, which their poore lines fultaines.

But it is more probable, that Spaine was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to returne thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were callly drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrie; and after by the Moores who held Granado, and the South parts eight hundred yeares, till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are 30 more probable, then that in the twelfth yeare of Nimrods raigne, Tubal past into Spaine, and therein built St. Vual: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde Mosoch or Mesech, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togorma not farre off, or elfe we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mefech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorna their affiftants. And that Mefech inhabited Afia, Functius (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, forthese be his wordes. Mesacvs, qui à Mose Mesech, priscos Mesos de Adula monte ví ja ad Ponticam regionem poluit : hacregio posteà Cappadocia dictaelt, in qua wrbs Mazica, Go. hacest terra M AGOG principalis. MESACVS, whom Moses calleth MESECH, placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adulas, unto the coast of Pontus. 40 This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrie of MAGOG. And this doth Annius also anow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Melech and Tubal : and therefore, that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Iudea. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesech and Tubal ioyntlie. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northerne neighbour land (how farre soeuer stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, even a great multitude and a mightic. Then if any man believe that these troupes came out of Spaine over the Pyrenes, and 50 first passed ouer a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellefont, or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the lesser A-(in, which is halfe the length or compaffe of the then knowne world, he may be called a strong beleeuer, but he shall neuer be instifted thereby. But on the contrarie it

is knowne, that Seleucis was a Prouince neighbouring Palesting or Judga, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) joyned vnto it : whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Afia the leffe, (namely the Seleucida) and held it, till Scipio Afiations ouerthrew Antiochus the great : after which they yet possest syria till the time of Tigranes : and whether Meshech be in Cappadocia, or vnder Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First hee seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward hee proceeded further into Asia the leffe; and in long tract of time his valiant iffue filled all 10 Germanie, rested long in France and Brittaine, and possessed the ytmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melaneton well notes) the fignification of their parents name, which is Vimost bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherinto they might exonerate their fwelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paffed, oppreffing first their neighbours, afterwardes the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy reftorer of our antiquities, M. William Cambden hath noted) that they were called Cimbri, which in their old language doth fignifie robbers; necessitie inforcing them to spoile their neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neare joyned, as afterwardes in 20 the seates which they possessed. For that the warlike Nations of Germanie were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the Galles, the authoritie of Casar affirming it is proofe fufficient. But in times following they purfued richer conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asia the lesse, and occupied those partes, which had formerly beene held by their progenitours. I say not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne pedigree. Neither can any man therefore denie, that they were of old feated in Asia, because in late ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre partes have invaded and conquered 30 the land of Shimaar, may by that argument bee prooued not to have iffued from thence at the first.

Now concerning Samothes for his excellent wifedome firnamed Dis, whome Annius makes the brother of Gomer and Tubal ( which brother Moles neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of Inphets sonnes) they must finde him in some old Poet: for Functius a great Berosian confesseth. Quis hic Samothes fuerit incertum est, Who this Samothes was it is uncertaine; neither is there any proofe that he was that same Dis, whome Cafar sayth the Gaules suppose to be their Ancestour; Getar comment. yea and Vignier confesseth with Functius. Mais on ne scayt qui il estoit. no man knowes Vigin. pars 1, who hewas.

Against the fabulous Berosys his fiction. That the Italian IANVS WAS NOAH.

Vt before I goe on with Noah his sonnes, I thinke it necessarioto disproue the fiction which Annius hath of Nonh himselfe : an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrefled) by those Authours of whom himselfe hath commented:
as the fragment of Berofus, Fabius Pictor, Cato, Laninius and others.

Annale Heaviste.

For Annius seekes to perswade vs, that Noah (sirnamed Ianus) was the same which Pitt. deaur. Jafounded Genoa, with other Citties in Italie, wherein he lived 92. yeares. This to dif. culo. Cato de origin. proove, by Mofes filence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else Lavinithial.de to disprooue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Erec, Achad, Gall.

zefeb.l.1.

Chalne and Niminic by Aimred , Neah was a man of too great marke to be forgotten. with all the actes he did in 62, yeares. But it were a needleffe labour for me to difproducthe authoritie of that Berofus, on whom Annius groundeth, feeing fo manie learned men haue fo demonstratiuely prooued that fragment to be counterfeit. Befides that, Tatianus the Affrian in his oration against the Greekes augweth, that the ancient and true Berofus wrote onely 3. Bookes, dedicated to Antiochus the fueceffour of Selencus Nicanor : but Annius bath deuifed v. Bookes, wherewith hee honoureth Berofus. And whereas Berofus handled onely the effate of the Chaldxans and Affyrians, Annius hath filled this fragment with the businesse of all the world. And if we may beleeue Eulebius better then Annius, then all the Kinges of the La- 10 tines (before \*\*Eneas) confumed but 1 50. yeares: whereas no man bath doubted. but that from Noah to Aneas arrival into Italie there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrewe account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For Ianus (who was the first of their Kinges) lived at once with Ruth, who married Booz, in the worldes yeare (as some reckon) 2717, after the floud 1064, and Noah died 350, yeares after the floud : and fo there past betweene Innus of Italie and Noah sirnamed Innus 704. yeares. For Saturnus lucceeded Janus, Pieus after Saturnus, Faunus after Pieus, and Latinus followed Faunus: which Latinus lived at once with Tautanes the 27. King of Affria: with Pelafgus of Peloponnesus: with Demophoon of Athens; and Samplon Judge of Ifrael. Now all these fine Kinges of the Latines having confu- 20 med but one hundred and fifty yeares; and the last of them in the time of Samplon; then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fifty yeare, and it reacheth Ruth, with whome Janus lined.

True it is, that the Greekes had their Janus; but this was not Noah; fo had they Ion the fonne of Xuthus, the fonne of Deucalion, from whom they drawe the Iones. Egeth. 27.19.13 who were indeed the children of Janan, the fourth forme of Japheth. For the vul-& fo the place gar Translation (where the Hebrew word is Iauan) writes Greece, and the Septuaot E(18.00.19. gint Hellas; which is the fame. So had they Medus the fonne of Medea, whom they lide: and (for make the parent of the Medes, though they were descended of a farre more ancient the Piurall Ja-thanin) Hellene. Father (to wit) Madai the third sonne of Iapheth.

Laftly we fee by a true experience, that the Brittifb language hath remained among vs about 2000, yeares, and the English speech ener since the intuation of the Angles: and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either 200ab (by them called Janus ) had left in Italie his grandchild Gomer after him, or Tubal in Spaine, that no plaine refemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have beene found in the languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall plantations of Ianus, Gomer, Tubal, &c. in Italie, Spaine, or France, are meerely fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the same Græcian Ianus, which commaun- 40 ded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of Trey but 150, yeares. (faith Eulebius) which was in the time of Latinus the fift King; which also St. Augustine and Iulline confirme; and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this bee not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make Vesta (others Camasena) the wife of this Ianus, who instituted the holie Fire of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from Janus all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies ) there is no man fo impious, as to beleeue that North himselfe, (who is faid by Moses to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankinde made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or fo wicked and vngratefull, to 50 fet vp or denife any Heathen faluage, or idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any ceremonic, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

ð. V I.

That GOMER also and his Sonne TOGORMA of the posteritic of IAPHETH were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westwardinto Europe: and Northwardinto

Lake Lucrinus.

O turne now to the Sonnes of Woah, and the worlds plantation after the floud : therein I obserue, that as both reason and necessitie taught them: fo, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and diffeerfed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence fent forth Colonies elfewhere, it was in fuch a manner

as that they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: because the land was yet Defart and ouerprest with woods, reedes, bogges, and rotten marishes. As when Nimrod Seated in Babylonia, Chus tooke the South part of Chaldea, downe the River of Gehon, by which he might passe too and fro from Babylon to his owne plantation; those also, which were of the race of Shem, inhabiting at Pror Orchogneare the Lakes of Chalden, might by the fame Riverget up to Babylon and receive firecour from thence. All which Tract of land vpon Gehon Southward, 20 Moles in the description of Paradife calleth the land of Chulb: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of Nimrod a Culbite, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and flaved not in the East) were for a while onprest, till God afterward by the seede of Abraham made them his owne nation and victorious. Hauilah, the brother of Nimrod, and sonne of Cush, tooke both bankes of Tigris, especially on the East side of the River: by which river his people might alfo paffe too and fro to Babel.

The Imperial feate of which Region of Hauilah or Susian, was anciently called Chusian, or Chusan, afterward Susa. Cush himselfe tooke the bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and South-westward towards Arabia the sto-30 nie, and the Defart, where Ptolomie placeth the Cittie of Chulidia, first Chulia.

Seba, and Sheba with the rest that planted Arabia falix, had Tigris to convey them into the Persian Gulfe, which washeth the bankes of Arabia falix on the East side: fo as those somes of Culb might take land downe the Riverasthey pleased. Also the Cittie of Niniue was by Nimrod founded on the faid River of Tigris; and from thence a Colonie past to Charran, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did Japheths formes fettle themselves together, and tooke their seates in Afia the leffe: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it feemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, sate 40 downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palastina and Phanicia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Afia the leffe, as those of Magog and Tubaldid; from whence the Tubalines fored themselves into Iheria: and the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatia. The first Gomerians, and first planters in Asia the leffe, held the Countrie of the Cymmerians (witnesse Herodotus ) the same Re- E 4. gion which was afterward by the Gallo-greekes called Galatia, to whom St. Paul wrote his Epiftle so intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians (whom the inuincible Seythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gaue names to divers places; as to the mountaines aboue Albania (called Cymmerini) and to the Cittie of Cymmeris in Phrygia: also Boshhorus Cymmerius tooke appellation from this 50 nation, in the outlet whereof was also a Cittle of that name called Cymmerian : which Plinie faith (mistaking the place) had fometime the name of Cerberion; but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, so called of the vihealthfull waters, sauouring of brimstone: which Augustus caused to bee cleansed by letting in the water of the

The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were neighbours, which others write Melhech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Mcschech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Ptolomie calleth Molchi) inhabite Syracena a Prouince of Armenia, directly South from the mountaines Moschiei, in the Valley between the mountaines Moschiei, and the mountaines Paryardes: out of whose North part springeth the River Phases; from the East part Araxis; and from the West Euphrates : and of this Meschere descended also the Moscouians (faith Melarchton,) and it may bee, that in processe of time fome of them inhabited those Regions also : For Melhech (faith Melanchton) fignifieth extendens, enlarging or fretching forth. Togorma also at first did inhabite a- 10 mongst his parents and kindred. The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phanicia, the fame which Plinie T. King. I. v. 18. calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierufalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the leffe Inn. in Gen. 10. Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Citties Tigranokarta: of which Citties Tigranes subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hierosolvmitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbarie : forgetting the Prophecie of Exechiel a-

gainst the Tyrians. They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faires horses, and horsefu. c. 27. 14. men, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Iofephus takes them for 20 the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not denie, but they might bee in the enfuing ages; and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred yeares after the twelfth of 2x imrods raigne. The Iewes conceine that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperour is called Togar. The Chaldeans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscouia. But for these subderinations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud is the matter which I labour to discouer : and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this wee must Note, that those grand-children of Noah which were 20 of a more quiet (pirit, or (perchance) of leffe vnderstanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies fent out, their proper habitations can bee hardly knowne: only reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were concred with the fame of others, who tooks on them the conduction and dominion over

> From Madai the third Sonne of Japheth, were the Medes. The Gracians bring them (as before) from Medus the Sonne of Medea.

Of I AVAN the fourth Sonne of I APHETH : and of MESCH, of ARAM. and Meshech of IAPHETH.



F Iauan the fourth Sonne of Iapheth came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greekes; and fo the Latine and Greeke Interpreters for lauan write Greece, as in Efai; Et mittam ex ijs qui faluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Graciam, And I will fend those that e-

scape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece. The Geneua here vieth the word (Tarshich) for Tarsus, a Cittie in Cilicia, though Tarsis in many places bee taken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Geneua vie the names Tubal and 50 Iauan, and not Italie and Greece: keeping the fame Hebrew wordes. Of these Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Ancestours, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those

parts. Others deriue the Athenians from Ion the fonne of Xuthus, the fonne of Deu- Iburyd. calion; but the antiquitie of Jauan marres the falhion of that supposition, who so many yeares preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Paufanias tels vs that Xuthus ftole out of Theffalie with all his Fathers treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was gratiously received by Eriotheus, who gave him his daughter in marriage; of whom he received two fonnes, Ion, and Acheus, the supposed Anceflours of the Athenians. For Attica was called Ionia (faith Plutarch in the life of Thefew) who, when he had joyned Megara to Attisa, crected a piller in that Illimos or Strait, which fasteneth Peloponnesis to the other part of Greece: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these wordes. Hee non funt Peloponne fus. ast lonia, These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia; and on the other side which looked towards the South and into Peloponnesus, this. These parts are Peloponnesus, and

Strabo out of Hecat aus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Aliainto Greece, which is contrarie to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certains companies into Asia the leffe, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof then he learned of the Greekes themselves, yet I finde this coniccture of Hecateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet fure I am that Asia the leffe had people before Greece had any : and 20 that Jauan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Alia the leffe in his paffage; and from thence past ouer the nearest way, leaving his owne name to some maritimate Province on that fide, as he did to that part of Greece so called. But yet Strabo himselfe beleeved, that Ionia tooke the name from Ion the Sonne of Xuthus: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of Paufanias. True it is, that the Greekes in after-times cast themselves into that part of Afin the leffe, opposite vnto them, which they held for divers yeares. And how socuer the Greekes vaunt themselues to be the Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanitie therein. For this dispute of Antiquitie (among prophaned Writers) rested 30 betweene the Seythians and the Agyptians, as Justine out of Troque, in the warre betweene Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Seythia, witneffeth: which preceded far the raigne of Ninus, and was long before the name of Greece was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in Cecrops time the Greekes were all saluages without law or religion, liuing like brute beafts in all respects; and Cecrops (faith St. Augustine) lived to- L.18 de civit. gether with Moles. The fixth fonne of Japheth was Meshech, whom the Septuagint call Mosoch: (a part

of those Nations commanded by Gog the chiefe Prince of Meshech and Tubal.) But this we must remember, that betweene Mesech the sonne of Aram, and Meshech (or Moloch) the some of Japheth, there is little difference in name, and both by divers in-40 terpreters diverfly written. Montanus with the Vulgar writeth Mefch, the fonne of Aram Mes; the Geneua Mash; Junius Mesch. But it may be gathered out of the 120 Plalme, that either Meshech the sonne of Japheth, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Province wherein Dauid hid himselfe: or else (which may rather feeme) that it tooke name from Mefch the fonne of Aram. For David bewailing his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious people) vseth these wordes. Woe is me that I remaine in Mefech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Iunius con-Palizzo, si uerteth thus. Heimihi quià peregrinor tam diù : habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni : The Septuagint gives it this sense. We is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged. who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar; with which this of the Latine agreeth. Hen 50 mihi, quià incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitaui cum habitantibus Kedar: The Chaldaan otherwise, and in these wordes. O me miserum, quià peregrinatus sum Asianis, ha-

bitaui cum tabernaculis Arabum, O wretch, that Iam, for I have travailed among those of

Asia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacle of the Arabians. But how socuer or which socuer conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of Kedar: which is a Province

of Arabia petrea; and the Chaldwan putteth Alain flead of Melech; but the Hebrew it selfe bath Melech. And if it bee to bee taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, be-

cause it answeres to Kedar, the name of a Nation) seeing Mells the sonne of Aram.

1. Chron, 17, is called Melhec, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from Melbech or Melb, both bordering Judan, and like enough to be commanded by one

Prince; for fo Ezechiel makes Mefech and Tubal. But as for those that take Mefech out of the word Moloch (given by the Septuagint,) to be the Musconian: fure they profume much youn the affinitie of names, as aforefaid. And fore I am that Danid neuer transiled fo farre North; (for to him Muscouia was vtterly vnknowne) but

about the border of Kedar (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perfecuti-

on: the fame being a Cittle on the mountaines of Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias

Montanus makes Moloch the Father of the Mulcouians : and herein also Melanchton

runnes with the tide of common opinion, and fets Mefech in Mufconia, though with

fome better adulfe of judgement; as, first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence tra-

uailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Pfalme, (Hei mihi quod exulo

in Melech) to lignifie, gentis eius feritatem insignem elle; that the feritie of that nation

exceeded which herceneffe or brutalitie of the Mulcouians, David neuer project, or

(perchance) neuer heard of But the fame feritie or crueltie which those Northerne

Mulcouians had, may aswell be ascribed to the Arabians and Redgrens. For this

quall fierceneffe to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long af-

ter, even to this day, (if the Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one

people: ) the fame being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to Hagar, Gen. 16.

V.12. And he shallbe a wild man : his hand shall be against cuery man, and eucry mans hand

against him. Now Arabia the Desart (Saith Plinie) confronteth the Arabians Cochlei

on the East, and the Cedrai Southward, both which iowne together vpon the Naba-

thei, So it appeareth (as before) that Mefech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and Magog,

neighboured Canaan and Ifrael, and that Kedar also did joyne to Melech: all which

were Regions of Syria, or of Alia the leffe, commanded by the fucceffours of Seleu-

it might well be, that long after the first plantation the iffue of Melech (or Moloch)

might paffe into Cappadocia, and thence into Hyrcania, and give names, both to Ma-

zegain the one, and to the mountaines Moschiei in the other, and from thence might

fend people more Northerly into Mulcouia: and fo all opinions faued. But all fal-

page Nations overgrowne and vncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late

plantation, euen as ciuilitie, letters, and magnificent buildings, witneffe anti-

cus, enemies of the reestablishment of Ifrael and Inda. But (as I have already faid) 20

Countrie tooke name of Kedar the second some of Ismael, of whom a people of e- 20

d. VIII.

Of ASCANEZ and RIPHATH, the two elder Sonnes of GOMER.

SCANEZ was the Father of those which the Greekes call Regini, saith to soft phus but the giues no reason why.

Eufebiue makes Assanez the Father of the Goths. The Iewes in their thorques make him the roote of the Germane Mation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. Plinie findeth Ascania in Phrygia, neare

the Rivers of Hylas and Cios: Melanchton being of the same opinion, that the Tuifcones were descended of the Ascanez, (for Tuiscones, faith he, is as much to fay, as of the Ascenez, praposito articulo die Ascanez) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire : it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as af-Molameh.in car. terwards at the tombs of Martyrs. Not farre from Phrygia was the Lake Afcania, knowne by that name in the Romanes time. And among the Kings which came to the fuccour of Troy, was Ascanius (Deo similio, faith Homer) like unto God: because Homiliada, he was beautifull and strong : for in the same manner doth Virgil grace Aneas, Os humerofy, Deo similis, in face and body like one of the Gods. Virgil also remembreth such

20 a River together with the hilles Gargara: as, Illas dueit amor trans Gargara, tranfq, fo- Ving George 13. nantem Ascanium, Appetite leades them both ouer the mountaines Gargara, and the roring Ascanius. But this Plinie maketh more plaine in the description of Phrygia. For he placeth the Cittie of Brillion vpon the River Afranius, which is adioyning to Milia, and is neare the border of the Troian Empire : and the Lake Ascanez he directs ysto finde by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which lyeth farre within the Countries of Bithynia : and then from Prusia to Nicca are accounted fine and twentie miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, even betweene Prulia and Wicea, And fo Junius (as I conceiue him) takes them of Ascanez, to be the inhabitants of Pontus, and Bithynia, and thole North parts of Asia. Stephanus de Vybibus

30 makes it a Cittie of Troas, built by Ascanias the sonne of Aneas: saying, that there was another of that name in Mylia. Of Ascania a Lake of Bithynia, Ptolomie witnesfeth; and Strabo gineth Ascania both a Lake, a Riner, and a Towne in Mysia, neare vnto Cio; which also agreeth with Plinie. For Plinie findeth Prusia (before spoken of) neare Cio, and calleth the Islands before Troy Ascanes.

Now, whether these places tooke name of Ascanez the sonne of Gomer, or of Ascanius the sonne of Anews, it might bee questioned: sure it is, that Afganius which brought fuccour to the Troians, could not take his name from Aneas sonne, who was then either exceeding young, or rather viborne; and it feemeth that the countries whence those succours came were not out of any part of Phrygia or Mylia, but

40 farther off, and from the North parts of all Afia the leffe, which by Hieremie is called Afranez, by the figure Synchdoche, as Iunius thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Propact Hieremie we shall learne of what Nation the Ascenez were, whose wordes are these. Set up a Standard in the land, blow the trumpel among the Nations against ber, call c.51.v.27. up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against her, &c. meaning, against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountaines of Ararat which runne through it : Minni the leffer Armenia : Armenia being compounded of Aram and Minni. For Minni was the ancient name: (faith Iunius and others before him) and Aram anciently taken for Syria, which con-50 tained all that Tract from Euphrates to the Sea-coasts of Phanicia and Palastina; and therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times but a Prouince of Syria, the Scriptures difference it in the storie of Iacob and Efau, and call it Aram-padam. Then if these two Nations were of the Armenians and Ascanez joyned with them (who altogether vni-

ted vider Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoile of the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre

Tiras, the feuenth fonne of Japheth, which Montanus reckons among the fonnes of Gomer, was the Father of the Thracians, as all Authours (worthing the examination) affirme. Iofephus was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether filent, what part of the world Tiras peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the Sonnes of Gomer, which were three:

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much to call Askensz Germanie or Amaine, for we heare of no Swart Ruttiers at that fiege. But the Askensz were of those Nations which were either fubiced or allued to the Medes: of which, if any of them came afterward into Phyngia, I know not: for the differition of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of Englishms, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Diephns, who calls them Rhegins; or of the Enres, who will have them to be Admaines; when they confirme it either by Scribtures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of Riphath the second some of Gomer there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius thinke that hee wandered farre off from the reft of his brothers, and therefore no memorie of his plantation. But I fee nothing to the contrarie, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his familie: for there wanted no roome or foile in those dayes for all the sonnes and grand-children of Noah. Therefore I take it to bee well understood, that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greekes afterwards (according to Infephus) called the Paphlagones: and Riphei (faith Melanchton) (ignifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them, Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti; who spake the ancient Polac: which being first called Riphei (for the loue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became Heneti, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witnesseth, and so doth Apollo- 20 nius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphei (afterward Heneti) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of Euxinus, and filled the North part of Europe, contaying Rusia, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, defirous (faith Melanchton) of a warmer foile of fruit and Wine. These Heneti or Veneti, whom Melanchton taketh to be one people, filled all that land betweene the Baltick and Adriatick Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe Venedieus is found in Russia, This Nation, after they were possest of Lituania and Polonia, disturbed the plantation of the Boij and Hermondurij. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of Riphath came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and so thinketh Arias Montanus, first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time Lordes of Sarmatia, and those other 20 parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of Vistula and Albis. The name (faith Melanchion) fignifieth wandering or wanderers, or Womades: a people which lived by white meates and fruits, as (indeede) all Nations did in the first

Of the third Sonne of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already; now therefore of Innanschildren, which were source:

Elifa, Tharfis, Cethim, Dodanim,

Q. IX

Of the foure Sonnes of I AVAN: and of the double fignification of Tharfis, either for a proper name or for the Sea.

F Elifa or Elipha, came the Loles: and of this Elifa all the Greeks were called Hellenes, faith Montanus. Melanchron makes Elifa the Father 50 of the Loles in Affa fide: others of Elisin Pelopomefus, or of both. What feelings the Greeks were descended in generall of Janan, it is pro-

Sonne. Ezechiel in the 27 speaking of Tyre, nameth the Illes of Elisa. Hyacynthus

Opurpura de infulia Elifa fueta funs operimensum tuum, Elew filke and purple, brought from the files of Elifa, was thy conceing: The Chaldeans for Elifa write Italia: but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneua, and Innun, keepe the word Elifa: and lo I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any fuch purple Dev in Italia; in those dayes, nor fince, that I can reade of: but those files of Elfa, were by a better coniecture the files of Greece; and the best purple was found afterward at Tyre it felse, and before that, among the Cydades, and on the coast of Genelia.

Tharfit, the second Sonne of Islant inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharfit is the Metropolis. CMontanus for Tharfit in Cilicia, vnderslands Carthoge in Africa; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much missaken in that considerine. The Chaldsan Paraphrasit puts Carthoge for Tharfit, but it hath no authoritie, nor warrant of reason therein. Solikewise, where it is written, that the ships of Salomon went curry three yeares to Tharfis, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants seeth, &c. the Chaldsan Paraphrasit translates Tharfis (Africa.) But Salomons ships were prepared in the Red Sea at Esson Gabor, in the Bay of Elana, neare winto Macsian, where Island Carthoge Chassis et al., Islamon, or of the Chassis et al., Islamon,

20 And if to great riches might have beene found within the bounds of the Mediterrun Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would foone have entertayned that trade also. But this enterprise of Salomon is in this fort written of in the first of Kings. Alo King S A L O NO N made a Navie of fipps in Esson Gaber, which is befield estlab and the brinke of the Red Sean the land of Edom: and Hyrom sent with the Navie his servent was the season the land of Edom: and Hyrom sent with the Navie his servent, that were marines, and hadknowledge of the Sea, with the servants of S A L O NO N: and they came to Ophir, and set from thence 420. Idents of gold, &c. But as the Nations about Pontus thought no Sca in the world like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only '(where of it came, that Pontus was a word yield for the Sea in generall) so, because the straight sand the Phamistans knew no vice of the sea in generally so, because the straight and the Phamistans knew no vice the season of the s

30 ther Sea then that of the Mediterran in the beginning; and that the people of Thur
fis had the greateff thips, and were the first nauigators in those parts with flich veffiels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word Thurfis vied often for 
the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the lhips of Sulomon went cuery three yeares to 
Thurfis, that phrase is not strange at all: for we vieit ordinarily wherefoetier we na
uigate, (namely) that the Kings ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out e
uery yeare, or euery three yeare to the Sea, and therefore Thurfis was not therein 
named, either for Carthage, Africa, or India, but vied for the Sea it selfe. But in this 
place Thurfis truly taken for Thurfis, the chiefe Cittic in Ciliais, founded by Thurfis 
the second sonne of Jaum, or by his successions in memorie of their first parent. To

40 this Cittie arrued Alex: Macedon, before he gaue the first ouerthrow to Darius, and casting himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his bodie, he fell into an extreme feuer, and great danger of death: and in this Cittie of Tharsis was St. Paul borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For (Gomer and his other sonnes inhabiting Asia the lesse, and that part of Syria adiopying.) Jauan who was to passe to make the Sea into Greece, tooke the edge of the same coast, and first planted the Iones on that thore: gaue the Islands between Asia the lesse and Greece, to Bissa, and less Tharsis you the Sea-slide in Ciliais; of whom that Cittie tooke name.

The third some of Isuan was Cethim, of whom were the Romans and Italians, 50 faith Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melanchens opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the Asteedomins. Cethim is a voice plurall (faith the) and signifieth persulfores; though in that respective may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of Esla 2, (according to Melanchen) had relation to Alexarder and the Mecedonians. Hae calamitas ab Es 1 pradistagl, qui capite vice(mo tertio inquit).

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venturos effe euerfores Tyriex terra Cittim, This calamitie (faith MELANCHTON) was foreshewed by Es At the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim. And although the children of Israel efteemed all men Illanders, which came vnto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cittim might be taken for Italie, faith Beroaldiss) yet we must take the sirst performance of the former prophecie, which tooke effect with the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander: who after seuen Moneths siege entred that proude Cittie, and cut in peeces 7000. principall Cittizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedome of 13000, others into bondage and flauerie. Now, that Maceden was taken for Cethim, it appeareth plainely in the first of the Maccabees, in these 10 wordes. After that ALEXANDER the Macedonian, the Sonne of PHILIP, went forth of the land of Cethim, and flue DARIVS King of the Persians and Medes. Iosephys fets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (faith he) there remaineth the Cittie Citium, the Countrie of Zeno the Philosopher (witnesse Laertius) which Cittie Pintus vpon Exechiel affirmeth, that it stood in St. Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Illandes in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Illandes of cethim: and in that sense might Cyprus bee so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next Port to Coprus, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharfis: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, 20 ivere inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he fent Colonies ouer the Agaan fea, and

inhabited Macedonia. Dodanim the fourth fonne of tauan, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at Rhodes, as neare Cethim, Tharfis, and Elifa, as he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are vsed indifferently by many translators : the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may easily bee taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in Epirus the Cittie of Dodona, in the Prouince of Molosia. And as Cethim, when he wanted soile in Cyprus : so Dodanim (seated in a farre leffe Island) did of necessitie fend his people farther off; and keeping alongst the coast, and finding Peloponnesius in the possession of Elifa, he passed a little 30 farther on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the Cittie of Dodona was not then built, or (perchance) not fo ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his posteritie might giue it that name in memorie of their first parent, as it hapned all the world ouer. For names were given to Citties, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of Noahs children, and grand-children; not in all places by themsclues, but by their successours many yeares after: enery of their families being desirous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch themselues were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Citties often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their owne 40 names, or the names of their Ancesters, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their judgements) freelt from any alteration.

Thus then did Iauan fettle himfelfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of Affathe leffe, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands, and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Inpheth their Father had done in the body of the leffer Afia, together with Iauans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mefech, and the restround about him. And in like fort did Chush (the sonne of Cham) people Babylonia, Chaldea, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the fonnes of Chulb (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia it selfe) travailed Southward in Arabia falix, and Southwestward into Arabia peirea: the rest of his children holding 50 the Regions adioyning to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Chush in like manner tooke the way of Agypt and his brother Canaan the Region of Palastina adioyning. The Sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the enemies both to the Hebrewes, and to those of the

fonnes of Shem, which fored themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Chim or Ham, which were foure:

CHAP. 8. S. 10. +. I. of the Historie of the World.

). X.

That the feate of CHVSH the eldest sonne of HAM was in Arabia, not in Athiopia: and of firange fables, and ill translations of Scripture, grounded voon the mistaking of this point.

of Iosephus his tale of an Athiopeffe wife to Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the feate of CvsH.

Hat Ham was the Father of the Agyptians, it is made manifest in ma-ny Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalme v. 51. Then I sa A E L came to Agpt, and I A C OB was a franger in the land of H A M: and in the 78.

Pfalme. He flue all the first-borne in Asppt, eurn the beginning of their firength, in the Tabernaeles of H A M. There is also found a great Cittie

in Thebaida, called Cheramis; (asit were the Cittie of Ham) of which name Herodo-Heredin Es tus also discouers an Island in the same Region. But because Chully is the elder sonne ture. 20 of Ham, it agreeth with order to fpeake first of him. Now though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proved that Chush could not be Ethiopia : yet feeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himfelfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof fets many thinges straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and fenfeleffe interpretations. Surely, howfocuer the Septuagint and Infephius have herein failed, yet it is manifest that Chush could not be Athiopia, but Arabia: (to wit) both that Arabia called Petraa, and a part of Arabia the Happie and the Defart: which Regions Chush and the Chustes presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sate downe altogether. And there is nothing which so 40 well cleareth this controuerfie, as the true interpretation of the place,  $\mathcal{N}um.12. \ v.1.$ where Moses his wife is called a Chuste; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonofors conquests. For whereas Infephus and the Septuagint in the place, Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, viderstand Chulb for Athiopia, we must give credit to Mofer him lefte herein; and then it will appear that Iofephus was grolly milhaken; or vainely led by his owne inuention. For Iofephus prefuming that Chufh was  $\mathcal{L}$ thiopia, and therefore that the wife of Moles (which in Scripture Num. 12. v. 1. is called a woman of Cush) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, faineth that Tharbis the daughter of the King of Athiopia, fell in loue with the person and same of Mofes, while he befieged Saba her Fathers Cittie; and to the end to obtaine Mofes for 50 her husband, shee practised to betray both her parents. Countrie, and friends, with the Cittie it selfe, and to deliuer it into Moses handes. The tale (if it bee worth the reciting) lyeth thus in Iosephus. After he had described the strength of the Athiopian Cittie Meroe, which he faith at length Cambyles called fo from the name of his fifter, (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these wordes. His cum Moses de- Aniig.L.s. 5.

sidere exercitum otiosum agrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Athiopum regi filia, nomine T H ARBIS, &c. which tale hath this lenfe in English. When MosEs was grieved that his Armielay idle, because the enemie believed. durst not fallie and come to handie strokes, there hapned this accident in the meane while. The Athiopian King had a daughter called T HARBIS, who at some assaults given beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Ægyptians, but had also brought the conquering «£thiopians to the very brincke of subucrsion: these thinges working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daylie encreased, shee made meanes to send wato him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife: 10 Which Moses on this condition entertained, that thee thould first deliver the Cittie into his possession: whereunto shee condescending, and Moses having taken outh to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

# †. II. A dispute against the tale of Iosephus.

T His tale (whereof Moles hath not a word) hath Iosephus fashioned, and therein also viterly misselven himselfe in remine a few parts. also vtterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a Cittie of Arabia, for a Cittie of A- 20 thiopia: as he names Athiopia it selfe to have beene the Countrie of Moses his Wife, when (indeede) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Athiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne teach vs, faying that the Sabeans are Arabians, and not Ethiopians; except Iofephus can perswade vs, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wifedome of Salomon, were a Negro, or Black-Moore. And though Damianus a Goes speake of certaine letters to the King of Portugall from Prester John, of the Abisines : wherein that Athiopian King would perswade the Portugals that hee was descended of the Queene of Saba, and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Sonne by that great Princeffe; which had it beene true, it is likely that 20 when Sifhac King of Ægypt inuaded Roboam, and fackt Hierufalem, his brother (the fonne of Saba and Salomon) who joyned upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aide and succour to Roboam against Ieroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of Moses his wife, to have beene an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach vs. that Moles married the daughter of lethro Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of Agrpt, and neare Esion Gaber, where Salomon prouided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Edumaa joyneth to the Tribe of Inda by the North, to Arabia Pe- 40 trea by the East, to the Mediterran by the West, and to the Red Sea by the Southeast. And if we marke the way which Moses tooke when he left Agypt, and condu-Sted Israel thence, it will appeare that hee was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it felfe, hee had formerly lived fortic yeares; where it feemeth, that belides his carefull bringing vp in Egypt, hee was instructed by Iethro in the Egyptian learning. For Iosephus confesseth, and St. Stephen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisedome of the Agyptians. But on the other side this Text makes much against Josephus, where it is written in Exodus the second. Therefore MOSES fled from PHARAO, and dwelt in the land of Madian or Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as wordes can expresse, in what 50 Region Madian was, where it is written. When Moses kept the sheepe of IETHRO his Father in law, Priest of Madian, and draue the flocke to the Defert, and came to the mountaine of God in Horeb. Now that mount Horeb is not in Athiopia, every Infant knoweth. And if wee may beleeve Moles himselfe, then was not the Wife of

Moles purchased in that manner which Iosephus reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrie and friends) neither had shee the name of Tharbis, but of Sippora, or Zippora: neither was shee a Negro, but a Madianitish. And as God worketh the greatest thinges by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a sheep-heard to call Moles, and after him Dauid, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For Moles litting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of Requel Find 2. from the other sheep-heards, and drew them water to water their sheepe : vpon which occasion (by God ordained) hee was entertained by Iethro, whose daughter

he married : and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries. From hence also came lethro to Moses at Rephidim, not farre from Idumaa, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, hee advised him to distribute this waightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Judges of every Tribe and Familie. And if Iethro had beene an Athiopian, it had beene a farre progreffe for him to have passed through all £gypt with the Wife and Children of Moles, and to have found Moles in the border of Idumaa: the Agyptians hating Moles and all that fauoured him. But the paffing of Moses through Arabia Petr.sa (which joyneth to Madian) prough that Moses was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandered fortie yeares, and did by these late traugiles of his seeke to instruct the children of Israel in the knowledge of one true God, before hee brought

20 them to the land of plentie and rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatrie, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the deferts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of Iosephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrisamensis, where also hereprehendeth Apollinaris, who anowed that Moses had married both Tharbis and Sephora: His owne wordes have this beginning. Mentitur etiam Arolli-sixt. Seneral. NARIS duas vxores habuille Mosen, er. Apollinaris also lyeth in affirming Bibl. 20 that MOSES had two wives: and who doth not perceive these thinges fained by them? for it is manifest that the wife of Moses was Zerhor, daughter to the Priest or President of Madian : and that Madian cannot bee taken for Athiopia beyond Azypt; being the same that ioneth to Arabia: so farre Chrisamensis.

### t. III.

# CHVSH ill expounded for Athiopia, EZECH. 29.10.

N Ow as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Athiopia, and the wife of Moses therefore called Athiopiss: so in the conquest of Nabuchodonosor is Athiopia written for Arabia. For by the wordes of Ezechiel it is manifest that Nabuchodonofor Exech 29.10. was neuer in Athiopia. Behold (faith Exechiel, speaking of the person of this great Assirian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the land of Ægypt utterly wast and defolate, from the Tower of Soueneh, even to the borders of the Black-moores: which last wordes should have beene thus converted: From the Tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chusites or Arabians: betweene which two is situated all Egypt. For to fay, from the borders of Seueneh to the Athiopians, hath no fense at all. Seueneh it selfe being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to Ethiopia, or the land of the Black-Moores. So as if Nabuchodonofors conquest had beene but between 50 Seveneh and the border of Athiopia, it were as much to fay, and did expresse no other victorie then the conquest of all that land and Countrie, lying betweene Middlefex and Buckingham, where both the Countries iowne together; or all the North parts of England, betweene Barwick and Scotland: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man fought to expresse by these two bounds, the conquest of

England : Barwick beeing the North border of England, as Seueneh or Syene is the South bound of £gypt, seated in Thebaida which toucheth £thiopia. But by the words of Ezechiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonofor neuer entred into any part of Æthiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect ) have written Ethiopia for Chulh.

### t. IIII.

An other place of EZECHIEL, c. 20. v.o. in like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of Ezeehiel mistaken, by being in this sort con-uerted. In die illa egredientur nuncij a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopia confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneuans. In that day Shall there messengers goe forth from mee in ships to make the carelesse Moores afraid. Now the Latine for (Thips) hath the Greeke word trieres for triremes which are Galleyes of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should have beene (as in the former) amended by vling the word Chulb, or Arabia for Æethiopia or the black Moores, every man may fee which meanly understandeth the Geography of the world, knowing, that to passe out of Agypt into Athiopia there neede no galleys nor flips, no more then to paffe out of Northampton into Leicestershire: Athiopia being the conterminate Region with £gypt, and not divided so much as by a river. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Agypt Nabuchodonofor should fend galleys alongst the coast of the Red sea, by which an Army might bee transported into Arabia the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all Egypt and the defarts of Pharan) which Army might thereby furprife them vnawares in their fecurity and confidence. For when Nabuchodonofor was at Seueneh within a mile of Æthiopia, hee needed neither Galley nor Shippe to paffe into it: beeing all one large and firme land with £gypt, and no otherwise parted from it, then one Inland shire is parted from an other ; and if hee had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleafure, hee could not have done it: for the fall of 30 Nilus (tumbling ouer high and steepy mountaines) called Catadupa Nili were at hand.

Lastly, as I have already observed, the sonnes of every father seated themselves as neere together as possibly they could, Gomer and his sonnes in Asia the leffe; Jauan and his fonnes in Greece and the Islands adjoyning; Shem in Persia and Eastward. So the sonnes and Grand-children of Chush from the river of Gehon (their fathers first feat) inhabited upon the fame, or upon fome other continuat unto it, as Nimrod and Hauilah on the one fide, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha (with the rest) did on the other fide. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Athiopian blacke 40 moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of Paradife.

A Place Es AY 18. v. 1. inlike manner corrupted by taking Chush for Ethiopia.

Nd as in these places before remembred, so in divers other is the word Athio-A Not as in these piaces before remember and in the form (where it is so vnderflood) quite out of square; one kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense 50 hath this part of Scripture Esay 18. Va terra Cymbalorum alarum qua est trans slumina Æthiopia, or according to the Septuagint in these words. Va terra nauium alarum qua est trans sluuios Æthiopia? Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Athiopia, lending Ambassadors by sea cuen in vessels of reeds voon the waters. Ve terre

ambrofa or a: Woe to the land of the shadie coast, faith Iunius. The former translators vnderstand it in this sense. That the waters are shadowed with the failes, which are significatively called the wings of the ships, the other, that the Coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land heere spoken of by the Prophet E/ay is £2400 no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the Agyptians that fent this meffage to the Israelites which Esay repeateth, and by the former translation every man may fee the transposition of Kingdomes: for hecreby Agypt is transported vnto the other fide of Athiopia, and Athiopia fet next vnto Indea, when it is the land of Chulh 10 and Arabia indeede that lieth between Iudaa and Agypt, and not Athiopia, which is seated vnder the Aquino tiall line. And of this Beroaldus asketh a materiall question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of £thiopia: Nam de ignota agiregione dici nequit. For it cannot bee faid that he treateth of an unknowner egion. Now if Ethiopia it selfe be under the Agiino Etiall line, with whom the Jewes had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations farre beyond it again. and beyond the rivers of Ethiopia? except wee shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discourse of those nations. which were not discourred in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as farre south as the 20 Cape of good hope, commonly knowne by the name of Bona esperanza.

### t: V I.

That upon the like mistaking, both TERRHAKA in the story of SENA-CHERIB, and ZERA in the flory of As A are unaduisedly made Æthiopians.

Nd by this translation is the story of senacherih vtterly mistaken in the cause of

A his retrait. For Senacherib was first repulsed at Pelusium, at the very entrance 30 of Agypt from Indea: when having certaine knowledge that Thirrhaca, (which all the interpreters call King of Ethiopia) was on the way to fet on him, he beganne to 16/2011, 10, 6, 1. withdraw himselfe; and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning messengers to Ezechia King of Juda perswading him to submit himselse : the tenour whereof is fet downe in the second of Kings in these words. Haue any of the Gods of the Nations delivered his land out of the hands of the King of Abur? Where is the God of Hamah? &c. By which proud Ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into Hierusalem, hee then meant to have vnited that great Army before Hierusalem commanded by Rabsekeh with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great City vpon the branch of Wilus next Arabia. For Senacherib had already maistered the most part of all those Kings 2, 19. 40 Cities in Iudes and Beniamin with a third Armie, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the fiege of Lebna. But vpon the rumour of that Arabian Armie led by their King Thirrhakeh (whom Iofephus calls Tharfices) Rabfakeh hafted from the liege Antiquito. of Hierusalem, and found Senacherib departed from Lachis and set down before Lebna, Kinzi 2.19. which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as fome haue fuppofed. But while hee had ill fuccesse at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God him selfe whome he least feared strooke his Army before Hierusalem by the Angell of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place as in the life of Ezechias is hecreafter more largely written. And that this Army of Tirrakeh was from Arabia, Iofephus himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth booke the first Chapter of the Jerres antiqui-

50 ties, that it was come to Senacheribs knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieue the Agyptians and the Iewes) marched towards him by the way of the Defert: Now the Defert which lay indifferent betweene Hierufalem and Pelu- L.10.64. fium, was that of Pharan or Sur which also toucheth on the three A-abiaes, to wit the stony, of which it is a part: the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way in-

deede could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Hierusalem, But,

that there is any Defert betweene Pelulium and the South part of Egypt, hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this

Scripture of the fecond of Kings, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the reft. For here the word ( Chulb ) is also translated Ethiopia; and in this sense have all the Interpreters . (but Junius) expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. Hee heard also men say of THIRRHAKEH King of Æthiopia, &c. whereas it should have beene thus converted with Iunius. Audiens autem de THIRRHAKEH Rege

Chushi, He heard also of THIRRHAKEH King of the Chushites. For they were the Chasties and Arabians, whose houses and Citties were next the fire, and upon whom to the very smoke of Inda flaming was blowne, being their nearest neighbours; and so

were not the Athiopian Black-Moores under the Aguinottial, whom neither warre

nor peace (which discourrethall Regions) cuer found out, faith Plinie. For this King was no more King of Athiopia then Zerah was, who inuaded Afa King of In-

and those Charriots should passe through all £zypt, (the Kings of £zypt being mightie Kings) let all menthat know how these Regions are seated, and how farre

distant, judge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne

through them; neither was there euer any fuch strength of Black-Moores heard

lers or conquerours; and yet is this King Zerah alfo called King of £thiopia. But

the word Chulb being first so converted for Ethiopia, the rest of the Interpreters

(not looking into the scates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inua-

of in that part of the world, or elfewhere. Neither are thefe Athiopians fuch trauai- 20

chron.2.c.14. da, with an Armic of a Million and 3000. Charriots. Indeede, how fuch an Armic

fions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

ð. X I.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

That MIZRAIM the chiefe planter of Azypt, and the rest of the Sonnes of HAM, were feated in order, one

He fecond Sonne of Hamwas Mizraim, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For schulb first possess chulb first possess chuld a on the West side of Gebon chiesly: and from thence, as hee increased in people, so hee entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeast-side of In-

dea. Mizraim his brother (with Phut) past ouer into Africa. Mizraim held Agypt: and Phut (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan tooke the Sea-coaft, and held the fide of Palaftina: and these foure brothers possest all that Tract of land, from Gehon in Chaldaa, as farre to the West as the Mediterran 20 Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deferta, and Petraa, all Canaan which embraceth Galilaa, Samaria, and Iudaa; with the two Egypts, whereof the nether is bounded by Memphis on the South, and by the Mediterran Sea on the North; and Thebaida (called the voper Levet) firetcheth it felfe toward the South as farre as Syene, the border of the Athiopians or Black-Moores. All the rest of the coast of Africa Westward Phut peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or familie that dwelt betweene them. And in the same manner did all their sonnes againe, and all the fonnes of the rest of Noahs children, fort themselves.

t. VII. A farther exposition of the place. Esai. 18.1.

Oncerning these wordes in that eighteenth Chapter of Esii, Nanium alarum, 30 ninged ships, (so the Septuagint turne it) or Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine) failes whistling in the windes, or terra umbrofa ora (after Iunius) the land of a shadowed coast, or the land shadowing with wings, as our English Geneua hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and St. Hierome have one sense in effect. For the failes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we vie to say ordinarily when our thips faile flowly, that thee wanteth wings: (that is) when her failes are either worne or too narrow; and we also yie the same phrase of the winde whistling in the failes. And it may be that the Egyptians employed so many of those small ships, as their failes were faid to give a shadow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, Pintus (vpon Esai) affirmeth, that the word (Sabal) doth fignifie 40 both to shadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline found; so as the meaning of this place (faith Pintus) is this. We to thee, O . A gypt, which does to remile to others lafegard, under the shadow of thy wings, which (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Efai: and this phrase is often elfewhere vsed, as in the fixteenth Pfalme, Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegeme, Defendme under the shadow of thy mings. The Boats of reede spoken of are of two kinds. either of basket; willow couered with hides (as anciently in Brittaine) or a tree made hollow in the bottome, and built upon both fides with Canes. Of the one fort I have seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

Of the time about which the name of Agypt beganne to be knowne: and of the Ægyptians Lunarie yeares, which made their antiquities feeme the more fabulous.

This flourishing Kingdome posses by Mizraim, changed her ancient name, and became Agypt, at such time as Agyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some thinke) the sonne of Belus chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece now called Morea, by whom the Argines were made Danai, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877, yeares after the floud, in the time 40 of Iosua, as S. Auzüsline coniectureth out of Eusebius. But in Hamers Odysses it appeareth that the Agyptians were so called at the time of the Troian warre. And before this, Egypt was knowne by divers other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofiriana, &c. And Manethon (whom tofephus citeth in his first booke against Appion) numbreth all the Kings of Ægypt after Mofes departure, who confumed 393. yeares. By which other men coniecture, that the Egyptians tooke on them that name 330. yeares after Iosua, and about 1000, yeares after the floud. But where Iosephus in the same booke taketh Ifrael to be those Hyefos, which he also calleth Pastores or Sheep-heards, which are faid to have raigned in £gypt 7 11. yeares: whom also he calleth his Ancesters, (meaning the Ancesters of the Iewes) in this I am sure he was grosly decei-50 ued, or that he vainely boasted: for the Ifraelites had no such Dominion as Manethon faineth: nor abode in Egypt fo long a time by many yeares.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. Siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirme (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had raigned in Agypt 330. Kings before Amasis, who was contemporarie with Cyrus;

). XI.

and that they had memorie and floric of 13000, yeares; and that the flarreshad foure times changed their courfe, and the Sunne twice fet in the Eaft. Thefe riddles are also rife among the Athenians and Areadians, who dare affirme that they are more ancient then their and the Moore, whereof Ond?

De Faii.l.1.

Ante Iouem genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades : & Luná gens prior illa fuit.

The Arcadians the earth inhabited Ere yet the Moone did shine, or Ioue was bred.

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But for thole 13000, yeares it may well bectrue: seeing it is certaine that the Asyptians reckon their yeares by Moneths, which makes after that account not about 1000, or 1100, yeares, whether were take their Moneths or Lunarie yeares to haue beene of the first kinde of 27, dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 20, dayes and twelse houres; or after any other of those flue discribition of their Lunarie yeares.

†. III.

Of certaine vaine affertions of the Antiquitie of the Ægyptians.

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ERARDYS MERCATOR inhis Chronologie, reasonath for the Egyption antiquitie in this manner: That the sixteenth Dynassie (where Egsptions times) had beginning with the generall floud; and that therefore the first of the other fisteene reached the creation, or some after it. To which considered of Mentator, Peresian maketh this answere. That therein Mentator was first described, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth Dynassie was at once with the generall should; which Euslehus maketh 292, yeares as first, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, Mentator maketh the beginning of the 30 (keep-heards Dynassia (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, Sastis, to have beenein the yeare of the world 1846. which Euglehus sindersh in the worlds age 21.40. For the 16. Dynassia was begunne but in the 292, yeare after the floud, as they account, and continued 190, yeares. Thirdly, whereas Moreator maketh eugle Dynassia to endure 115, yeares, Eugleshus reckonch many of them at less than 100, yeares; for the 28. had but 6 yeares; the 29, but 20, and the 30, but

Now Annius in his Supplement of Manuhan affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynafites latebach ut 16. yeares: and that the first of the 15. beganne but in the 131. yeare after the floud: So as where Maretar makes all the 15. to precede the floud, and the 16. to have beene then in being at the time of the floud, Annius makes them all after it. But the contrairetice of failthood cannot bee hidden, though disguised. For Annius had forgotten his former opinion and affertion, that it was in the 131. yeare that Normod with the somes of North came into the Valley of Shinsar: So hee forgets the time which was consumed in the building of 8 Adol: and that before the confusion of speech there was no dispersion, nor farre-off plantation at all. And though he hashly conveyed Gome into Buile, and Tubal into Spine, in the 10. yeare of Normodariague: (which was ten yeares after his arrivall into Subspins) yet berein he is more vinadused. For he makes Agypt possess, and a government established in the very first yeare of the arrivall of Namoral into Shinsar, before all partition, or 50 any expedition sure off or nearein question: for from themse (that is, from Bubel) did the Land (Easter them year all the cart).

t, IIII.

### t. IIII.

Against PERERIUS: that it is not whikely, but that Agypt was peopled within 200, years after the creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the world were peopled before the sloud.

By twhereas Pereius seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquitie of the Agyptims, touching their Dynglies, (which Ensseins do thin a talogather destroy, but leften I doe not finde any great strength in this opinion of Pereius; (to wit) that it was either whilely or impossible that Egypt should bee peopled within 100. or 200, yeares after I dam, in the first age. And whereas he suppossed that it was not inhabited at all before the generall should, doe verify believe the contrarie: and that not only of Egypt, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: Pereius his wordes are these. Quamodo win primes mand discentes, weletime entime mands App AN 1 probes ado multipliers possit; vit as Egyptum vique bubitandum & complemdum propagata sit, &c. Fer how would the children of A DAN 6 so multipliers in the first two hundred, or in the first shundred yeares of the world, and by propagated as to mishate and side of the contraries of the side of the side of the contraries of the side o

Now feeing that the Scriptures are filent herein, and that it is no point of our fauing beleefe, it is lawfull for enery man to be guided in this and the like queftions by the beftreafon, circumflance, and likelyhood, and herein, as in the reft, I proteft that I doe not gainfay any mans opinion out of any croffing or cauelling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Chriftian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poffibilitie of vnion, then out of froward fubbletic, and predidicate refolued-

nesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First, therefore to this opinion, that Agypt was not planted so soone after Adam, no, not at all before the floud, I fay that there is no reason why wee should give a 30 leffe increase to the sonnes of Adam, then to the sonnes of Noah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the floud double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and abilitie, to beget many children: and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred; hor consanguinitie. And that there was a speedie increase of people; and in great numbers, it may in some fort appeare by this, that Cain, who (being fearefull that the death of Abel would haue been reuenged on him ) withdrew himfelfe from the reft, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of And, and there, by the helpe of his owne iffues built a Cittie, (called Enoch) after the name of his first borne. Now if it bee gathered that Nimrod came into the Valley of Shinaar with fo many multitudes, as fuf-40 ficed to build the Cittie and Tower of Babel: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130. yeares by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeare: I fee no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeares, the fame (if not a greater) number might be increased, and so within 70 years after (that is, by such time as the world had stood 200 yeares) aswell Asserting, Syria, and Egypt might be possess before the floud; as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true storie of the Babylonian and Affyrian Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 50 hundred or 130. yeares after the floud, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that'e ucr 2 oah himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authoritieto prone it, fo all probable conjecture and reason it selfe denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which Semiramis (but the third from Nimrod) found in India, confidered with her owne Armie of three Millions, (and shee left not

all her Kingdomes emptie) doe well proue, that if the world had fuch plende of people in fo few yeares after the floud, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account Ninus gouerned Babylonia and Affiria but 292, yeares after the floud of Nadh. And the ctroupes of Semirania were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdomes, from Media to the Mediterran Sea, when there had now past from the floud to the time of this her inualion, somewhat leffe or more then 360, yeares : for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow: though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of Semiramis Armie, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be giuen. And if but the one halfe be true of that which is faid, That her Armie conli- 10 fled of 1200000, footmen, and 500000, horsemen, it must needes bee, that long before Semiramis raigne, the greatest part of Asia (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people : yea Arabia it felfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of Semiramis haue beene plentifully peopled; when Ninus hauing a determination to make himfelfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his affiftance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Agypt might also be peopled. Now if wee may beleeve Trogus Pompeius (Epitomiz'd sypt migred of the proposed. For it we character that the proposed for a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Yunus was borne. For the see be his ownewordes, speaking of Yimus. Fuere quident empo-20 ribus antiquioribus V Ex 0 R 18 Rex Legypti, &c. But there were in times more assistent VEXORIS King of Ægypt, and TANAIS King of the Scythians: of which the one inuaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquefts of Ninus witnesse, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this fide India. For Diodorus out of Ctefias numbreth the Armie, wherewith Ninus inuaded Zoroaster, at 1700000. footmen, and 200000. horsemen; and the stories generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater then any that those parts of the world euer fince beheld. But to what end should I feeke for forraine authoritie ? for no man doubteth but that £gypt was possest by 30 Mizraim, the fonne of Ham; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Citties in Abrahams time, the Scriptures tell vs. And fure to prepare and cultiue a defolate and ouergrowne ground, to beautifie it with many Citties, Lawes, and pollicies, cannot be efteemed a labour of a few dayes; and therefore it must bee inhabited in a leffe time then 200, yeares after the floud; and in the fame time (if not in a shorter) before the floud. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeares after the general floud; fo as not only Bablon, and Affria, Battra, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Atgpt, Palafima, yea the fare-off Lybia on the one fide, and India on the other, and Septida (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what fmall corners could then all those nations be comprest, which 1656. yeares brought 40 forth before the floud ? euen necessitie, which cannot bee resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld living Nations of his owne body.

†. V.
Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererivs.

FOr what a strange increase did the long liues of the first age make, when they 50 continued 800, or 900, yeares. Surely, we hauereason to doubt, that the world could not contain ethen, rather then that the they were not spred ouer the world. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this age of the world: wherein if one exceeds 50, yeares, ten for one are cut off in that passinge, and yet we find no want of people; because

people; nay, we know the multitude fuch, as if by warres or petitlence they were not fornetimes taken of by many thoufands, the earth with all the induftrie of man could not guite them toods. What thrange heapes then of bules had the first age, who entoyed 800 or 900, yeares, as aforefaid. Thefe numbers, I fay, canhot bee counted not conceived. For it would come to the first erckoning in effect, as if all those which have been gborne in Reitaune since 3, or 4, bundred yeares before the Norman Conquest (laung slight as by accident of by violence were cut off) were now aline; and if to these, there were added as many as by Polygame might have been increased. For (to onjut, that the Giants and mightie ones of the first age observed a no law of marrimonics) is to be though that those lourse of the world and of pleafure, when they knew, the long and liberall time which Nature had given them, would not, willingly or haftily prefent themselves to any danger which they could flie from or ofchew. For what humane argument hath better perswassion to make men carefule of lite, and carefulle of death, then the little time which keepes them afunder, and that short time also accompanied with 6 many paines and disease, which this enuious old age of the world mingleth together, and soweth with the feedes of mankinde?

Now if that Berefusor Annies may be alleaged for fufficient Authours whom Pererus himselfein this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by to feebus 20 confirmed, that the Cittle of Enoch was feated neare Lybanus in Syria: and if other parts of Syria were peopled in Cainstime, Hee no cause why Palestina (which is also a Prounce of Syria) and Agypt (which neighbourethit) could bee left desolate both all the life time of Cain, and all those times betweene his death and the floud. which weige by elimation 70.00 is 800, years. And fur though this Fragment of Berofus with Annius his Comment bee very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Coppies being corrupted or folt) yet all things in Berofus are not to bee rejected. Therefore S. fine owne for fuch Authours gives a goodrule. Bona corum edgamus, cutterms.contrains, Let vichoofe what is good in them, and reiect the reit. And certainly in the yexy beginning of the first Booke, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Mofes, touch 30 ing the generall floud, and in that first part Berosus affirmeth, that those mightie Men and Giants which inhabited Enoch, commanded ouer all Nations and subjected the valuerfall world: and though that phrase (of all the world) be often yied in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the Acts. That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Iewes, menthat feared God of euery Nation under heaven: yet by wordes which follow in Berofus, it is plaine that his wordes and sense were the same: for hee addeth from the Sunnes rifing to the Sunnes fetting, which cannot be taken for any fmall part thereof. Againe, we may fafely conjecture, that Woah did not part and proportion the world among his fonnes at aduenture, or left them as discouerers. but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had beene inhabited. 40 And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more passable and easie to trauaile ouer before the floud, then after it. For Pererius himfelfe confesseth, that Attica (by reabenote the house in the care to prove the care by was whinhabited 200, yeares after ogges floud, whereby weemay gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into sarre Countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopfed for 100 or 130 yeares together. And therefore was the face there-of in all coniccure more beautifull, and leffe cumber fome to walke ouer, in the first age then after the generall overflowing.

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of the wordes of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultimo, whereupon Penerevs grounded his opinion.

Aftly, whereas Pererius drawes this argument out of the last Versc of the tenth Lof Genelis. And out of thele were the Nations divided after the floud : Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium, By which it appeareth (faith Pererius) that there was no fuch division before the floud; which he also seeketh to confirme out of theeleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the 18 people. This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seemeth to me very weake: the text it felfe rather teaching the contrarie : for out of thefe (faith Moses) were the Wations divided in the earth after the floud; inferring, that before the floud the Nations were diuided out of others, though after the floud out of these only. But whatsoever fense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the floud, or to any plantation or diuision in that age: for if there were none else among whom the carth could be divided after the floud, but Woahs Sonnes. wherein doth that necessarie division controle the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the consusion of speech was the cause of this disperfion, it is true, that it was fo for that present; but if Babel had neuer beene built, not 20 any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall plantation : as Berofus faics well, that when mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, ad comparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat, They were driven by necessitie to feeke new habitations. For wee finde (as is before said) that within 300. yeares after the floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, fuch multitudes as the valley about Babylon could not have fuftained those numbers with their increase for any long time : all Afia the greater and the leffer; all Scythia, Arabia, Palastina, and Ægypt, with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Mauritania and Lybia being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleeue Berofus, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 140, yeares after the floud) Spaine, Italie., 30 and France were also planted: much more then may wee thinke, that within 1656. yeares before the floud, in the time of the chiefe ftrength of mankinde, they were replenished with people. And certainely seeing all the world was ouerflowne, there were people in all the world which offended.

# t. VII.

A conclusion, resoluting of that which is most likely, touching the Ægyptian antiquities: with somewhat of PHVT (another Sonne of HAM)
which peopled Lybia.

Herefore, for the Antiquitie of the Egyptians, as I doe not agree with Merca-I tor, nor judge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Egyptians antiquities: fo I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities fo fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, That Egypt being peopled before the floud, and 200. or 300. yeares, more or leffe after Adam, there might remaine vinto the Sonnes of Mizraim some monuments (in Pillers or Altars of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the Agyptians hauing added to the lift and rolle of their Kings after the floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glorie, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferted. And that the memorie of antiquitie was in such fort preserved, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldaans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the vie of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeare before Alexanders conquest : and this report Annius findeth to

agree and reach to the time of *Enolp*, who was borne 1034. yeares before the floud, and wrote of the worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his comming in judgement, as St. Iude hath witneffed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this plantation of Agypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it tooke the name of Agypt from Agyptus the sonne of Belus, as aforesaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicapolis to the Mediterran Sea, was called the inferiour Ægypt; surnamed also Delsa: because the secural branches of Nilus breaking afunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme 10 of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ranne toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next vnto the Leserts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the Cittie of Pelusum, where Senacherib was repulsed: The other branch, which yeelded it selfe to the salt water towards the North-west, is beautified by that famous Cittie of Alexandria: The vpper part of Egypt is bounded betweene Memphis and Syene neare Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient Cittle of Thebes, which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. gates: and therefore called Civitas centum portarum; and by the Greekes Diofpolis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which fignifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Iofephus cals Azypt Mersin of Mizrain: and Herodotus affirmes that it had Iofeth I. 1. Ant.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of land to his brother Mezraim, and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei; (fayth Infephus ) and Plinie mentioneth the river Fut in Mauritania : which river from the L.5.1. mountaine Atlas (knowne to the inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chufh and Lud were contermini and affociates with the A-

ð. XII.

Of the eleven formes of CANAAN, the fourth forme

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

20 once the name of Thebais

A N A A N (the fourth fonne of Ham) poffest all that Region called by the Romanes Palestina; in the Scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Iudea; in the latter times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and Inrie : the limits whercof are preciselie set downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth. Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou go-

est to Gerar untill Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodome and Gomorh, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Lasha. Now howsoeuer these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan and Zidon the North; Sodome and Gomorha the East, and the other Citties 50 named flood on the frontiers thereof. For Gerar standethin a right line from Gaza in the way of Agypt, the vttermost territorie of Canaan Southward : and this was properly the land of Canaan.

Now the sonnes of Canaan which possess this Countrie, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. Zidon

Gen.22.

Kings of the Hittites.

1. Zidon.

2. Heth or Chethus.

Iebufi or Iebufaus.

Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus,

Girgeshi or Girgeseus.

Heur or Chineus.

Arki or Harkeus.

Seni or Sinaus.

o. Araadi or Aruadaus.

10. Zemari or Samareus, or Tzemareus

II. Hamathi or Hamatheus, or Chamathaus.

io

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Heuites, Iebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from some of his.

t. II.

of the portions of ZIDON and HETH.

 $Z_{
m Mhich}$  after the first borne of  $\it Cansan$ , built the famous Cittle of  $\it Zidon$  in  $\it Phenicia$ , which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of  $\it Aeta er$ : for  $\it Aeta er$ ,  $\it Zabulon$ , and Nephtali had a great part of the ancient Phanicia distributed among them; but the Afferites could neuer obtaine Zidon it felfe.

The second sonne of Canaan was Heth or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seuen principall Nations (commaunders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canamites, the Perizzites, and Heuites, and the Lebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Berlabe, and towards Hebron neere the Torrent Belor, and about Gerar, which Moses maketh the vttermost limit of Canaan, having the Desert of Pharan to 30 the South: for about Bersabe (otherwise Puteus inramenti) foure miles from Gaza dwelt Heth and his posteritie, as farreto the Northeast as Hebron, and Mamre; and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buie the field of Sarahs buriall. Of Gen. 27. 0.46. which Nation Rebecca bewailed her felfe to Isaac, faying, That shee was wearie of her life for the daughters of HETH. The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong 4. Kings. c.7. v.6. and fierce Nation, whose entertainement by the Kings of Ifrael against them the Syrians greatly feared : as in the fourth of the Kings; Ifrael hath hired against vs the

t. III.

Of the Iebusites and Amorites.

TEBVSævs, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the Iebusites, and whose prin-1 cipall feat was Iebus, (afterward Hierusalem) were also avaliant and stubborne Nation, and held their Cittie and the Countrie neere it, till fuch time as Dauid by Gods affiftance recoursed both : yet were not the Iebulites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Salomon.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the Amorites tooke name, who inhabited that land to the East of Iordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Ar- 50 non and the mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Iordan on the West : of whom og (King of Bafan) and Sihon (ouerthrowne by Mofes) were Princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the boundes of Canaan: as behind Libanus in the edge of Calefyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also

# CHAP. 8. S.12. +.4.5. of the Historie of the World.

their being in the mountaines of Iuda, and in Idumea neere the Metropolis thereof, Deut.1. called Duma. And hereofit came that all the Canaanites were formetime called Amo-Num.13. rites:as in Genesis the fifteenth, for the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet Amos; Tet destroied I Amos, zi the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cadar, and he was strong

t. IIII.

Of the Gergesites, Heuites and Harkites.

The fift fonce of Canaan was Gergefeus or Gergefion, (otherwife Girgafi) who inhabited on the East fide of the lake of Tiberius, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolomie fets the Cittie Gerafa, which Tofephus calles Gefera in the territorie of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ disposses the possessed with Diuels; and the Gergefiles defired him to depart their coastes : because their swine filled with the cuill spirits drowned themselves in the Seaof Galilee. Gergeseus also built Berytus (sometime Geris) afterward Falix Iulia, three miles from the river Adonis in Phanicia: in which the Romanes held a garrifon : and to which Augustus gaue manielarge

Heucus the fixth fonne; and Father of the Heutes; inhabited under Libanus neere Emath. These Heuites, howsoeuer the Caphthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomie the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of Iosua, and afterward to the time of Salomon. For God was not pleased vtterly to roote out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Ifraelites, and at other times ferued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them : for as it is written Judges the third; They remained to prove Is RAEL by them, whether they would obay the Commandements of God.

The feuenth fonne was Araceus or Harki, who betweene the foote of Libanus 30 and the Mediterran Sea, (ouer against Tripolis) built the Cittie of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachis.

> † V. of Sini and Aruadi.

CINEVS the eighth Sonne Hierofolymitanus fets at Caparorfa, which Ptolomie finds S in Induanot farre from Iebus; to the South thereof, faith Innius. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which S. Hierome cals Sim; Ptolomie Simyra: Me-40 la and Plinie Smyrus: Brochard Sycon, (called Synochis) neare Arca, Pererius thinkes that Sineus inhabited the Deferts of Sinai or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certaintie then the report of Brochard, who tooke vew of all these places, affirming that Sineus built Synochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini (written with the letter C. otherwife Kenei) who descended of Hobab the Sonne of Raquel the Madianite, who affifted the Ifraelites in their conduction through the wildernesse of Pharan. But these Cinai were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephtalims, belide their habitations with the ludge. Amalekites: against these Cinei Balaam prophecied, that they should be destroyed by 10/114,1935; the Affyrians.

The ninth Sonne was Aradeus or Aruadeus, who in the Isle of Aradus built the Gultyr. Vitria, Cittie Arados: opposite against which Island on the maine of Phanicia, they founded another Cittie of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this Cittie came S. Peter (faith Clement) and in this Isle preached the Gofoell : and founded a Church in honour of our Ladie : but wee finde no fuch worke

of his in the Acts of the Apoffles. Both the wwere very famous: and places of skilfull Sca-men: whom Exceled remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians, The inhabitants of Zidon and Arnadwere thy Marriners.

# t. VI.

OF Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth Sonne, there are divers opinions. Some thinke that he first inhabited in Culespria at Edessa, and founded Samaraim, 10 which in Iofua is placed in the Tribe of Beniamin. There is also Samaraijm ( of the Bereal in Chron. fame Orthographie) vpon the mountaines of Ephraim (faith Berealdus) mentioned in the second of Chronicles c. 12. v.4. which the Latine converteth amisse (faith hee) by Semeron. The Hierofolymitan Paraphrasi makes Samureus (of whom were the Perizzises) the parent of the Emissian, which Plinie calls the Hemisenian Calesyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthographic, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri ) disproueth. 1. Kines 16.28. And he bought the mountaine Samaria or Shemeron of one SHEMER, for two talents of filter, and built in the mountaine : and called the name of the Cittie which he built, after the 20 name of SHEMER, Lord of the mountaine Samaria. But of all these places I shall focake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of Israel, Of whomfocuer the Samuitanes were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the lewes stood vp, they alwaies called themselves terres: when it suffered or sanke, they then vtterly denyed to be of that Nation or Familie; for at fuch time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Affyrians; and partly of the naturals.

# †. VII. of Hamathi,

"I" He last of Canaons Sonnes was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamathi, of Hamath: (faith Beroaldus) of which (the afpiration taken away) the fame is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was parent. Infephus and St. Hierome confound Emath with Antioch, not that Antioch which flandeth on the River Oranies, on the frontier of Comagena, betweene the mountaine Cassus and the Prouince of Pieria, and Seleneis, of which S. Peter was Bilhop, and in which S. Luke and Ignatius were borne : but antioch, furnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus fuppofeth, 40 which standerh betweene Apamea and Emefain Cassiotis. Yet, indeede, Emash cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch vpon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emela, are farther off feated from Canaan, then ever any of those Nations stragled. And whereas S. Hierome setteth Emith, which hee confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest, that Epiphania, which standeth to the North of Emela, hath all the Prouince of Landicea, betweene it and any part of the land divided. And if Libanon it felfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not Epiphania belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces Landicea and Liberita, are betweene Epiphania and any part of the holy Land . and therefore Emails fo taken could not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth of Infants directly proued. 50 For Isfua counting the lands that remained unpoffest, reckoneth all mount Lib mon towards the Sunne-riling from Badgad vnder mount Elermon, vntill we come to Hamath. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that Emath was not in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the children of Ifrael: because Davidaccepted the presents of

CHAP. 8. S. 13. +. I. of the Historie of the World.

Tohu King of Emath, and (therewithall) conditions of peace : which hee would not have done, if that Territoric had ever belonged to the children of Ifrael, but would haue recoursed it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great waight. For if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in Deuteronomie, then might Emath bee compre- c.11, v.24, hended, though feated altogether without the bounds of the Land promifed, according to the description of Moles and Iolua: for Emath is indeed fituate on the other fide of the mountaine of Hermon, which iowneth to Libanus : and is otherwise called Iturea. But whereas Hamath is named in Tofua the 19.0.35. and written in the 10 Latine conversion Emath, therein (faith Beroaldus) was S. Hierome mistaken. Emath or Iturea is that ouer the mountaines, and the Cittie in Nephtalim should bee written Hamath: and so the Septuagint (vinderstanding the difference) write it Ammath and not Emath, the same which indeede belonged to the Nephtalims, scated on the south fide of Libanus, to the East of Affedim: which Cittie S. Hierome writes Emath , Joseph phus Hamath; others Emathin; or Amatheos; and the people Amathein; of which (as I take it) Rablakeh vaunteth in the second of Kings. Where is the God of Hamath. (18, 619)

à. X I I I.

of the Sonnes of CHVSH (excepting NIMEOD) of whom hereafter.

The fonnes of Chufb were, Sabta, Rasma, Sabtea, Streea, Nimea, Streea, Nimea,

†. I

That the most of the Sonnes of CHV s it were feated in Arabia the Happic: and of the Sabaans that robbed IOB: and of the Queene that came to SALOMON.

Es A or Saba was the eldeft Sonne of Chulb; the eldeft Sonne of Ham; to make a difference between him as 11. to make a difference betweene him and his Nephew Sheba; the Sonne of his brother Raama, or Regma (or Ragma after Montanus) his name is written with a fingle (s) Samech, and Sheba the Sonne of Regma with an (s) afpirate, which is the Hebrew Schin. Seba the eldeft sonne of Chush, Regmahis brother, and Shebathe sonne of Regmaposses both the shores of Arabia Falix. Saba tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as nearest his Father Chulb, and the land of the Chulites: Regma and Sheba the East coast of the same Arabia which looketh into the Gulfe of Perlia; of which Plinie. Sabei Arabum populi propter thuraclarisimi ad vtrag, maria porrect is gentibus habitant. The Sabaans people of Arabia; famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian, or Red Sea. This Countrie was afterwards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, saith Postellus. To this agreeth Ptolomie, who setteth the Cittie of Saba towards the Arabian or Red Sea, and the Cittie Rhegama towards 50 the Persian, with whom also wee may leave Sabta: for so much Montanus gathereth out of Ptolomie, because he remembreth a Nation (called Stabei) neare the Persian Sea; and Maffabatha which descended of them. But Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he cals him Rahma) into Carmania, for which I fee no reason. Iosephus, who only attended his owne fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of Ethiopia.

3.S.m.8.9.

But Beroaldus thinks it strange, that the Sabsi, which stole away tobs Cattle, should runne through all Agypt and all Arabia Petres, and finde out tob in Traconitis betweene Paleltina and Calefyria 1200. miles off. Now as this coniecture was more then ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the Sabei on the Red Sea, northose toward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth ypon 10b, which soeuer Beroaldus shall take for nearest. But these were the Sabai of Arabia the Defert, where Guilandinus Melchior affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Cittie Saba is scated : the same which Ptolomie cals Sane , now Sems for and from this Saba in Arabia the Defert, came those Migior Wifemen which worthipped Christ, faith Melchior, whose wordes are these. The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as 10 Chryfostome, Hierome, and Ambrose Supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many wife men doe beleeue, but out of Sabain Arabia the Defert : which Citie when my felfe was there was (as I indged it) called Semifesfac. And to approug this opinion of Guilandinus it appeareth that these Shahei were neighbours to Job, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (afwell those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so distoyned with large Deferts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to paffethem, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the mountaines, of the fands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts. Vbi nechomines nee bestie videntur, nee aues, imò nee arbores, nee germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altisimi, asperimi, Where there are found neither men nor beasts, no not somuch as birds, 20 or trees, nor any passure or grasse, but only sharpe, and high stonic, and craggie mountaines. Beroaldus and Pererius conceine, that the Queene of Saba which came to visite Salomon, was of the Sabai on the East fide of Arabia Falix; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that shee was Queene of Sabatowards the Red sea: for Salamon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petraa, twixt Idumaa and the Red Sea, as farre downe as Midian or Midian, and Ezion Gaber : and this Queene of Saba which inhabited the West part of Arabia Faelix, being his neighbour, might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of furprise by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoide tediousnesse, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, 30 with his Sonnes Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteea, were all the possessions of Arabia the Happic and the Defert: only Hauilah and Nimrod dwelt together on the East side of Chulb, who held Arabia Petres. Now for Sabta, there is found of his name the Plin. 1.12.6.14. Cittle of Sabbatha or Sabota in the fame Arabia: of which both Plinie and Ptolomie; Prol. 14th 6. Afric. who withall nameth Sakotale, within the wals whereof there were fometimes found fixtie Temples. Ezechiel ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, The Overchants of Shebs and Rasma were thy Merchants. And that they were the Easterne Arabians their merchandife witneffeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of Paradife. For tolephus his fancies, that Saba was the parent of the Athiopians about Meroe, and Sabta of the Ethiopians Affabari, they be not worthicany farther answere then 40 hath already been ginen: especially seeing these Citties preserving the memorie of the names of Saba and of Sabra in Arabia were yet remaining in Ptolomies time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adiopning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of Cufb, with little alterations are preserved. In Arabia the Defert is found the Cittie Saba or Saue, (now Semileafae) with the Cittie of Rhegans for Rhegma; and the Nation by Ptolomie himselfe called Raabeni of Raamah. In Arabia the Happie is found the Cittie of Rhegama, and Rabana, which also keepeth the found of Rhegma; the Citic of Saptha or Saptab, not far from the East coast of Arabia: as also the Metropolis and chiefe citie, in the body of the South part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration Sabatha; and to the West of Sabatha towards the 50 Red Sea the great Citic of Saba; and the Nation adjoyning, Sabai: and to the fouth thereof against oward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of Sabe. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of Arabia, Havilah by the passage of Tigris was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by boate

euen vnto Rhegma the Cittle of Raama, or Rhegma, fet neare the River of Lar towards the mouth of the Perlian Sea, which stood in Ptolomies time.

CHAP. 8. S. 13. 1.2.

I o serhvs his opinion of Dedan, one of the issue of Chush to have beene feated in the West Æthiopia, disproved out of Ezech:

A Nd whereas Infephus (whom in this St Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) fent Dedan the fonne of Raamah into West Ethiopia, it is strange that Ezezhiel should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15, verse, and Sheba and Raamah in the 22 verses to be the merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West . Ethiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) about 4000 miles. Besides which the Marchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyredoth not make them naked Black-mores. For they of Dedan (faith Ezechiel) were thy merchants in pretious clothes for thy charriots; and these Westerne Athiopians neuer faw cloth, till the Portugals seeking those Coastes traded with them : the merchandise of the Countrie beeing Hides, Elephants teeth, some 20 Gold and Amber, Ciuet cattes, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture:

and all these they exchanged for linnen, or iron cheesly.

But in those daies the West part of Africa within the body of the land was known onely by imagination: and, beeing vnder the burnt. Zone was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the Negros of the West Ethiopia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or Niger, could either paffe by Sea or Land to Tyre in the bottome of the Mediterran Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancie. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Chulb, which seates they held by that name in the time of Hieremie the Prophet let vs heare Hieremie his own words. Flie yee inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Es Av vpon him.

30 Hecreby it appeareth that Dedan was a neighbour to the Idumarans: and Idumara is a Province of Arabia Petras : and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia Falix, joyned in that part to Petras, the feat of his Grand-father Chulb; which neighbor-hood and fellow thip of Dedan and the Idumarans is also confirmed by Executed, Executed as I will firetch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will mike ver. 15. it desolate from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

Q. XIIII.
Of the iffue of MIZEAIM: and of the place of HIEREMIE Chap.
9. Verf. 7.



Free Chulb it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names (faith Saint Augustine) were plurall, to fignifie the Nations, which The terminacame of them. Ludim the eldeft fonne of Mizraim was the father of the tion in the Lybians in Africa: and the reft of his brothers dispersed themselues incommonly a
to all Regions adiopning. Among the sonnes of Shem there is also
signessing.

Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the fonne of Mizzaim by the fingular number: Plural number, as gim of the sonne of shem beeing written Lud, the sonne of Mizraim Ludin : and yet these the dual. names and nations are often confounded, not withflanding the apparent difference 50 both of names and nations. For that Ludin the some of Mizrain was the parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that hee was feated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who ioyneth them in this fort together. Come up C1.46.ver.9. ye Horfes, and rage ye Charriots, and let the valiant men come foorth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians beeing of

one parent descended. And in Exechiel, Phut and Lud are joyned togeather. Æthiopia (or Chulh) faith Exechiel c. 20. v. 3. And PHVT and LVD, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are inleague shall fall with them by the fivord : which is as much to fay, as the fonnes of Chufb; (which were the Chuftes) the Sonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians, (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the inhabitants of Agypt and Africa shall fall together. Hierofolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleeue it : because Hieremie joyneth the Lybians and Lydians together in the place before remembred: But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrew called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus ) though 2. Chron 12.2, they feeme to be called Lubim or Lubei, a name fomewhat nearer the 10 word Lybies, and by which it may feeme that the truer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus ( vpon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud, not to be meant of the Librars at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyda, a Cittie (faith he) betweene Egypt and Paleflina, which opinion I could not miflike if the Cittle of Lyda were so seared. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same Cittie which was afterward Diospolis, in which S. Peter cured Aneas of the palley) standeth neare the Torrent Gaas, not farre from Joppe the Port of Hierufalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this Cittie might have Lud for the Founder. For there are many Citties of one name founded in all the 20 Regions of the world, and farre afunder; as after the names of Alexander, Selevicus, and Antiochus, many Citties called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, fo of diucrs others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to bee the Father of Libya who was the third fonne of Mizraim : and fo doth Postellus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizrains Sonnes have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, fauing Callubim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scrip-

These Callubim inhabited Casiotis, a region lying in the entrance of Agypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis and the mountaine Cassius are found: not farre

from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim scated neare Cassum in that Trast of Azypt called Sethroitis, not farre from Pelusium. Strabo cals it Sethroitis; Stephanus and Plinie Sethroites, of the Cittie Seilron: which Ortelius takes to bee the fame which Ptolomie cals Hercules parua. Of the Callulim and Caphtorim carne the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyli (which is) Alienigena, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palastina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (faith Isidore) doe not vie the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Citties were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gafei, Afcalonita, Azotij, Gethai, and Accaronita. Midore affirmes that Acadon was first called Philistim: and of that Cittiethe Coun- 40 trie adjoyning. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had aliking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a couenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeede at this time in Gerar; but it is written that hee was also King of the Philistims, in these wordes. Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Phili-Ball upon the flims unto Gerar. Now in regard that this or some ancienter Abimelech gouerned the commonwealth greatly to his glorie, the rest of his successours called themselves by the 27, of & the fame name. The Philistims commanded that Tract of land vpon the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Cafarea Palastina or Turris Stratonius) which was the fouth border of Phanicia, to Gafa or to the Ri- 50 ner of Egypt. The Anakims or firong Giants were of these Philistims: and Goliah was of Geth one of the fine Citties about named. They had fornetimes fine Kings, faith Liranus. They mastered the Ifraelites at seuerall times about 150, yeares, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel, but

CHAP. S. S. 15. † . I. of the Historic of the World.

in the end this yoke was taken off by DAVID, and layed on themselues. It is objected, that because these Citties and the Countries adjoyning were held by the fonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Ilraelites dispossesses the fonnes of Mizraim and not of Canaan, by forcing those places. To this faith Pererius, that although the Palastines or Philistims held it in the time

of Iofua, yet at the time of the promife it was possest by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomie. The Heustes dwelt in the Villages vnto Gaza. And what meruaile if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim and not of Canaan, belides Moles the Prophet Hieremie witneffeth. The Lord will dellroy the Philistims, Higgen and the remnant of the iffue of Caphtor; and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philistims are faid to be the reliques of Caphtorim; have not I brought up Is R NEL out Amos. 19. 1.7. of the land of Agypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and ARAM from Kir? fo'I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Fulgar hath, & Palafinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conuersion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a Cittie directly West from Agypt, betweene Ptolomais or Barce and Apollonia : but Kir in A-(in vinder the Assertions: Iunius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneua.

But Pererius cals Caphtorim Cappadocia according to the Vulgar translation, to which 20 he is bound; and yet it is not altogether improbable if he meane Cappadocia in Palaflina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Affa the leffe. For of which fee whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palastina, it is not certainly in the tecond whether they innabled sements, or corporate knowne. And fure in this manner hee may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, 2,3, 1,5. as well as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of Kings, that Teglatphalasser King of the Af- Case. v.g. fyrians carryed away the inhabitants of Damafeus into Kir: and to Iofephus feemes to vnderstand this Kir, for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene Media superior: for it was the manner and pollicie of the Affrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samarians or Ifraelites, and other Nations. And hereof 30 it came that Kir was called Syro-media: because the Syrians by the Affyrians were

Q. X V.

of the issue of SEM.

Of ELAM, ASSUR, ARPHAKAD, and LVD.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sonnes of Sem, who were these:

- 1. Alam, or Elam.
- 2. Albur.
- Arphaxad.
- 5. Aram.

50 He posteritie of Sem Moses recounteth after the rest : because from them hee proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and storie of the Hebrewes. For of Sem was Abraham descended.

Of these sine Sonnes the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxadonly, and only the children of him and Aram, the rest

therein captined.

that Affir (who was supposed to found Niniueli) was also said to be the Father of the Allyrians, whose iffues, and the iffues of Cham instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtavned, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which

alfo teacheth vs. that all the East parts of the world were peopled by Astar, Elam, and Lud, (fauing India) which I beleeve Noah himselfe first inhabited; and to whom Ophir and Hauilah the fonnes of Jockan afterward repaired. Hij filij SEM ah Euphrate fluuio partem Asia v (que ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt, These sonnes of SEM (faith

are barely fooken of by rehearfall of their names, fauing that it may be gathered.

S. HIEROME held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Of Flam came the Elamites, remembred Acts the 2. v. the o. and the Princes of

Perfia: which name then beganne to bee out of vie and loft, when the Perfians became Mafters of Babylonia: the East Monarchie being established in them. Some prophane writers diftinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But Sufa (which the Scriptures call Sufan) in Elam was the Kings feat of Persia (witnesse Daniel.) And I faw (faith he) in a vision, and when I faw it I was in the Pallace of Sv-

C.8.v.z. Prol. Allestab. 5. SAN, which is in the Province of Elam. This Cittie is embraced by the River Euleus

(according to Ptolomie) in Daniel, Vlai and feated in the border of Suliana. Albur (as most Historians believe) the second some of Sem, was Father of the Apprior, which traitorians detected the record coince of sem, was rather of the Apprion, who disdayning the pride of  $\bar{\chi}_{imnod}^{innod}$ , parted from Babel, and built  $N^i - 20$  mm, of equall beautic and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath beene in this Storie, and therefore I thall not neede herein to speake much: for the Assyrians so often inuaded and spoiled the Ifraelites, destroyed their Citties, and led them Captiues, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howfocuer Herodotus and D. Siculus extend this Empire, and honour this nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the Allirians of any such power. after fuch time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For Senacherib who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the mountaine Taurus for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and Syria bounded him toward the West, 20 notwithstanding those younts of Senacherib in Elay the 27. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and RESERH, and the Children of EDEN which were at Telassar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the Cittie Sepharuaim, Henaand Isah? All these were indeede but pettie Kings of Citties, and small Countries; as Haran in Mesopotamia: Reseph in Palmyrena: Hamath or Emath in Ituraa vnder Libanus: the Ifle of Eden: Sepher, and others of this fort. Yea Nabuchodonafor, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of Egypt had but Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with Palastina and Phanicia parts thereof. But in this question of Assur, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to Nimred, whose plantation I have omitted a- 40 mong the rest of the Chastes, because hee established the first Empire; from whom the most memorable storie of the world taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, faith S. Hierome, and Infephus, but it must bee those Chaldeans about Vr: for the sonnes of Cham possest the rest. It is true that hee was the Father of the Hebrewes : for Arphaxad begat Shela, and Shela Heber, of whom hereafter.

And that Lud the fourth Sonne of Shem, gaue name to the Lydians in Afia the leffe, is the common opinion, taken from Infephus and S. Hierome; but I fee not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

# t. II.

of ARAM, and his Sonnes.

R AM the fift and last Sonne of Shem was the parent of the Syrians : of which A Damaleus was head. Their name was changed from Aram or Aramites by Sy- 865.7.0.8. rus (faith Eufebrus out of Iofephus) which Syrus lived before Mofes was borne; the Eufeb p.10.64 fame which others call the sonne of Apollo, Mesopotamia also being but a Province of Syria had the name of Aram Naharaym, which is as much to fay, as Syria duorum 10 fluurorum, Svria compassed with two Rivers: (to wit) Tigris and Euphrates. The Scriptures call it Melopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram : and the Greekes Melopotamia

Arile and get thee to Padan Aram (faith Isaac to Iacob) to the house of Bethvel Gunz ... See Artife and get investo e again Artam (until space to subject to the rough of DELIVEL Gas.2.). See thy mathers of alram or Aramea, as these his owne wordes converted witnessee. Quest nos baselonia name of Iram or Aramea, as these his owne wordes converted witnessee. Quest nos baselonia, Spris vocamus, spsi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant, Those which we call Syrians (saith Paradi. 1.9). he) themselves call Aramenians and Arameans.

Against this opinion that Aram the sonne of Sem, was the Father and Denominator of the Syrians in generall; (and not only of those in Syria Inter-annis, which 20 is Mesopotamia) formercade Gen. 22.21. Kemuel, the father of the Syrians: where 0ther out of the originall reade Kemuel, the sonne of Aram. Neither is it any inconvenience for vs to vnderstand the word (Aram) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the Historie of Abraham and Ifaac (which was in time long before Kemuels posteritie could bee famous) wee finde Mesopotamia called Aram; and that with an addition: sometimes with Naharaim. and sometimes of Padan, to distinguish it from another Aram, which (as it seemes) then also was called Aram. For whereas Iunius thinks in his note vpon Gen. 25, 20. that Padan Aramought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia, (to wit) to that part which Ptolomie cals Ancobaritis (fo called from the River Chaboras, which 30 dividing it runneth into Euphrates) the promiscuous vse of Padan Aram, and Aram Naharaym (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole Melopotamia) may seeme to refute this opinion : especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it fignifieth as much as the voke of Syria, which name agrees with this Region : because the two Rivers (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The reliques of the name Padan appeare in the name of two Citties in Ptolomie, called Aphadans: (as Iunius hath well noted) the one vopon Chaboras, the other vpon Euphrates.

The Sonnes of Aram were, Hall, Gether, and Mefch or Mes.

Vz or Hus inhabited about Damaseus, and built that Cittie, saith Iosephus and Saint Hierome. But Tostatus misliking this opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also Hiron in trad. followeth Infephus, affirmeth that Abrahams Steward Eliezer was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that Hus the eldest sonne of Aram dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of Syria. For Hus was a Region of the same, adioyning to Arabia the Desert, and to Batanea or Traconitis: whereof the Prophet Hieremie. 50 Reioyce and he glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus. Hus therefore Hieron, Lames, is seated beyond lordan, in the East Region of Traconitis, adioyning to Basan, having 64.0.21. Batanea Gaulonitis, and the mountaine Seir to the East, Edras to the South, Damascus North, and Tordan West: having in it many Citties and people, as may also bee gatheredout of Hieremie : And all forts of people : and all the Kings of the land of Hus. C.25, v.20.

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Hul the second Sonne of Aram, S. Hierome makes the Father of the Armenians: and Gether the third Sonne, parent to the Arcananians or Carians: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I doe not disproue, though I see no reason why Gether should leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among ftrangers in An the leffe. Innius gives Hul (whom hee writes Chul) the Defert of Palmyrens, as farre as Euphrates, where Ptolomie fetteth the Cittie of Cholle.

Gether (faith Iofephus) founded the Bactrians: but Iofephus gaue all Noahs children feathers, to carry them farre away in all bafte. For mine owne opinion I alwaies 10 keepe the rule of neighbourhood, and thinke with Iunius: (to wit) That Gether feated himfelfe neare his brothers, in the body of Syria, and in the Prouince of Caffioris, and Seleucis, where Piolomie placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by Flinie called

Junius also giveth to Mes or Mesch the North part of Syria, betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia, neare the mountaine Masius. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be knowne then by this probabilitie, that Aram the Father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his fonnes in the fame land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territorie for himselfe and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after : and therefore there 20 is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so farre asunder. And as neceffitie and pollicie held them together for a while: fo Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children fet them afunder. For although these sonnes of Aram, and the sonnes of the rest of Noahs children, kept themselucs within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein enery one also sought a Prouince a part, and to themselues; giving to the Citties therein built their owne names, thereby to leaue their memorie to their posteritie; the vse of letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdayning the greatnesse of other, as they are 30 thereby to this day subject to inualion, expullion, and destruction: so as (Nona Hifunia and Peru excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessable to strangers) an casie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth Sonne is made the parent of the Maronians: of whom something Chapt 8, \$ 7. hath beene fpoken already. It plassad the third Sonne of Shem, begat Shelah, and Heber. Heber had two fonnes, Phalegh and Iolian: and in Phaleghs time was the earth diuided.

# t. III.

Of the division of the earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the Sonnes of Heber, of the issue of Sem.

He many people which at the diuision (at Phaleghs birth) were then liuing, and the through plantation of all the East part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The Hebrewes (faith Pererius out of Sedar Holam, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the year after the floud 101 and liued in all 239, yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the floud, ere the children of Noah seuered themselues. But 50 to this opinion of the Hebrewes, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of Phaleghs birth) fo many people could be increased, Pererius gives this answer, that if 70. persons of the familie of Incob increased to 600000. fighting men in 215, yeares, (belides women, children, and impotent persons) how much

CHAP. S. S. 15.1.2. of the Historie of the World. more is it likely, that fo foone after the floud the children of Wodh might in a shor-

ter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the blefling of God. Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this answere hath, let others indee: for the children of Ifrael were 70. and had 215, yeares time ; and the formes of Work were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of Phalegh.

Others conceine that Phalegh tooke that name after the dinifion, in memorie thereof: as Infephus and St. Augustine, who reason in this manner. If the division Total Last were at Phaleghs death (which happened in the yeare, which is commonly held to my detimate, be the 48. of Abraham, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his

Hebrewes, Hierome and Chryfosiome) then was the earth to peopled in all the East

and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not beene found at any time lince. For Ninus affociating to himselfe Arieus King of Arabia, a people who at that time (faith Diod. Siculus) plurimum opibus atque armis preflabant, Exceeded both inriches and bodies of men, fubdued many Citties in Armenia; received Eurzanis into grace; then inuaded Media, and crucified Pharnus the King thereof, with his wife and feuen children ; vanquished all those Regions betweene Vilus and Tanais, the Egyptians, 20 Phanicians, the Kingdomes of Spria, and all the Nations of Persta, to the Hyreanian

Sea. For the numbers which followed Wines (already remembred out of Ctefins) against Zoroaster and others: and Zoroaster on the other side, who made resistance with foure hundred thousand, proue it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of Phaleg, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all ; and greater Armies were there never gathered then by Minus and Semi-

ramis: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth:

But for that conceit that if the diujtion had beene made at the bigth of Phaleg, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth : It was never meant 30 that the earth could be filled every where at the infant, but by times and degrees And furely whatfocuer mens opinions have beene herein, yet it is certaine, that the diufion of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at Babel; and that the enterprise of Babel was left off instantly upon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the diussion; and so neither at the birth nor death of Phaleg; for Phaleg was borne in the yeare 101. after the floud, which was the yeare that Nimrod came into Shinaar, or 10. yeares after he arrived, faith Berofus.

Now if it bee objected that Phaleg (the Etymologie of whose name significth diuision must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at 40 the time of this confusion and partition : to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures : for Iacob was called Ifraelafter he had wreftled with the angell; Abraham was first Abram; and Edom Efau; and that Phaleg being a principall man in this division had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the Hebrewes S. Hierome and Chrysostome account Heber a great Prophet, if that by giving his fonne the name of Phaleg, he foretold the divition which followed : to this I say, I doe not finde that tieber deferued any fuch honour, if he had thereupon to called his fonne: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessities, and this prophetic (if any such had beene) might 50 also haue reference to the diussion, which afterwardes fell among the Hebrewes

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and Citty of B.:bel, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstratine proofe) might be increased: and that you the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (where-

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vpon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous

> t. IIII. of the somes of Ioctan, the other some of HEBER.

( 1. Elmodad. 2. Saleph, or Selep, or Sheleph. 3. Asamath, or Chatzar. 4. Jarc, or Jarabh, or Jerath. s. Hadoram. 6. Vzal, or Vxal. The sonnes of Iost an were . 7. Dicklach, or Dicla. 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. 9. Abimael. 10. Shoba, or Seba.

11. Ophir, or Opir. 12. Hauila, or Chauila, and 13. Iobab.

LL those sonnes of Iostan (according to S.! Hierome) dwelled in the East Apartes of the world, or India, euen from the river Cophe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot bee gathered out of the Gen. 10.1.30. Scriptures, the wordes of Moses being generall. And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goeft anto Sephar a mount in the East. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were only three memorable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Hauilah. Concerning whose names to avoide confusion it is to bee observed, that among the Sonnes of Chush, 30 two of them had also the names of Seba and Hauilah. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grand-child by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chush, and Sheba the sonne of Rhegma his Nephew, wee haue left in Arabia Falix : and Hauilah the fonne of Chash vpon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some haue thought) the Father of the Sabans in Persia: of which Nations Dionysius de Orbis si-Gen. 25. v.6. tu maketh mention. Primum Sabai; post hos funt Passagarda, prope verò hos sunt Tasci, The first are Sabaans: after these be Passagarda; and neare these the Tasci. And whereas it is written : But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which ABRAHAM had, ABRA-HAM gaue gifts, and lent them away from Ishac his sonne (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East Countrie: hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the sonne of Abra- 43 ham wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthermost East Countrie in respect of Index; which also Onid setteth under the Sunne-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams Sonnes seated themselues on the borders of Indea, I rather choose to leaue Sabathe sonne of Abrahamin Arabiathe Desert, where Ptolomie setteth a Cittie of that name.

But Sabathe sonne of Iostan, the sonne of Heber, (as I conceine) inhabited India ารัตริง และอง it selfe. For Dionysius Afer in his Peringesis, (or description of the world) which hee wrote in Greeke verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sabai. Taxilus hos intermedios habitatý, Sabaus, In the middest of these dwell the Sabai, and the Taxili, faith this Dionyfius.

of OPHIR one of IOCTANS formes and of PERV and of that voyage of SALOMON

PHIR alfows an inhabitant of the East India, and as (St. Hierome vinder stands it) in one of the Islandes plentifull of gold, which are now known by the name of Molucea. In Sephus vinderstands Ophir to bee one of those great head-landes in India, which by a generall name are called Cherfonesi, or Peninsula : of which to there are two very notorious; Calleout, and Malacca. Pererius takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierome doth, but he fets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Molnecas farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third chapter and fixt verse, gathers that Ophir was Peruin America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur or the South Sca; by others Mare pacificum. The wordes in the second of the Chronicles are these, And hee overlaied the house with pretious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim. Junius takes this gold to bee the gold of Havilah, rememberd by Moses in the description of Paradyse : And Gen. 11.012 the gold of that Land is good : finding a towne in Characene a Province of Suliana Plin. 16.0 28

20 called Barbatia; fo called (as he thinkes) by corruption for Paruaim: from whence those Kinges subjected by David brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which David præserued for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancie of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Pleffis, who also tooke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may bee a subject of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the world of that name: sure I am that at least America hath none, no not any Cittie, Village, or mountaine so called. But when Francis Pifarro first discouered those landes to the South of Panama, arriving in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches and Dominion inferiour to none) fome of the Spaniards vtterly ig-30 norant of that language, demaunding by fignes (as they could) the name of the

Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brooke that ran by, the Indians answered Peru which was either the name of that brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniards thereupon conceiling that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent over to Charles the Emperour, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever fince as divers Spaniards in the Indies affured me; which also Acofta the Jefuite in his naturall and morall Historie of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus alfo findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Incatan) tooke that name of Incitan. 40 who as hee supposeth nauigated from the vtmost East of India to America; it is

most true, that Incatan, is nothing else in the language of that Countrie, but What is that or [ What fay you ] For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man concciuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered Jucatan (which is) What aske you, or what fay you? The like hapned touching Paria; a montanous Countrie on the South fide of Trinidado and Margarita: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered. pointed to the Hillesafarre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to fay, as high hilles or mountaines. For as Paria begins that meruailous ledge of mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan: from 8. degrees 50 of North latitude to 52. of South; and so hath that Countrie euer since retained the name of Paria.

The same hapned among the English, which I sent under Sir Richard Greeneuile to inhabite Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered Wingandacon, which is as much to say, as, you weare

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good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the Spaniard in asking the name of the Island Trimando; for a Spaniard demaunding the name of that felfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered Caeri, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner haue many places newly diffcourred beene intituled; of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leaue Ophir among the Molnecas whereabout fuch an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Nowalthough there may be found gold in Arabia it selfe (towards Persia) in Hauilah, now Sufiana, and all alongst that East Indian shore; yet the greatest plentie is taken up at the Philippines, certaine Islands planted by the Spaniards from the West India. And by the length of the paffage which Salomons thips made from the Red 10 Sca, (which was three yeares in going and comming) it feemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the Malaceas or Philippines. Indeede these that now goe from Partugall, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeare, and sometimes lesse: and Salomons thips went not aboue a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they cuermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vie of the Compas was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore Salomons ships could not finde Peru in America. Neither was it needfull for the Spaniards themselues (had it not beene for the plentie of gold in the East India Islands, farre about the mines of any one place of America) to faile every years from the West part of America thi- 20 ther, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they have built a Cittie called Manilia. Salomon therefore needed not to have gone farther off then ophir in the East, to have sped worse : neither could bee nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have guided him:

Tostatus also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a Countrie, whose mountaines of gold are kept by Griffins: which mountaines Solinus affirmeth to be in Seythia Asiatica, in these wordes. Nam chim auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent universa, alites serocissima, Arimaspi cum his dimicant. &c. For where as these Countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimalbi make warre. These Arimalbi are said to have beene men with one eye only, like vnto the Cyclopes of Sicilia: of which Cyclopes Herodotus and Ariffeus make mention; and so doth Lucan in his third Booke; and Valerius Flaceus; and D. Sieulus in the Dind. Stem! In 6. Storie of Alexander Macedon. But (for mine owne opinion) I believe none of them. And for these Arimalii, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed was first given them by reason that they yied to weare a vizard of desence, with one fight in the middle to ferue both eyes; and not that they had by nature any fuch defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Plinie, who speakes of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gifulitron, or the Caue of the Northeast winde. For 40 the reft, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories or other things done: fo might these tales of the Griffins receive this Morall. That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect fenses, and were not deprined of halfe their eye-fight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate effate; and not fubicet themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all forts of miscrable diseases. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if fuch a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beafts or Serpents defend mountaines of gold, it might be anowed: For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and 50 impaffable mountaines which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tigers, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beafts: into which if any man afcend (except his strength bee very great) hee shall bee sure to finde the same warre, which the Arimafi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any sense of

gold, or feeke to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made afraide of themfelues or their young ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like fort it may be faid that the Alegartos, (which the Agyptians call the Crossdyles) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore Indians are eaten vp by them, when they dine for the pearle. And though the Megartos know not the pearle, yet they finde fauour in the flesh and bloud of the Indians, whom they deuoure.

Of HAVILAH the sonne of IOCTAN, who also passed into the East Indies: and of MESHA and SEPHER named in the bordering of the families of IOCTAN: with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.

OF Hauilab the sonne of loctan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the senerall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which Ophir past into the Islands adioyning. And whereas Ganges is faid to water Hauilah, it is meant by Hauilah in the East India, which tooke name of Hauilah the 20 fonne of loct an : but Hauilah , which Pifon compaffeth , was fo called of Hauilah , the fonne of Chulb, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture. SAVL (mote the 1,5am,15.7. Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commest to Shur, which is before Agypt. But that Saul ouer made warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene fonnes of Joetan, these three Saba, Hauilah, and Ophir; though at the first feated by their brethren about the Hill Masins or Mesh, Gen. 10. 30: (to wit) betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia; yet at length either themselves or their iffues removed into East India, leaving the other families of lottan, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from Melh unto Sephar. And although S. Hierome take Melh to bee a Region of the East 30 India, and Sephar a mountaine of the same (which mountaine Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are farre beyond my understanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Indea, is neuer farther extended then into Persia. But Mesch is that part of the mountaines of Masius in the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chabor as springeth which runneth by Charran: and in the same Region we also finde for Sephar (remembred by Moles) Sipphara by Ptolomie, standing to the East of the mountaines Massus; from whence loct an having many fonnes, fome of them might paffe into India, hearing of the beautie and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens 40 imaginations, contrarie to reason and possibilitie. And that this mountaine in the East was no farther off then in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in 20 umbers 23. BA- V.7. LAC the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountaine of the East; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Me-Copotamia, (witnesse this place of Deuteronomie.) Because they hired BALAAM the C.23. V 4. fonne of BEOR, of Pethor in Aram Naharaijm, to curfethee : for Aram Naharaijm was Syria flusiorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the world after the floud doth best agree, (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these bee the reports of 50 reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to goe after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies: be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, private, or publike, other then the discoverie of truth. For as the partialitie of man to himfelfe hath difguifed all things: fo the factious and hireling Hifforians

of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many volumes of vntrue reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memorie: and (in flead ethereof) haue crecked Statues and Traphies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulnesse to place the status and all though the length and dissolution atture of time hart worneous or changed the names and memoric of the worlds hirth planters after the floud (I meane the greatest number and most part of them ) yet all the footsteps of Antiquitie (as appeares by that which hath benen spoken) are not quite worneous to our curgrowne: for Babylon hath to this day the Sound of Babels; Phaemeia hath Zidon, to which Cittie the eldest Sonne of Canam gaue name; so hath Ciliain Thassis, and the Armenians, Medes, to Hiberians, Cappadesiums, Physgians, the Sysians, Idamsons, Libyans, Moores, and other Nations, haue preserved from the death of forgetfulnesse some signess of their first Founders and true Parents.

# CHAP. IX.

# Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

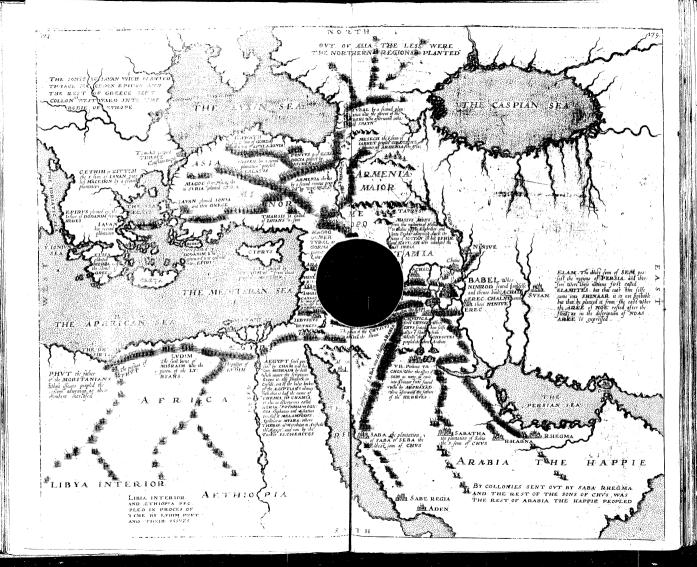
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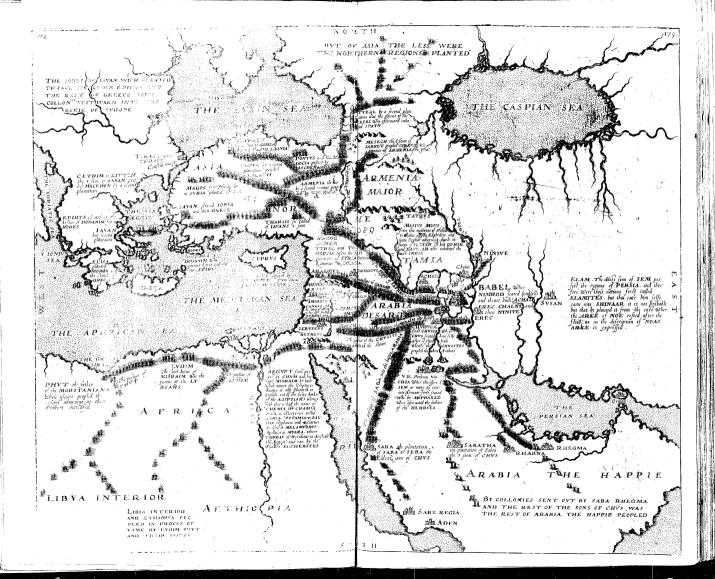
Of the proceeding from the first Gouernement under the eldest of families to Regall, and from Regall absolute to Regall tempered with Lawes.



T followeth now to entreate how the world beganne to receive Rule and Gouernement, which (while it had fearcitie of people) whoer-went no other Dominion then Paternitie and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of familiesas Princes. Hercoft came, that the word (Elder) was alwaics wed both for the Magistrate, and for those of age and grautie: the same bearing one fignification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of Nambers God commanded Moster to gather together to 70.0 of the Elders of the poole, and Gouernous sour

them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word Sensor Seniores doth. Soit is written in Susama, Then the Assembly beleved them as these that were the Elders and Wages of the people. And so in the words of those stall selected them as these that were the Elders and Wages of the people. And so in the words of those stall select an Elder. Demosshere vieth the same word for the Magistrate among the Greaturs. Cievro in Care given two other reasons for this appellation: Appellation and Lacedemonics out amplifymum magistratum gerunt, or som, sie clean appellation Senes, Among the Lacedemonics and the chiefe Magistrates, as they are, so are they called Eldermen: and againe, Ratio & prudentiam the client in schulus mon summum consulum Musicure sustriates palleton Senes, time, if resson and adulement were not in oldwen, our Ancesters that near called the highest Conneell by the name of a Senate. But though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Gouernours or Counsalers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouernours were the Fathers of families; and under them





them the eldeft Sonnes. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (Stgnar) and out of it (Stgnarour) for Lordhip and Dominion: fignifying (according to Loyfeau) puillance in proprietic, or proper power. The kindes of this Stgnamic, Sence makes two: the one, Peteffus aut imperium, Penver or command: the other, Propriets aut dominium, Proprietie or mullerfip: the correlative of the one is the fabietel, of the other the flave. Ale Gelarom (faith the ) pateil as unmium portuet, ad fingulus proprieties, Ceffa halb power over all; and every man proprietie in his owner, and againe, Ceffar omnia imperior poficiet, finguli dominio, Cefar holdeth alim his power, and every man possession of the sounce. But as men and vice beganne abundantly to increase:

To Gobedience, (the fruit ofnaturall reuerence, which but from excellent feed éldomeripeneth) being exceedingly ouerfladowed with pride, and ill examples verty withered and fell away. And the foft weapons of paternall perfivations (after mankinde beganne to neglect had forget the original and firft giuer of life) became in all ouer-weake, either to refift the first inclination of euill, or after (when the came habituall) to constraincit. So that now, when the hearts of memwere only guided and steered by their owne fancies, and rofttoo and from the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wis fourner was feuered from power, and strength from charities (Necessitate Came) and strength from charities (Necessitate Came) and contributed for the strength of the chart of the probability of the chart

Wife and Foolish vnderstand at once, that the chita of reasonable men would be award from the company of the co

These Arguments by Necessitic propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, persivaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subject themselues 30 to a Madher, and to Magistracien some degree. Under which Gouernement, as the change (which brought with it less call, then the former missheries) was generally pleasing; so time (making all men wise that observe it) sound some imperfection and corrossue in this cure. And therefore the sime Necessities which invented, and the sime Reason which approved sourcingen power, bethought themselues of certaine equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might all odificerne her owne limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in figurement and the subject of the subje

For as wifedome in Elderlinp preceded the rule of Kings: 60 the will of Kings of fore-went the inneuntions of lawse. Popular until legibus tenebatur: arbitria primaipum prolegibus cent, The prople were not gonerned by any other laws: then the willes of 
Primes: Hercof it followed, that when Kings left to bee good, nether did thole 
mens vertues value them which were not fineted by their Kings, nor those mens 
vices deforme them that were. \*\*More interdam nima videt; interdam nimli videt, 
Loue fees one while too much, another while starke nothing. Hence it came to passe, the 
after a tew yeares (for direction and reftraint of Royall power) Lawes were estabilished: and that gouernement which had this mixture of equalitic (holding in an 
euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the 
other (which had it not) was knowne for T yrannicall: the one God established in 
50 sauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancie of this Regall authoritie, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues only fo did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith Fabius Pitter) Principes, quia instit erant, & religionibus dediti, jure bubiti Descripecals, Dif & distit, Princes, because they were inst and religious, were rightly accounted and active foods.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to reason and necessitie; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they faw that they could not line and bee preferued without a Ruler and Conductor: God himfelfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordayned Kings; and the law of Nature leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the verie Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impofed ) watch for their owne fatetie. The most High beareth rule ouer the King domes of Prover. 8. 2.15. men; and appointethour it whom foeuer he pleafeth. By me (faith Wifedome, spoken by the Son of God) Kingsraigne; by me Princes rule, and it is God (faith Daniel) that fetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings: and that this power is given from God, Christ himselfe 10 witnesseth, speaking to Pilate. Thou couldest have no powerat all against mee, except it Ich E 1.U.21. were given thee from above.

It was therefore by a threefold inflice that the world hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a inflice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of families gouerned their children, and nephewes, and families, in which gouernement the obedience was called naturall pietie: againe, by a inflice divine, drawne from the Lawes and ordinances of God: and the obedience hereunto was called confcience; and lastly by a justice civill, begotten by both the former : and the obedience to this we call dutie. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded : and that the rule in generall was paternall, it is most enident : for Adam being Lord o- 20 uer his owne children, instructed them in the service of God his Creatour; as wee reade, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of mankinde.

Of the three commendable forts of Government with their opposites : and of the degrees of humane Societie.

Hat other pollicie was exercised, or state founded after such time as 20 mankinde was greatly multiplyed before the floud, it cannot beecertainly knowne, though it feeme by probable coniecture, that the fame was not without Kings in that first age : it being possible that many Princes of the Agyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were

before the generall floud; and very likely, that the cruell oppressions in that age proceeded from some tyrannie in Gouernement, or from some rougher forme of

rule, then the paternall.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the world in those dayes to the Giants of Libanus, who mastred (saith he) all Nations from the Sunne-rising to the Sunne-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three 40 feuerall forts of Gouernement were in feuerall times established among men, according to the diners natures of places and people.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernement of one, ruling by inst lawes, called Monarchie: to which Tyrannie is opposed, being also a sole and absolute rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith Aristotle) is the keeper of right and equitie: and of this condition ought enery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word. Indges and Officers (halt thou make thee in thy Citties: And thefe (hall judge the people with righ-

teous indgement. The second Gouernement is of divers principall persons established by order, and ruling by lawes, called Ariflocracie, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and viurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the

Decemviri, or Triumviri, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernement of the people) called Demogratia, to which is opposed Ochlocratia, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, feditioufly fwaying the state, contrarie to their owne lawes and ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernement are briefly exprest by Tholosanus: Vnius: naucorum, or multorum, Of one, of few, of many,

Now as touching the beginning and order of pollicie fince the second increase of mankinde, the same grew in this fort: First of all, enery Father, or eldest of the familie, gaue lawes to his owne iffues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplyed into many housholds (man by nature louing socie-10 tie) joyned their Cottages together in one common field or Village, which the Latines call Vicus; of the Greeke onor, which fignifieth a house, or of the word (Via) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a Village, fo the Village into that which is called Pagus, (being a focietie of diuers Villages) fo called of the Greeke with, which fignifieth a fountaine: because many people (hauing their habitations not farre afunder) dranke of one foring or ftreame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires

answereth not vnfitly. But as men and impietie beganne to gather strength, and as emulation and pride betweene the races of the one and the other daylie increased : so both to defend 20 themselues from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they beganne to joyne and let together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called Oppida; either ab opponendo se hostibus, Because wals were opposed against enemies, or ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safetie and defence: as also they were called Vrbes, ab orbe; because when they were to build a Cittie. they made a Circle with a Plough (faith Varro) therewith measuring and compasfing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although Fibs and Ciuites be often confounded yet the difference was anciently in this that Vrbs fignified no other then the very wals and buildings; and Cinitas was taken for the Cittizens, 30 inhabiting therein: fo called of Ciuis; and that, ab co quò d multitudo coiuit, of comming together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Cittizens, but only fuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the Cittle may by turnes become Officers and Magiltrates thereof the restgoe under the name of fubiccts, though Cittizens by the same generall name of subjects are also knowne. For every Cittizen is also a subject, but not every subject a Cittizen : perhaps also fome Cittizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Cittizens) is no subject; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken a Magistro, from a Mafter, and the word (Mafter) from the Aduerbe Magis (as also magistieria, precepts of art) or else from the Greeke word (Megistos:) and 40 fo the Greekes call them Megistanes, whom the Latines call Magnates or Ma-

The office and dutie of every Magistrate Aristotle hath written in few wordes. Ethic. 56 A Magistrate or Prince (faith he) is the keeper of right and equitie; but the fame is best taught by St. Paul, who expresset both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordayned, together with their duties and offices. A Magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe cuill, feare: for monagast he beweth not the fword for nought. For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill. He alfo teacheth in the same place, That every foule ought to bo V. 1. Subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordayned; and that who ocuerre- 2. 50 fifteth that power, refifteth God, the giver and fountaine thereof; and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgement and condemnation of Man, but of God : For 1814 w. e. yee must be subject (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that have

relifted authoritie, by God ordayned and established. Neither ought any subject

Berofikt.

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therefore to relift the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or

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crueitie: for it pleafeth God fometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandement of obedience is without diffinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subjected themselves to the power of Magistracie. Christ commanded that all due to Cefar should be given vnto him: and hee payed tribute for him-literonagov, felfe and Peter. Hieremie commanded the Ifraelites (even those that were captives vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; and Iacob bleffed the King of Agypt. And it is acceptable in the fight of our Sautour (faith Paul) that yee make supplications and prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authoritie: and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more 10 for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did St. Chrysoftome in his Homilie to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernement, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) then that they should be wanting: Prestat regent tyrannum habere, quam nullum, Better a tyrannous King, then no King: to which alfo Tacitus fubscribeth. Praftat (faith Tacitus in the first of his Historie) sub malo principe effe, quam fub nullo, It is better to have a bad Prince then none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally prefupposed) then is there no libertie more safe, then to ferue them. Neque enim libert as tutior vlla est (faith Claudian) quam Demino service buno, No libertie (faith he) more fafe for vs then to be feruants to the vertuous. And certainly howfocuer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to line vnder one Tyrant, then 20 under 100000. Tyrants : under a wife man that is cruell, then under the foolish and barbarous crueltic of the multitude. For as Azefilaus answered a Cittizen of Sparta that defired an alteration of the government, That kinde of rule which a man would disdayne in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many housholds joyned themselves together. and made Villages; many Villages made Citties: fo when these Citties and Cittizens joyned together, and established lawes by consent, affociating themselves vnder one Gouernour and gouernment, they followed were called a Commonwealththe fame being fometimes gouerned by Kings; fometimes by Magistrates; fome- 20 times by the people themselues,

# ð. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Ow this first Age after the floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and the families became strong, and dispersed into seuerall parts of the world, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couctoufireffe being as then but greene, and newly 40 growne vp, the feedes and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall,

and in the blowth and budde. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territorie then themselves could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, then fufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacie of fare, or curiofitie of dyet, then to maintayne life: nor for any other apparell then to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And fure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly bee cast vpon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more 50 to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none elfe) it may bee doubted. For good and golden Kings make good and golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both forts. And as the infancie of Empirie, (when Princes played their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might bee

called the golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times bee truly called golden, for be it that men affect honour it is then best purchased; or if honour affeet men, it is then that good deferuings have commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberalitie ouerflow her bankes and bounds, the fame is then best warranted both by pollicie and example. But Age and Time doe not only harden and farinke the openest and most toujall hearts, but the experience which it bringethwith it layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there bee no Kings vnder the Sunne whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as yalue all things 10 by their ownerespects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times injurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the raigne of enery King, so doth it in the life of enery man, if his dayes bee many : for our younger yeares are our golden Age; which being eaten vp by

time, we praife those seasons which our youth accompanied : and (indeede) the grieuous alterations in our felues, and the paines and diseases which never part from vs but at the graue, make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the qualitie of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how inst society. Fit humana maligni- Tacit in Dial. tatis vitio, vt semper vetera in laude, prasentia in fastidio sint, It comes to passe (saith Ta-de Orst.

20 citus) by the vice of our malignitie, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the prefent fastidious: Foritis one of the errours of wayward age. Quod sint laudatores temporis acti, That they are praifers of forepassed times, forgetting this aduise of Salomon. Say Ecolos: not then why is it that the former dayes were better then thele ? for thou doelf not inquire wifely of this thing : to which purpose Seneca. Maiores no stri que sti sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, euersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius reshominum, & in omnenefas labi, Our Ancesters have complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth raigne, and all thinges grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill. These are the vivall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius. Nonares quandoi, vetus Arnobius.

30 fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus caepit noua fuit & repentina, What soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest thinges when they tooke beginning were also new and fodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden, this wee may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crownes: fo the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of subjects to Princes: 'so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and inflice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselues, but even to the meanest of his Creatures. Munquam wolle, particulari bono seruit omne bonum, The infinite goodnesse of God dothnot attend any one

40 only: for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience : For Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum, All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of

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ò. IIII.

# d. IIII.

Of the beginning of Nobilitie : and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.



Nd with this supreme Rule and Kingly authoritie beganne also other degrees and differences among fubicets. For Princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselues were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which imployments and offices forung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which 10

Ferra nibilis have continued from age to age to these dayes. But this Nobilitie, or difference non natetime from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the fuccession of bloud, but to fuccession of vertue, as hereafter may bee proued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers and so there needed then no endeauour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glorie or worldly Nobilitie necessarily defcended. Yet hereofhad Nobilitie denomination in the beginning. That fuch as excleded others in vertue were so called. Hine diet w Nobilis, quasi virtue pre alijs notabilis. But after such time as the descrued Honour of the Father was given in reward to his posteritie, St. Hierome indged of the succession in this manner. Wihil 20 adiud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nil guod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent, 1 see no other thing to be assected in Nobilitie, then that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessitie bound not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancesters. For if Nobilitie be virtus & antique divitie, Vertue and ancient riches. then to exceede in all those thinges which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glorie, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobilitie, then the word (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to L. Vines) be a witnesse of vertue and well-doing: and Nobilitie (after Plutarch) the continuance of vertue in a race or linage: then are those in whom vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worthip in fleade of *Christ*, our 30 Ladie, and other Saints: men, in whom there remaine but the dregges and vices of ancient vertue: Flowers, and hearbes, which by change of foile and want of manuring are turned to weedes. For what is found praife-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountaines, if in all the rest of their course they runne foule, filthic, and defiled ? Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando cicuta venenofa, er ex terra sterili pretiosum au m, Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poysoning henbane; and out of barren foile pretious gold. For as all thinges confift of matter and forme, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the race and linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be vertue, and qualitie, profitable to the Commonweale. For hee is truly and entirely 40 Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publike vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the fame Authour calleth personall, (the same which our felues acquire by our vertue and well descruings) cannot bee ballanced with that which is both naturall by deficent, and also personall; yet if vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (faith this Charron) this Honour (to wit) by descent, may light vpon fuch a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with filuer or fauour: and these be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kinges with the change of 50 their fancies with they knew well how to wipe off againe. But furely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we have of vanitie in deriving our felues of fuch and fuch Parents, wee should rather know such Nobilitie (without vertue) to be shame and dishonour, then Noblenesse, and glorie to vaunt thereof.

What calamitie is wanting (faith BERNARD) to him that is borne in finne, of a potshare neward. 1. 2. de body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father.) Dele sucum sugaris hono- confidend baris huius, & male coronata nu orem glorie, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glorie, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myter, or gliffening with Iewels, or garnifhed with filkes, or adorned with feathers, or stuffed with gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe over, thou shalt meete with a naked and poore; and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because 10 he is borne, and repining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour,

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if thou does not believe (faith S. CHRYSOSTOME) looke into the Sepulchers chryos bonnits and Monuments of thy Ancesters, and they shall easily persivade thee by their owne example, de incomposita that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautiful then dust, this cone. proceedeth not from the diversitie of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly line: For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is divine

Phace.

And how focuer the custome of the world have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth vpon vnworthy iffues: yet Salomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the fame in his fellow-Princes. There is an entil (faith he) that I have feene under the Sunne, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Follic is fet in great excellencie >

# CHAP. X.

Of NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS: and of memorable thinges about those times.

That NIMEOD was the first after the floud that raigned like fourraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have beene of just authoritie.



HE first of all that raigned as soueraigne Lord after the floud was Nimrod, the Sonne of Culb, diftinguished by Moles from the rest (according to S. Augustine) in one of these two respects : either for his eminencie, and because he was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others : or elfe in that he was begotten by Chush, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time then some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howfocuer, feeing

Moses in expresse wordes calleth Nimrod the Sonne of Chush , other mens coniectures to the contrarie

ought to have no respect. This Empirie of Nimrod, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall; the same beginning in Babel, (which is) confusion.

But it feemeth to mee that Melanchton conceived not amiffe hereof: the fame expolition being also made by the Authour of that worke called Onomasticum Theologium, who affirmes that Nimrod was therefore called Amarus Dominator, Abitter or Jeuere Gouernour, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible then Paternall authoritie. And therefore is he in this respect also called a mightie hunter: because he tooke and destroied both beasts and theeues. But S. Augustine vnderstands it otherwise, and converts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that Wimrod was a mightie hunter against God, Sicergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, venator contra Dominum, So is that Giant to be understood, a hunter against the Lord. But howforuer this word (a mightie hunter) be vinderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as 10 Nimred had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into Shinaar : fo, this charge was rather given him, then by him vfurped. For it is no where found that Noah himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into Babylonia: no mention at all being made of Noah (the yeares of his life excepted) in the fucceeding Storie of the Hebrewes; nor that Sem was in this difobedient troupe, or among the builders of Babel.

The fame is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that Wimrod, Suphne, and locton were the Captaines and leaders of all those which came from the East. And though Sem came not himselfe so farre West as Shinaar (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his sonnes Nephew Heber, the name and nation of the He- 22 brewes (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of Chalden about the Citie of Vr; from whence Abraham was by

God called into Charran, and thence into Canaan.

And because those of the race of Sem which came into Chalden were no partners in the ynbelceuing worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to Noah; and Noah to Sem and his issues. In familia HEBER remanfit heelingua, In the family of HEBERthis language remained (faith S. Augustine out of Epiphanius;) and this language Abraham vsed: yea it was anciently and before the floud the generall speech; and therefore first called (saith Calestinus) lingua humana: 20 the humane tonque.

We know that Goropius Becanus following Theodoret, Rabbi Mofes, Agyptius, Vergara, and others, is of an other opinion; but how soeuer we determine of this point, we may with good probabilitie resolue, that none of the godly seede of Sem were the chiefe leaders of this prefumptuous multitude. And feeing it is not likely but that fome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authoritie, then by violence of vsurpation.

### δ. I I.

That NIMROD, BELVS, and NINVS were three distinct persons.

ENZO, and out of him Nauclerus with others make many Nimrods. Eusebius confounds him with Belius; and so doth S. Hierome vpon Ose: and these words of S. Augustine seeme to make him of the same opinion. Ibi autem NINV s regnabat post mortem patris sui BELLI, qui primus illie vegnauerat 65, annos, There did NINV s raigne after the death

of his father BELVS, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeares. But it could not be viknowne to S. Augustine, that Nimrod was the establisher of that Empire: Mo-(es being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of NIMRODS Kingdome (faith 50 he) was BABEL, EREC, ACCAD, and CHALNE, in the land of Shinaar: Wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainely it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by Clement) Suppofed: for in Winus time the world was marueiloufly replenished. And if S. Augustine

had vindoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather then have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. Augustine (qui primus illic regnauerat, who was the first that raigned there) supposed to be meant by Belus: those words doe not disproue that Nimrod was the founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Inlins Cafar ouerthrew the libertic of the Romane Commonwealth, making himselfe a perpetuall Dictator, yet Augustus was the first established Emperour: and the first that raigned absolutely by sourraigne authoritic ouer the Romanes, as an Emperour. The like may be faid of Nimred, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and paternitic, laying the foundation of fourraigne rule, as Cafar did; and yet Belus was the first. who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercifed fuch a power. Pererius is of opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the fame, because many thinges are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeares after the floud (as they account) that Belus raigned; but fuch agreement of times proues it not. For fo. Edward the third, and his grand-child Richard the fecond, were Kings both in one yeare: the one dyed; the other in the same yeare was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that Nimrod and Belus were one) is farre more probable then that of Mercator, who makes Ninus and Nimrod to be the fame. For it is plaine that the beginning of Nimrods Kingdome was Bahel, and the Townes adioyning: 20 but the first and most famous worke of Ninus was the Cittie of Ninus

Now whereas D. Siculus affirmeth that Ninus ouercame and Supprest the Babylonians, the same rather proueth the contrarie, then that Ninus and Ninus dwere one person. For Ninus established the seate of his Empire at Niniue in Affria, whence the Babylonians might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience. whom he recourred againe by strong hand; which was casse: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

> Dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse SEMIRAMIS Vrbem.

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SEMIRAMIS with wals of bricke the Cittie did inclose.

Further where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mightie: fo Infline hath the same of Ninus, which is one of Mercators arguments; It may be answered, that fuch an addition might have beene given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleeue Instine; then were Vexoris King of Agypt, and Tanais of Scythia mightie Kings before Ninus was borne. And if we may compare the wordes of Mofes (touching Nimred) with the vndertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas Mercator conceiveth, that it was too early

40 for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those Citties so farre removed from Babel, namely Erec, Accad, and Chalne: which worke he therefore ascribeth to Ninus, as a man of the greatest vindertaking; and consequently would have Nimred to have beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of Nimrod and Nimus to belong to one person, to wit, to Ninus: to these thinges to make some answere. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer Nimrod inuaded any of these Citties; but that hee founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Citties in many mens opinions are found to stand farreaway from Babylon, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Cittie of Accad which the Septuagint cals Archard, and Epiphanius Archal; Iunius takes to be Nifibis in Mesopotamia: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (faith he) call Accabene for Accadene. Others understand Nisibis and Ninine to bee one Cittie : fo

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doc Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran; but all mistaken. For Nisibis, Accad, and Charran are distinct places. Though I cannot denie Accadene to be a Region of Melopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus out of S. Hierome cals Achad: and so doe the Hebrewes also call 2/1/ibis, which seemeth to be the cause of this miflaking. As for the Cittle of Eree, which the Septuagint call Orech, S. Augustine Oreg. and Pagninus Erec, this place Junius vnderstands for Aracca in Susiana: but there is alfo a Cittie in Comagena called Arace: and indeede likelihood of name is no cer-

taine proofe, without the affiftance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third Cittie (called Chalneh) some take it for Calinisis: of which Am. Marcellinus. S. Hierome takes it for Seleucia; Hierofolymitanus for Cteliphon: others 10 doe thinke it to be the Agrani vpon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Perlians. But let Moles be the Moderator and Judge of this difpute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Citties are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these behis wordes. And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalnels, in the land of Shinaar : fo as in this Valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldaa (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with Viterbiensis, that these foure made but one Babylon, then that they were Citties farre removed, and in feuerall Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precifely diffinguish Chalne from Babylon. Goe you (faith A MOS) to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims. The Geneua transla- 20 tion favouring the former opinion, to let these Citties out of shinaar, hath a marginall note expressing that Shinaar was here named : not that all these Citties were therein feated, but to diffunguish Babylon of Chaldea, from Babylon in Egypt; but I finde little fubstance in that conceit. For fure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrods Empire there was no fuch Babylon, nor any Cittie at all to be found in £gypt: Baby . lon of Agypt being all one with the great Cittie of Cairo, which was built long after, not furre from the place where stood Memphis the ancient Cittie, but not so ancient as Babylon vpon Euphrates. Now that Chaine is fituate in the Valley of Shinaar, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of Paradife. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrarie, from the remote fituation of these three Cit- 20 ties from Babylon, we may continue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and Nimus, were diftinct and fucceffine Kings.

## à. III.

That NIMROD, not AssvR, built Ninine: and that it is probable out of EsAY 23.13. that Assva built Vr of the Chaldecs,

Ow as of Nimrod: fo are the opinions of writers different touching Affar, and touching the beginning of that great state of Babylon and 49 Affyria: a controuerlie wearifomly disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certaintie. But to me (of whome, where the Scriptures are filent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who belides all necessary consequence doth not disloyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this fort he converteth the Hebrew Text. Erat enim principium regnicius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; è terra hac processit m Affyriam vbi edificauit Niniuen: (which is) For the beginning of this Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar : and hee went forth of this landinto Affyria, and built Niniue. So as Iunius takes Affur in this place, not for any 50 person, but for the Region of Assyria: the land being so called in Moses time, and beforcit. For certainly the other construction, (where the word (Assur) is taken for Affin the Sonne of Sem) doth not answer the order which Moles observeth through all the Bookes of Genefis, but is quite contrarie vnto it. For in the beginning of the

tenth Chapter he fetteth downethe Sonnes of Wosh in these wordes. Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of NOAH: SEM, HAM, and IAPHETH, unto whom Sonnes were borne after the floud: then it followeth immediately. The Sonnes of I A-PHETH were GOMER, &c. fo as Inpheth is last named among Noahs sonnes, bee hee eldeft or youngeft: because he was first to be spoken of ; with whom ( having last named him) hee proceeds and fets downe his iffue, and then the iffue of his fonnes. first, the iffue of Gomer, Japheths eldest sonne; and then speakes of Janan and his sonnes : for of the rest of that familie hee is silent. Anon after hee numbreth the Sonnes of Ham, of which Culb was the eldeft: and then the fonnes of Culb and Miz-

10 raim; and afterward of Canaan; leaving Shem for the laft, because he would not difioyne the Storie of the Hebrewes. But after he beginneth with Sem he continueth from thence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, vnto Abraham, and so to Iacob, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sonnes of Shemin the middle of the generations of Ham, had been eagainst order; neither would Moles haue past ouer so slightly the erection of the Affyrian Empire, in one of the sonnes of Shem, if he had had any fuch meaning : it being the storic of Shems sonnes which he mostattended. For hee nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the Sonnes of Culb, because he founded the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire: and in the eleuenth Chapter he returnes to speake of the building of Babel in particular, having formerly named

20 it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Citties which Nimred founded in Shimaar. And as hee did in the tenth Chapter, fo also in the eleuenth he maketh no report of Shem, till fuch time as he had finished so much of Nimrod as he meant to touch; and then he beginneth with the iffue of Shem, which hee continueth to Abraham and Ifrael. And of Junius opinion touching Affur, was Caluin: to which I conceiue that P.Commestor in historia Scholastica gaue an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he vseth these wordes. Vel intelligendum non est de Assva filio SEM, &c. fed Assva (idest) Regnum Affyriorum inde egreffum est, quod tempore SARVG proaus ABRAHAMI factumeft, (which is) Or elfe it is not to be understood of Assur the Sonne of SEM, &c. but Assur (that is the Kingdome of the Affyrians)

20 came from thence (videlicet from Babylon) or was made out of it : which happened in the time of SARVG the great grand-father of ABRAHAM. After which he reconcileth the differences in this fort: If you take the ancient Belus (meaning Nimred) to bee the first erector of the Affyrian Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true quantum ad initium, respecting the beginning; but others conceine that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true quantum adregni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of Epiphanius, confirmed by Cedrenus, who takes Affur to be the fonne of Wimred : and fo doth Methodius , and Viterbiensis, S. Hierome and Cyrillus, and now lastly Torniellus: who faith hee tooke Torniell, Annel. vpon him that name of Affur after he had beaten the Affyrians, as Scipio did of A- face, in Gen, 10-

40 fricanus after his conquest in Africa: and that Assur was a common name to the Kings of Affyria, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as Pfalme 81. Efay 10. Ofe 5. &c. but to helpe the matter he makes Nimrod of the race of Shem, and the fonne of Irari. But Rabanus Maurus, who was Arch-Bilhop of Mentz in the yeare of Christ 874 an ancient and learned writer, vnderstands this place with Commestor, or Commestor with him, agreeing in Substance with that translation of Iunius: to which wordes of Mofes he giueth this sense. De hac terra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine NINI, BELI filij, Ninum condiderunt, whem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the

of BELVS. On the contrarie Caluin objecteth this place of Efay. Behold the land of 23, 13, 50 the Chaldaans, this was no people, Assva founded it by the inhabitants of the wildernesses. then which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diversitie in the translation and vinderstanding; infomuch as Michael de Palatio voon Flav (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But Caluin seemeth hereby to inferre, that because Affur founded the state of the Chaldeans, therefore also Affur ra-

Empire of the Affyrians, who built Ninus the great Cittie, so named of NINVs the sonne

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ther then Nimrod established the Asserian Empire, and built Nimne: contrarie to the former translation of Iunius, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the Fulgar, (called Hieromes translation) it may bee gathered that Affur both founded and ruined this effate or Cittle of the Chaldeans, by E/ay remembred : vnto which Cittle, people or state, hee plainly telleth the Tyrians that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Cittie of Chalden, and that estate, an example vnto those Phanicians, whom in this place hee fore-telleth of their ruine; which Cittie of Chaldes being of firength, and carefully defended, was (notwithflanding) by the Affyrians vtterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he gineth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Cittle of Tyre, 10 (inuincible, as themfelues thought) should also soone after bee overturned by the fame Affrians: as (indeede) it was by Nabuchodonofor. And these be the words after Hierom. Ecce terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assva fundauit eam, in captinitatem traduxerunt robultos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam, (which is) Beholdtheland of the Chaldeans, fuch a people there were not (or this was no people, after the Geneua) Assve (or the Affrians) founded it, they carried away their frong men captine, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Cittie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these wordes. Et in terra Chaldearum, & hac defolata est ab Affyrijs, quoniam murus eius corruit, making the fense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood. If thou goe oner 20 to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou fhalt have no reft, (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the Lind of the Chaldaans, for this is made defolate by the Affyrians, be-cunfe their walles fell together to the ground. Pagninus and Vatablus connect it thus. Ecceterra Chasaym, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assva sundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt aresillius; continuerunt edes eius, pofuit eam in ruinam : which may beethus Englished. Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for Assva built it a harbour for (hips, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it. Junius in the place of thips fets the word (pro Barbaris that is, for the Barbarians; and the Geneua, by the Barbarians. Butthis is vndoubted that the Prophet Efay (as may be gathered by all the fense of the chapter) 20 did therein affure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) hee maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Citties, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the Trians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharfis; from the Macedonians, and other Gracians under the name of Cittim; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldwans, and the reft. For Tyre was then the Mart Towne of the world most renowned. And (as it appeares in our discourse of Paradise) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Cittie Vr or Vrehoa in Chaldea, where the body or chiefe ftreame of Euphrates (euen that ftreame which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tigris) had his paffage into the Perfian Gulfe: though now 40 it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from Sheba and Raamah) dwelling on the East bankes of the Persian Gulfe, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chalne did) transported their merchandife by the mouth of Tigris, that is, from Teredon, and of Euphrates, that is, from Fr or Frebas: and then by Babylan, and thence by River and over Land they conveyed it into Spria, and so to Tyre: as they doe this day to Aleppo. So then Vr of the Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Citties which had intelligence, trade, and exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of Chaldea, through which that part of Euphrates ranne, which paffage is now flopt vp. Eins eur fum vetuflas aboleuit (faith NIGER.) And Plinie, locus vbi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen falfum, 50 Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: and the place where the mouth thereof was is a Bay of falt water. These thinges being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) wee may expound the Cittie of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here noteth for terrour of the Tyrians, to be the Cittie anciently called Vr; and (by Heestens)

Camerina; by Ptolomie Vrehoa: and by the Greeks Chaldeopolis, The Cittie of Chalden: which the Sonnes of Shem vntill Abrahams time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is faid, that Aslur both founded it and ruined it: it may bee vnderstood, that Assurthe Founder was the sonne of Shem; and Assurthe destroiers were the Affrians, by whom those that inhabited Vr of Chaldea, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing commanded Abraham thence to Charran, and sointo Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Pagninus connerted (by ships) doe beare that sense; the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne: and the River so farre vp as this Cittie of 10 Vr was in ancient time nauigable, as both by Plinie and Niger appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no leffe manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For Chaldaa is now called Araedular, which fignifieth defertlands, because it in owner to that part of Arabia so called: and Cieero (calling those Arabians by the name of Iturans) addets that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them homines omnium maxime

CHAP.10. S.2.

So as this place of Esty, which breedeth some doubt in Caluin, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of In-20 nius, nor the interpretation of Comestor and Rabanus. For though other men haue not conceined (for any thing that I have read) that Assur is in this place diversly taken (as for the sonne of Sem, when he is spoken of as a builder of Vr; and when as a destroyer thereof, then for the Affyrian Nation) yet certainly the cuidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this founding of the Cittie of the Chaldees by Affar (into which the most of the posteritie of Sem that came into Shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the Chusites and Nimrodians, retyred themselues) hath nothing in it to proue that the same Assurbuilt Ninue, or that the same Assur was all one with Ninus; except wee will make Assur. who was the sonne of Shem, both an Idolater, and the sonne of Belus. For (out of 20 doubt) Winus was the first notorious facrificer to Idols;& the first that set vp a Statue to be honoured as God. Now if Assure must bee of that race, and not of the familie of Sem, as he must be if he founded Winine, then all those which seeke to give him the honour thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more injurie, by taking from him

his true Parent and Religion. Besides, if this supposed Asur whom they make the Founder of Ninine (and so the fonne of Belus) were any other, and not the fame with Ninus; then what became of him? Certainly he was very vnworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Cittie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to pofteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to Ni-40 nus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore bee found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authours, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moses, and that these works being finished within the Valley of Shinaar, hee looked farther abrode, and set in band the worke of Ninus, lying neare vnto the same streame that Babel and Chalne did: which worke his grand-child Ninus afterward amplified and finished, as Semiramis (this Nimus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to passe, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundresse of the Cittie which shee only finished: so also Ninus of Ni-5) nine. Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare, Shee might repaire or renew Babylon, faith S. Augustine. For so did Nabuchodonosor vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of Babylon alfo, because he built vp againe some part of the wall ouerborne by the furie of the River: which worke of his stood till Alexanders time, whereupon he vaunted thus. Is not this great Babel which I have built?

Of the acts of NIMROD and BELVS, as fare as now they

Vtto returne to the storie, it is plaine in Moses, that Nimrod (whom Philo interpreteth transfugium; and Iulius Africanus furnamed Saturne) was the establisher of the Babylonian Monarchie, of whom there is no other thing written, then that his Empire in the beginning confisted of those foure Citties before remembred, Babel, Erec, Accasi, and 10 Chalne: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into Affyria; and in Affyria built foure more Citties (to wit) Niniue, Rehoboth, Celah, and Refen. And feeing that he spent much time in building Babel it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into Shinaar: that worke of Babel ( fuch as it was) with the other three Citties, and the large foundation of Niniue, and the other Citties of Affria which he builded (confidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie then any thing performed by his fucceffours in many yeares after: to whose vidertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (faith Glycas) all these Nations 20 were called Meropes, à sermonis linguarum terras, divisione, By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or Bel, or Impiter Belus, fucceeded Nimrod, after he had raigned 114. yeares; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in difburdening the low lands of Babylon, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes and ouerflowne Marishes which adjoyned vnto it. For any of his warres or conquests there is no report, other then of his begunne enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those parts of Seythia which Berofus cals Seythia Saga, whose Sonne and Successour Barzanes became subject and Tributarie to Ninu, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father Be- 30 lies begunne.

That wee are not to merasile how so many Kingdomes could be cerested about the seimes: and of VENORIS of Agypt, and TANAIS of Scythia.

Hat so many Kingdomes were crested in all those Easterne parts of the world fo foone after Nimrod, (as by the storie of Ninus is made ma- 40 nifeft) the causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull bestoweth on her first entertainers many times more benefits, then either Fortune can, or Wisedome ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wilh for: so as every leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they poffest, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their deftined places. For it cannot be conceined, that when the Earth was first divided, mankinde straggled abroade like beasts in a Defert; but that by a- 50 greement they disposed themselves, and vndertooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were peopled in Winus time, would not have beene possestin many hundreds of yeares after, as then they

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were; neither did those that were sent, and trauailed farre off (order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vndertake so difficult enterprises without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of Nimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitic resolved all men by the arguments of common miferies, that without a Commander and Magifirate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the haruest of their owne trauailes : nor those which were of little strength, secure themselues against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatneffe; either poffeffe the fame in quiet, or rule and order their owne ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and conquests of Ninus (the fonne of Belus) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarches, what way focuer his Ambition led him in the warres.

But Ninged (his grand-father) had no companion King, to vs knowne, when he first tooke on him soueraignetic and sole commandement of all those the children of Noah, which came from the East into Babylonia: though in his life time others also raised themselues to the same estate; of which hereafter. Belus (his sonne and fucceffour) found Sabatius King of Armenia and Scythia, fufficiently powerfull to refifthis attempts: which Sabatius I take to be the fame, which Justine cals Tanais;

20 and should conjecture, that Mizraim had beene his Vexoris, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour, (as Iustine placeth him) in the time of that Fexoris, who See more of by many circumstances seemes to me rightly accounted by the judicious and lear-this, 12.0f this ned Reineccius all one with the great Sefostris, that lived certaine ages after Ninus, helt This Belief the fecond King of Babylon, raigned 65, yeares according to the common

Q. V 1.

Of the name of Belvs, and other names affine vnto it.

Hence this fecond King and Succeffour of Nimrod had the name of Bel, or Belus, question hath beene made : for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, then affumed by Belus

Cyrillus against Iulian cals the Father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a God; which were it fo, then might the name of Belus be thence derived. But Bel. as many learned writers have observed, signifieth the Sunne in the Chaldean tongue; and therefore did Ninus and Semiramis give that name to their Father, that hee might be honoured as 40 the Sunne, which the Babylonians worshipped as a God. And as this title was affumed in after-times by divers others of the Chaldwar Princes, and Babylonian Satrape: fo was it yfed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the Carthaginians and other Nations as fome Historians have conceived.

To this Bel, or Belus, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voices of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelphagor, Bellebub, and Beellephon. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean convert the word Baal by the Latine Princeps militia, Chiefe in the warre, though Daniel was fo called (faith SVIDAS) ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum. In honour of his expounding fecrets. S. Hierome makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the fame Hier in Off. c. i. fignification : and faith, that the Idoll of Babylon was fo called, which Ninus in me-50 morie of his Father fet vp to be worshipped : to which that he might adde the more

honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offendors. Hence (faith Lyranus) came Idolatric, and the first vse of Images into the world. Isidor Lyrin savien. doth interprete Bel by Vetus, old or ancient; adding, that as among the Affrians it is Salom, e.i. taken for Saturne and the Sunne: foin the Punick or Carthaginian language it fignifi- 1/id.18.e.115

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eth God. Glycus makes it an Affrican name properly; and 10fephus a Tyrian. Heal-fo affirmeth that the Idoll which the Mondies worthipped (by them erected on the mountaine Phegor, or Peor, and called Baal) is the fame which the Latines call Priapus, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of S. Hierome. But that the word Bel, or Beel, was as much to fay as God, appeareth by the word Beelzebib, the Idoil of Accurent For Bel, or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the lewes expresse the Prince of Deuils. But the Prophet Ofe teacheth vs the proper fignification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; and at that day (faith the Lord) thou shalt call me Is HI, and shalt call me no more BAALIM: for I will take away the name of BAALIM out of their mouthes. For al- 10 though the name of Baal, or Bahal, be infilly to be yied towards God; yet in refpect that the fame was given to Idols, God both hated it and forbadit. And the vling of the word Bel among the Childeans for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sunne, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, tanquam Solis particula. As for the wordes compounded (before remembred) as Belphegor, and Belfephon; Belfephon is expounded out of FAGIVS, Dominus (becale vel cultodia, The Lord of the watch-tower or of the guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worthipped. It is also written Belpeor, or Baalpeor: and Peor (they say) is as much as Dennauit; and therefore the word toyned expresset a naked Image. Some there are that call this Belus, the sonne of Sa- 20 turne: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father Saturne, the Sonne Author, de equis Inpiter, and the grand-child Hercules. SATVEN I dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui vrbes condiderunt senisimi; primogeniti eorum I oves & Ivnones; Her-CVLES vero nepotes corum fortisimi, The ancientest of Noble families, and Kings which founded Cities, are called SATVRNES; their first borne IVPITERS and IVNOES; their waliant Nephewes HERCVLES. But this Belus (faith L.Vines) was famous by reason of his warlike fonne Ninus, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of Jupiter Babylonius, whom the Leyptians (transported by the dreames of their antiquitie) make one of theirs. For Neptune (fay they) vpon Libya the

Daughter of Epaphus begat this Jupiter Belus, who was Father to Agyptus. They 30 adde, that this Belus carrying a Colonie to the River of Enphrates there built a Cittie, in which he ordained Priests after the Agyptian manner. But were there any Belus the sonne of Epaphus and Isis, or of Neptune and Libys, or (with Eusebius) of Telegonus, who after the death of Apis married Is, (Cecrops then raigning in Athens) the same was not this Babylonian Belus of whom we speake, but rather some other Belus, of whom the £gyptians fo much vaunted.

Q. VII.

of the worshipping of images begunne from Belve in Babel.



S for the Babylonian Belus, he was the most ancient Belus, and the Inuentour of Aftronomie, if Plinie fay true : from whence the Ægyptians might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the fame Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Strabo.l.1 2.c.3.

Of the Sepulcher of Belus, Strabo writeth thus. Oner the River (faith he) there are gardens, where they fay the ruines of BELV's bis Tombe, which XERXES brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of bricke, a furlong high, and on 50 La. continuian, every fide it had a furlong in breadth. It appeares by Cyril against Iulian, that hee obtained divine worthip yet living: for fo hee writes of him (calling him Arbelus.) ARBELVS, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: perseuer arunt igitur Asyrij, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei.

ARBELVS, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was euer honoured by their subjects with title of Dettie; (or with the name of God) The Affrians therefore and the bordering Nations have perseured, sacrificing to him. Eucn Arius alfo, whom Suidas cals Thuras, who fucceeded next after Ninyas, was made an Idoll-God among them, if we credit Suidas,

Снар.10. \$.7.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninyas) Thuras raigned (faith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of lharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to Caucasus of the stocke of Iapheth slue him. The Assirians worshipped him for their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; thus farre Suidas. Nei-10 ther is it vnlikely but that many among idolatious Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statue were first creeted without dinine worship, only in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceineth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those wodden and brazen carcases, when posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof Isidore speaketh in this manner. Quos autem Pagani Deos afferunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuscuiusq, vita meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem caperunt : sed (damonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honor auerunt, minores Deos existimarunt : ad ista verò magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta, They were men (faith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be Gods: and eucry 20 one for his merits or magnificence beganne after his death to bee honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perswading) they accounted them lesser Gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fiftions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitions.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heather Nations, it is not Islane alone that witneffeth; but Gregorie: Gentilitas (faith hee) Gregorocalar, inucntrix & caput of imaginum, Gentilifme is the inventresse and ground of images : and ambros, in plat. Ambrose; Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei, The Gentils adore wood as it 108. were the image of God. Eufebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping Eufeb. 17. 618. of images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath S. Augustine against Aug. 6.13. 30 Adimantus. Et verentur (faith LACTANTIVS) ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant Lastilizaca. quod adorent, They feare their religion would be vaine, should they not fee that which they

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For feeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian fatisfic it selfe with the distinction of Doulin and Hyperdoulin, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not only nowhere warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practifers thereof. 40 Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, Thou shalt not make any grauen image, nor all the threatnings of Mofes and the Prophets after him could remoue, weede it. or by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we finde wordes of greater weight, or of plainer instruction then these ? Take therefore good heede to your selues (for yee saw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horch out of the midlt of the fire) that yee corrupt not your selues, and make you a grauen image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likenesse of Atale or

And besides the expresse Commandement, Thou shalt make thee no graven image 50 and the prohibition in many Scriptures, foit is written in the booke of Wifedome; That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life : for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ener.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the wor-

shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that Mases spake of images of the liuing God, and not of Baal and the rest of that nature, for you faw no image (faith Mo-SES) that day that the Lord lbake vnto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently faid of Balil, Woli alianam in illo formamimaginari, ne circumferibas eum mente tua, Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, least thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too. Now. if the great Baff thought it a prefumption vnlawfull to reprefent a patterne of the infinite God to our owne thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie penfill of a painter, or the ruftie axe or other instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dilhonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in Ba- 10 bel: fo did the Deuill transport and speede this inuention into all the Regions ad-

iovning, and into Ægypt and Greece.

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The Romanes for a while relisted the crection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeares, observing therein the Law of Numa: who thought it impictie to refemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But Tarquinius Priseus afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the Grecians (a Nation of all others under the Sunne most deluded by Sathan) set up the images of their Gods; which (as St. Augustine witnesseth) that learned Varro both bewailed, and vtterly condemned : and which Seneca thus derideth. Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hae suspiciant . fabros 20 qui illa fecere contemnunt, The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray unto qui uas secure consumanta, tou images of in ocus at a companyers, transcribe profession with bended knees; shofe they adore, and while they for greathy adone them, they contemne the hands-raffinen that made them: which also Sedulius the Poet in this fort

> Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumg, Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur. Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementialudit? Vt volucrem, turpemá, bouem, toruumá, Draconem, Semi-hominema, canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And confecrate dumbe Idols in their heart, Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise, And feare the worke of their owne hands and art. What furie? what great madneffe doth beguile Mens minds? that man should vgly shapes adore, Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuife was barbarous, and first, and many yeares practifed by Heathen Nations onely, till the Iewes were corrupted in Egypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but Iustin Martyr remembreth how the Sibyls inneighed against Images: and Hospinian, how Sophodes taught, that it was pernitious to the foules of men to erect and adore those bables. Strabo and Herodotus witnesse, that the Persians did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. Lyourgus neuer taught it the Lacedemonians, but thought it impietie to represent immortall natures by mortall figures. Eusebius also witnesseth in his fixt booke de praparatione Enangeliea, that it was forbidden by a Law in Seriea, 50 or among the Brachmans in India, that Images should be worshipped. The same do Tacitus and Crinitus report of the ancient Germans. Many other Authors might be remembred that witneffe the diffaine which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract de origine

imaginum. And it was truly faid, Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt. All ill examples have forung from good beginnings. The Heathen at first made these Status and Images, but in memoric of fuch remarkable men, as had deferued best of their countries and commonwealthes: Effigies hominum (faith Plinie) non folebant expriminifi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembred. And though of the more ancient Papiftes, fome have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appeareth in Lactantius) that defence for Images: That Simulachra are pro element is literarum, ot per ea discerent homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere : Images (say they, and so before them

CHAP.10. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

10 the Heathen faid) are in flead of letters, whereby men might learne to know the initfible God: in which understanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them then pictures indeed; yet as that of Bad or Bel fet vp in memoric of Belus the Babylonian became afterwards the most reuerenced Idoll of the world, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himfelfe) were mifled and cast away: fo those very stockes and stones, and painted canuases (called the pictures of Christ, our Ladie, and others ) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and vnderstanding. On these stockes we call (faith the booke of Wifedome) when we paffe through the raging waves, on these stockes more rotten then the (hip that carrieth vs.

20 This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to diffinguish them into degrees and orders; as Dij Confentes, seumaiorum gentium; selecti, Patritii, insigniores dii medij : Counselling Gods, or Gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, select Gods, Patrian, Gods of marke, and common Gods (which the Romanes called Medioxumi) dij infimi, and terre-Briall Heroes, and multitudes of other Gods: of which S. Augustine hath made large mention in his booke de Ciuitate Dei. But (faith Lactantius) among all those Lib. 15 miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did Epimenides Cretensis (by what good Angell moued I know not ) crect in the Athenian fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedi-

30 cation even to the times of S. Paul; who made them first knowe to whom those Altars belonged, and opened their eies which were capable of grace, that they might discerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth cuery man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Denill had so many yeares led and misled them. And it fufficed not that the multitude of these Gods was so great in generall, or that euerie Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them; as Iupiter in Creete, Isis in Agypt, in Athens Minerva, in Samos Iuno, in Paphos Venus, and so of all other parts; but enery Citie, and almost enery familie had a God a-part. For as it is written in the fecond of kings: the men of Babel; made Succoth Benoth; and the men c.17.0.18.31. of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Albima, and the Auins made Nib-

40 haz and Tarrak, and the Sephernaims burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech. All which how plainly hath the Prophet Efai derided? Men cut downe trees, rinde them. burne apart of them, make readie their meate, and warme themselues by the fire thereof, and of the residue hee maketh a God; an Idoll; and prayeth unto it : but God hath sout their eyes from light, and their heartes from understanding, It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleeue the commandements of God so direct against I dolatrie, to belecue the Prophets, and to beleeue Saint Paul: who speaketh thus plainely and feelingly. My beloued flie from Idolatrie, I speake as vnto them which have understanding. C.44: indge yee what I fay.

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d. VIII.

### ð. VIII

Of the warres of N 1 N V s : and lastly of his warre against Z O R O A S T E R.



Nto this Belus fucceeded Ninus, the first that commaunded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously inusted his neighbour Princes, and the first that without shame or sear committed adultery in publique. But as of Belus there is no certaine memorie (astouch-

in particulars:) fo of this Nimus (whose Story is gathered out of 10 prophane Authours) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may bee disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that pecce of Berofus set out and commented vpon by Amins hath many good things in it, and gineth great light (aschytreum noteth) to the vinderstanding of Diodorus Sieulus, Dion, Halycannalisms, and others: yet Leolanius Vines, B. Rhenmus, and others after them haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proping directly that it among the ten seminalisms of the seminalisms of th

Ctefias of Cnidus (a Citticadioyning to Halicarnaffus) who lived together with Cyrusthe yonger, and with Artacerase (Macmon), gathered his Hilbory out of the Persian Records, and reaches has farre youngerds as Aims and Somiranis: and though in the Story of Cyrus the yonger Xenophon approuch him in some things, and Athenan Paulanias and Tertuslian: cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whome hee lived, and so incredible are the numbers 30 which he findes in the Armies of Ximus, and especially of Semiranis; as whatsoever his reportes were, times have consumed his workes, saving some very sew exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things vnectratine, feeing a long difcourfe cannot be pleafing to men of indgement, I will paffe ouer the acts of this third \$Afprinn\$, in as few wordes as I can expresse them. \$S.Angasiine affirmes that Nome mattered all \$Afa\$, India excepted. Others say that he wannet all, saue India, India, India in Astabia. For hee made Aria to \$fAstabia\$ the companion of his conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amittic, because he commanded many people and was his kinsman, and a \$Chafiste\$, and the nearest Prince confronting Babylonia. His sinstenerprise was 40 ypon \$9713, which hee might easily fallodue, both because hee invaded it on the so-daine, and because it lay next him: and also because the Arabians and their King Arieus (which bordered \$97is a last fisted him in the conquest thereof.

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his warre againft Zowaster. for from Armenia hee bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser Asia, I doe not beleeve, for none of his successors had any possession of his successors.

His third warre was against *Phanns*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that hee ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seuen children, though others affirme that they all dyed in one battaile against him. Whether hee inuaded *Zeoastist* be 50 fore the building or amplifying of *Nomine*, or after, it is vincertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bustivis* and that finding little or ill fuccesse in the first he returned, and set the work of *Nomine* forward: and then a second time entred *Bustivis* with 1700000 foote, and 200000 horse, and 10000. fixe hundred Cha-

riots: being encountred by Zorozsser with 400000. But Nimus preuailing; and Angade Cinit. Zorozsser flame, he entred farther into the Countrie, and bestiged the chiefe Cittie Partheroof, called Bulfra or Bulfrion (shith Stephanus:) which by a passage found, and stephalerion an assume the wife of One of the North Stephanus: which by the control and possible of the person this occasion Nimus both admiring her indgement and valour, together with her person and external beautie, fancied her for strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if hee refused to consient. He therefore yeelding to the passion of some in Nimus, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, call himselfe head-long into the water and died.

# CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, Jupposed to baue beene the chiefe Authour of Magick arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.

ð. I.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first inventor of Astrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were duers great Magitians of this name.



CHAP.II. S.I.

OROBSTER King of the Baltrians, Vincentius supposeth to be Cham, the sonne of Noah: A fancie of little probabilitie. For Cham, was the paternall Ancester of Ninus; the father of Chus; the grandfather of Ninus; the same seems, the father of Nimus, It may be that Vincentius had heard of that booke which was called Scripture Cham, denised by some wicked knaue, and so intituled: of which Sixtus Sements hath made the due mention.

It is reported by Cassanus, that Serenus Abbas gaue cossim in Otta.
the inuention of Magicketo Cham, the sonne of Noab: col. cos.

49 fo did Comeflor in his Scholasticall Historic: which Art. (faith he) with the feuen liberall ficiences he writ in fourtcene pillers: seuen of which were made of braffe, to result the defect acing by the waters of the floud; and seuen of bricke against the initarie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vader the title of Prophetia Cham. Cassamus out of Secanus hath somewhat like wnto this of Commessor. The No self-assamus wordes. CHAN (silks No AN) and speptitionship with weight of the self-assamus wordes. CHAN (silks No AN) and speptitionship with a stranger of the single self-assamus wordes. CHAN (silks No AN) and speptitionship with the self-assamus wordes are made and stranger of the single self-assamus wordes are made and self-assamus wordes. CHAN (she some of No AH), what was infected with these superstitutions, and facility our Attentionship was to remaine with his goally taken, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be cruaten in metalla and hard show.

S. Angultine noteth that Zoroafter was faid to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which prefaged the great knowledge which afterward heat-tained vnto: being taken for the inuentor of naturall Magieke and other arts; for the

corrupter

corrupter, faith Plinie and Infrine. But I doe not thinke that Zoroafter invented the doctrine of the Horoscopes or Nativities; or first found out the nature of hearbs, flones, and minerals, or their Sympatheticall or Antipathethicall workings; of which I know not what King of chaldea, is also made the Inuentour I rather thinke that these knowledges were farre more ancient, and left by Noah to his sonnes. For Abraham who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster, (as Iosephus reporteth) was no leffe learned herein then any other in that age, if hee exceeded not all men then lining: differing from the wifedome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and vertue to nature and all naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, differfed, and vniuerfall power) admired 10 the infruments, and attributed proper firength to the things themfelues, (from which the effects were fentible) which belonged to that wifedome, Which being one, and remaining in it felfe, can doe all things and reneweth all.

Now whether this Zorozsfer (ouerthrowne by Ninus) were the same which was fo excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the Magician, Ctesias cals Oxyartes, whom Plinie finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoro-Scaliz in Eufeb. ailer, flaine by Ninus, was not the Magician : which is also the opinion of Sca-

Againe, Josephus and Cedrenus affirme that Seth first found out the Planets, or 20 tofey.l.t.ant.c.4 wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this art had beene inuented by Zoroafter, hee could not have attained to any fuch excellencie therein, in his owne life time; but being a man (as it feemeth) of fingular judgement, hee might adde somewhat to this kinde of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to po-

But of this Zoroafter there is much dispute: and no lesse jangling about the word and art of Magieke. Arnobius remembreth foure to whom the name of Zorosster, or Zoroastres was given: which by Hermodorus and Dinon seemeth to bee but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to fay, as aftrorum cultor. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the fame that Ninus ouerthrew: the second, a 20 Chaldaan and the Astronomer of Minus the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who lined in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar : the fourth, Zoroafter Armenius, the Nephew of Hostianes, which followed Xerxes into Greece: betweene whom and Cyrus there past 78. yeares. Suidas remembreth a fift, called Personedus sapiens : and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster the sonne of Oromasdes; which Picus Mirandula con-

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe Zoroaster was, it is doubted. Plinie and Laertius make him a Persian. Gemissibius or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchius make him a Chaldean. But by those bookes of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a Chaldean by Nation, though the word 40 (Chaldean) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. Porphyrius makes the Chaldei and Magi divers; Picus the fame. But that this Zoroafter was a Chaldean both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his bookes, which (faith Picus) were written in the Chaldean tongue; and the Comment in the fame language. Now that the Magi and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those bookes of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of Mirandula to Ficinus, he faith, to be intituled, Patris Ezre Zonoastris & Mel-CHIOR magorum oracula.

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ģ. II.

of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre divers from conturing, and Witchcraft.

Ow for Magicke it felfe; which Art (faith Mirandula) pauci intelli- Pic. Mir. Fol. 81. gunt, multi reprehendunt, Few understand, and many reprehend: Et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant, As dogges barke at those they know not : so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amissed (leaving Ninus for a while) to speake somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (Magus) because of Simon Magus: who being indeede, not Magus, but Goës, (that is) familiar with euill fpirits, vfurped that title. For Magicke, Conjuring, and Witcherie are farre differing arts, whereof Plinic being ignorant fcoffeth thereat. For Nero (faith Plinie) who Plin L30 life, had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by Tyridates King of Arme- nat. min, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the art after long studie and labour

altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a Persian word primitiuely; whereby is exprest such a one as is altoge- Poplyr & Ather conversant in things divine. And (as Plato affirmeth) the art of Magicke is the Plato in Alcib. art of worshipping God. To which effect Apollonius in his Epistles expounding the 20 word (unges) faith, that the Perfians called their Gods unges : whence he addeth that Magus is either & xard owon 860 or Beparelles Dear (that is) that Magus is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; fometimes of him that is in the feruice of God: in which latter fense it is taken Matt. c.2. v. 1. And this is the first and highest kinde : which Piecolominie calleth divine Magicke : and these did the Latines newly Piecol, de destina intitle [apientes or wifemen: For the feare and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. Procedules, These Wifemen the Greekes call Philosophers: the Indians Brachmans: which name they John Hing, Lin-

fomewhat nearely retaine to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the E- Ichos, eyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalistes, Prophets Scribes and Pharifees : amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by

30 the name of Chaldeans: and among the Persians Magicians: of whom Arnobius (speaking of Hollanes, one of the ancient Magicians) vieth these wordes. Et verum Deum in offanio Mi meritamaiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sedvers, eius veneration nomi a mediada dis-superational superation de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya de la companya del companya de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya del companya To M.Falix calleth him, not Hostanes) afcribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Deuils earthly and wandering, and enemies

Wilemen of Babel.

His Majestie also in his first booke of Demonologie c. 2. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (Magus) imports as much as a contemplator of divine 40 and heavenly sciences; but vniustly so called, because the Chaldaans were ignorant of the true divinitie. And it is also right which His Maiestie anoweth, that under the name of Magicke all other vnlawfull arts are comprehended, and yet doth His Maiefie distinguish it from Necromancie, Witcheraft, and the rest: of all which hee hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which His Maiestie condemneth Demonitor J. 22 is of that kinde whereof the Deuill is a partie. Daniel in his second Chapter nameth 6.1. foure kinds of those Wifemen: Arioli, Magi, Malesici, & Chaldei. Ariolithe old Latine translation calleth Sophistes: Vatablus and Pagninus Genethliacos, or Phylicos, or Philosophers, or (according to the note of Vatabius) Naturalists: Nempe funt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) dininarum humanarum g, rerum scien-50 tiam profitentes, For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Gracians (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both divine and human. The Greeke and the English call them Inchaunters; Junius Magicians: Castalion Coniccturers: in the Syrian they are all foure by one name called Sapientes Babylonis, The

The third kinde are Malefici, or Venefici; in Hierome, Pagnin, and the Septuagint Wisches, or Porfoners : in Junius Prafligiatores, or Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called Venesici, or Poysoners; and that indeede there is fuch a kinde of Malefici, which without any art of Magicke or Necromancie vie the helpe of the Deuill to doe mischiefe, His Majestie confirmeth in the first chapter of his fecond booke: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practise, to mixe the powder ofdead bodies with other thinges by the Deuill prepared; and atother times to make pictures of waxe, or clay, or otherwife (as it were Sacramentaliter) to 15 effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translatours call Chaldeans: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events; and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of Magicke, hauing chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A fecond kinde of Magicke was that part of Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and hufbandrie: which was a know- 20 ledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower elements.

Philo Indeus goeth farther, affirming that by this part of Magicke or Altrologies. together with the motions of the starres and other heauenly bodies. Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in Chaldaa: Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem, (faith Io, DAMASCEN.) Who knew the Creatour by the contemplation of the creature. Iofephus reporteth of Abraham that he instructed the Agyptians in Arithmeticke and Astronomie, who before ABRAHAMS comming unto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth Archangelus de Burgo in defence of Mirandula against Garlius, A L Ex-See vponlis ANDER & EVPOLEMON dicent, quod ABRAHAM fanctitate & fapientia omnium 20 pressantissimus Chaldeos primum, deinde Phanices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & dinina docuerit, ALEXANDER (faith hee, meaning Alexander Polyhistor) and EVPOLEMON affirme that ABRAHAM the holieft and wifeft of men did first teach the Chaldeans, then the Phanicians, lastly the Ægyptian Priests, Astrologie and di-

The third kinde of Magicke containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brablings of the Ariflotelians, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of natures hidden bosome to humane vse. Virtutes in centro centrilatentes, Vertues hidden in the center of the center, according to the Chymifts. Of this fort were Albertus, Arnoldus de villanous, Raymond, Bacon, and many others; 49 and before these, in elder times and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that fuffer, were Zoroziter before fooken of: Apollonius Tyaneus remembred by St. Hierome to Paulinus; in some mens opinion Numa Pompilius among the Romanes: among the Indians Thefpian: among the Agyptians Hermes: among the Babylonians Budda: the Thracians had Zamolxis: the Hyperborians (as is supposed) Abbaris: and the Italians Petrus Aponensis, The Magicke which these men profest is thus defined. Magiacst connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non fine corum admiratione qui caufam ignorant. Magicke is the connexion of naturallagents \* Toto in mon- and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wife man to the bringing forth of such 50 do lucat trins, and patients, and between to other, wrong of or a wife man to the oringing form of fuel defines stomas et effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes. In all these three kindes princeps, cantla which other men divide into foure, it feemeth that Zoroafter was exceedingly learnumg, perfeit ned : especially in the first and highest. For in his *Oracles* hee confession bod to bee putes, so nami the Creatour of the Vniuersal: he beleeueth of the \*Trimite, which he could not installate the Creatour of the Vniuersal: he beleeueth of the \*Trimite, which he could not install the second of the Vniuersal:

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uestigate by any naturall knowledge: hee speaketh of Angels, and of Paradife: approucth the immortalitic of the foule : teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the Magi: which Oracles of his, Pfellus, Ficinus, Patritius, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this Zoroafler, Eufebius in the Theologie of the Phanicians vling Zoroaflers owne wordes. Hac adverbum feribit: (faith Evsebivs) Deus primus incorruptibi- Deprep. enang, lium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibipsi simillimus, benorum omnium auriga, 11.67. munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdo-

chus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacra natura vnicus inuentor, &c. Thus writeth Zoroa-10 STER word for werd. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts. most like him felfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wifest, the father

of right, having learn'd instice without teaching, perfect wife by nature, the only inventour thereof.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisedome of the Chaldrans, doth distinguish those Lassiace wife men into fine orders, (to wit) Chafcedim, or Chaldaans: Afaphim, or Magicians: Chartumim; (which hee translates Arioli, or Sophists) Mecasphim, or Malesici. or Venefici, Witches, or Poyfoners; and Gazarim Augures, or Arufines, or Di-

Chascedim were those which had the name of Chaldeans, which were Astronomers, 20 Hij calorummotus diligentissme spect arunt, These didmost diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens: whom Philo in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were in the old Latine translation called Philosophers : of the Septuagint and of Hierome Magicians, qui de omnium tam diuinarum quam humanarum rerum caulis Philosophati funt, Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane : of whom Origen makes Balaam (the sonne of Beer) to be the first : but Laertius ascribeth Laertits the invention of this art to Zoroaftres the Perfian.

Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples (faith S. Augustine, Plinie, and Iustine) of another Zoroastres: who corrupted the admirable wisedome of the Magi, which he received from his Ancesters.

30 Mecasphim, or Venefici, or Witches, are those of which we have spoken already out of His Majesties booke of Demonologia.

Gazarim, or Arufpices (after S. Hierome) which divine from the entrailes of beafts flaine for facrifices : or by Gazarim others understand Angures, who divine by the flying, finging, or feeding of birds,

By this distinction wee may perceive the difference betweene those wise men which the Kings of Babylon entertained; and that the name and profession of the Magiamong the ancient Persians was most honest. For as Pencer truly observeth, pracrant religioni Perfica, vt in populo Dei Leuita, studij (q, vera Philosophia dediti erant : Pencer, de dininec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiams, natino de mag.

40 percepifet. The Magi (faith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the foliass. & 136. Leuites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be king of the Persians, who had not first beene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Mags. Sixtus Senensis in defence of Origen against Polychronius and Theophilus hath two kinds of Magick, his owne wordes are thefe. Et nequem moucant pra- Bibl. 16. [6]. 414 missa Polychronij & Theophilitestimonia,sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram vbig, ab Origine damnatam, qua per fudera cum damonibus mita aut vere aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, qua ad practicen naturalis philosophia pertinet, docens admirabiles res operariex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium. That the tellimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (faith he) may not

50 moone any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two fortes, the one every where con. demned by Origen; which worketh (whether truly or feemingly) by couenants made with Deuils; the other commended by Origen; which appertaineth to the practick part of naturall philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition Hierome doth embrace in the first of his

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Commentaries vpon Daniel: where confidering of the difference which Daniel makes betweene these fower kindes of wife men formerly remembred, he vseth this diffin-Sion : Ques nes harieles: exteri emesso: (id est) incantatores interpretati funt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi qui de s'ngulis philosophantur; malesici, qui s'anguine utuntur & victimis, & lape contingunt corporamortuorum : porro in Chaldais Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Machematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro Maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem fuam,co quòd fint Philosophi Chaldeorum : & adartis huius scientiam Regesquog, & Principes ciusdem gentis omnia saciunt; unde c'e in nativitate Domini saluatoris apsi primum ortumeius intellexerunt, & venientes in lanctam Beiblehem adorauerunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente. They whom we call 10 Sorcerers, and others interpret inchanters, (eeme to mee fuch as performe things by words; Magicians, fuch as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that wse blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead : further, among the Childeans Itake them to be Genified by the name of Coniciturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common cultome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwife reputed in their owne nation : for they are the Philolophers of the Chaldeans : yea Kings and Princes of that nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saniour they first of all understood his birth, and comming unto holy Bethlehem did worthip the Childe: the flarre from about thewing him onto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference betweene the doctrine of a Magician, and 20 the abuse of the word. For though some writers affirme that Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto viitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq, that he is called a Magician now adaies, who having entred league with the deuill veeth his helpe to any matter ; yet (as our Sanjour faid of Dinorce) it was not fo from the beginning. For the Art of Magicke is of the wifedome of nature; other artes which undergoe that title were inuented by the fallhood, fubtletie and enuie of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other do-Etrine, then the vse of certaine ceremonies per malam fidem : by an enill faith : in the former no other ill, then the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to applie things that worke to things that fuffer. And though by the Iewes, those excellent Magicians, Philosophers, 30 and Divines which came to worthip our Saujour Chrift, were termed Mechaschephim, or Mecafohim: vet had they no other reason, then common custome therein. Consuetu-Hieron in Dado autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit Common cultome (faith S. Hierome) underflandeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And antiquity (faith Peter Martyr) by Pet.Mart-luci. the word (Magi) under food good and wife men. Quidigitur expane (cis Magi nomen formidolofe nomen Euangelio gratiofum quod non maleficum & veneficum led fapientem fonat Mar. Ficin. part. of Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one (faith Ficinus ) why doubtest thou to we the name of Magus, a name gratious in the Gospell, which doth not fignific a Witch or Coniurer, but awife man and a Prieft? For what brought this flaunder to that studie and profession but only idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? Causa fuit mirificentia quo- 40 rundam operum au e re vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione diemonum naturas ipfas velconiungentium, velcommifcentium, velaliter ad operandum expedientium fasta funt, opera damonum credebantur ab ignorantibus bac. De operibus huiufmodiest Gul. Parissen de. Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The maruelousnesse of Some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the sause of this slaunder: but because thefe workes have been done by procurement of Deuils toyning the natures together or ming-

Tol.80.

improperly Necromancie. Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further : for by understanding (faith he) the ut- 50 termost activitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ: for otherwife (to vse his owne words) ignoratis terminis potentia & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, que secit Christus, posse sieri per media naturalia. The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, wee must needes doubt whether those

ling them, or how focuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes

of the Deuils by the ignorant. Among thefe workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very

very workes which Christ did, may not bee done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this fort. Idea non haretice, non superstitiofe dixi, sed verisime & Catholice per talem Magiam adiquari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi, Therefore I said not hererically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholikely, that by such Magicke we are furthered in knowing the diainitie of Christ. And secing the Jewes and others the enemies of Christian religion, doe impudently and impioufly object, that those miracles which Christ wrought were not aboue nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge then any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason anow, that the vitermost of 10 natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himfelfe witneffeth) no man could doe, doe manifeftly teftifie of themselues, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either conucrted or put to filence.

### d. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned : though the Deuill here as in other kinds hath fought to obtrude eaill things under the name and colour of good things.



Eeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other then divinorum cultor esinterpres, A studious observer and expounder of divine things and the art it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke) no other, qu'am naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio, Then the absolute perfection of naturall

Philalophie: Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forteth with wife and learned men promifeue, and without difference and diffinction. to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to yie 30 S. Paules wordes) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Deuill hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleffe men. For if we condemne naturall Magicke, or the wifedome of nature, because the Deuill (who knoweth more then any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of hearbs, drugges, minerals, and excrements: then may wee by the same rule condemne the Phylition, and the Art of healing. For the Deuill also in the Oracles of Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and the like, taught men in dreames what hearbs and drugges were proper for fuch and fuch difeafes. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Deuill from the beginning hath fought to thrust himselfe into the fame imployment among the ministers and feruants of God, changing him-

40 selfe for that purpose into an Angell of light. He hath led men to Idolatric as a dochrine of religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Aftrologie, by giving a divine power to the Starres teaching men to effecte them as Gods, and not as instruments. And (as Bunting obser- Bunt in chronic ueth) it is true, that iudiciall Aftrologie is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as even generall experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of Marsdoedrie; the Moone doth moiften, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they have feuerall and proper names, so have they severall and proper vertues; the Starres doe also 50 differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names. But into the good Talls and profitable knowledge of the celeftiall influences, the Deuil ceafeth not to fhuffle in his superstitions; and so to the knowledge of the screet vertues of nature bath he

fastened his doctrine of Characters, numbers, and incantations; and taught men to belong in the strength of wordes and letters; (which without faith in God are but inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his owne with the all-powerfull word of God, or to diminish the glorie of Gods creating word, by whom are all

Moreover, hee was never ignorant, that both the wife and the fimple observe when the Sea-birds for fake the shoares and flie into the land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bathing of Ducks foreshew raine: for they feele the aire moistened in their quilles. And it is written in Hieremie the Ca.S.vcr.7. Prophet, Euen the Storke in the aire knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the

Crane, and the Swallow. Hercupon, this enemic of mankinde, working upon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the warre; and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the fecrets of vnfearchable prouidence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beafts. Againe, because it pleased God sometimes by dreames, not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as Abimelech to restore Sara to Abraham: because he admonished Joseph, and by dreame informed Jacob , Laban, Pharao, Salomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the Ealt, and others. For as it is remem- 20

bred in I o B : In dreames and visions of the night when sleepe falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise, therefore. I fav. doth the Deuill also practife his dissinations by dreames, or (after Parilenlis) G.Parisien.de distinitatis imitationes, his mocke-distinitie. This in the end grow fo common, as Aristides compiled an Ephemerides of his owne dreames: Mithridates of those of his Concubines. Yea the Romanes finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreames (without diffinction of causes) were drawne to divination, forbad the same by a Codex de male- law; as by the wordes of prohibition (aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem inw, a solution and maranau formus occultam aliquam artem fie, & Mathe diumandi) it may appeare. Likewife by the law of God in Deuteronomie cap. 12.

feducing dreamers were ordered to bee flaine. Yet it is not to bee contemned that 20 Marcus Antonius was told a remedy in his dreame for two grieuous discases that op-Aug.de cura pro press him; nor that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Ptolomies poisoned wound; mor that which S. Augustine reporteth of a Willanoife; whose sonne (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paied, was told by his Father in a dreame where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of Asyages of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for asmuch as the cause is not in our felues, this place denieth dispute.

d. IIII.

That DANIELS misliking NABVCHODONOSORS condemning of the Magicians doth not instific all their practises.

Vt it may be obiected, that if such divination as the Heathens commonly vied were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange reuelations : how came it to passe that Daniel both condemned the haftie fentence of Nabuchodonofor against the Magieians of Chaldaa, and in a fort forbad it? especially confidering that such

kinde of people God himfelfe commanded to bee flaine. To this diversansweres 50 may be ginen. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the dreame of the King, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any art, either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there is none other (faid the Chaldwans) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods,

whole dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the euer-liuing God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any enill or vnlawfull arts, but were meerely Magicians and Naturaliss: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, Daniel perswaded the contrarie, and called it a hastic judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that fome of those mens studies and Professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himselfe had been taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters; 10 of which some were termed Sooth faiers, others Altrologians, others Chaldaans, others

Magi or Wifemen: and therefore of distinct professions. Thirdly, Daniel milliked and forbad the execution of that indgement, because it was visualt. For how soener those men might deserve punishment for the practise of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Deuill himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels diflike, and hindering of the execution of fentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute instifying of their practise and profession.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right ruse of them.

Otwithstanding this mixture every where of good with euill, of sulf-hood with truth, of corruption with cleannesseand purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worfhipping of God by facrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer facrifice to the

30 God of all power, because the Deuill in the image of Baal, Astaroth, Chemoth, Inpiter, Apollo, and the like was fo adored.

. Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Hiltorians) from observing the motions and natures of heat- Easter ex dries uenly bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned men in these daies from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of heauen, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The sympatheticall and antipatheticall working of hearbes, plants, stones, minerals, with their other vtmost vertues sometimes taught by the Deuill, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable endes can neuer, terrifie the honest A2 and learned Phylician or Magician from the vling of them to the helpe and comfort of mankinde : neither can the illusions, whereby the Deuill betraieth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of dreames; fo farre as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make vse of

Lastly the prohibition to marke flying of foules (as fignes of good or cuill fue- Dent.18.20). ceffe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against raine, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be egiuen. For if we confound artes with the abuse of them, wee shall not only condemne all honest trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all professions) 50 but wee shall in a short time burie in forgetfulnesseall excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggerly ignorance : and (as Plinie teacheth) we should show our selues ingrates erga ees, quilabore curag, lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce , Vnthankefull we should shew our selues towards those, who with paines and care have discovered unto us light in this light,

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Gen.12.17.

Iob.33.17.

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Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematickes also and Professors therof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this fort. In speculo mathematico Verumillud, quodin omni scibili queritur relucet : non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate. In the glasse of the Mathematickes that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge ; not in an obscure image, but in a neere and manifest reprasentation.

# Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Magick

T is true that there are many artes if we may fo call them, which are concred with the name of Magick : and effectived abuffuely to bee as branches of that tree, on whoose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancie or Goetia : and of this against there are divers kindes. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Deuill himfelfe gives answere in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaineit is, that the immortal foules of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living; death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule : and therefore the soule is n ot to be found in the graues.

A fecond practife of those men, who pay tribute or are in league with Sathan, is that of conjuring or of raifing up Deuils, of whome they hope to learne what they lift. These men are so distract, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Deuill to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keepe out a Moule) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselues against that great monster. Doubtlesse they forget that the Deuil is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to fit in Gods feat, that he made no feruple to tempt our Sauiour Chrift, whom himfelfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolue himselfe, that 20 he can draw the Deuill out of Hell and terrifie him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Deuils seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and foules of those which raise them vp; as His Maiestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught, That the Deuils obedience is only fecundum quid, feilicet ex pacto; respectine, that is, upon bargaine.

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Deuils, which gener quaddam inhabite Jamblieus imagination; but fure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalpotegram value led : and alwaics attending the cogitations of their fermants and vaffals, do no way eret in et inem- neede any fuch inforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deale altogether with Cardans mortall Deuils, 40 quoen unquernos a fallo nea post following the opinion of Rabbi Auornathan and of Porphyrius, who taught that fibile discornit these kind of Deuils lived not above a thousand yeares: which Platarch in his Treaab impossible.

L. Vines in eap, tise de Oraculorum desectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For were it true that the Deuils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by Ang de Cinit dei them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other Culture exercity, times they are willingly maftered. But the Familiar of Simon Magus when he had lifted him up in the aure, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by St Peters praiers (of which Fuleb biff. ecel. S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the same pranck at other times vpon his own accord the Deuill plaied with Theodotus: who transported (as Simon Magus was supposed 50 to have beene) had the fame mortall fall that he had. The like fuccesse had Budas, a principall piller of the Manichaan herefie, as Socrates in his Ecclefiafticall Historie witneffeth; and for a manifest proofe hereof wee see it every day, that the Deuill leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the gallowes, for whom at other times hee ma-

fideratum :; &

keth himfelfe a Pegafus, to conveigh them in half to places farre diffant, or at least makes them fo thinke: For to thole that received not the truth (faith S. PAVL) God hall cornt. 5.5. fend them strong illusions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Maiestie in the second booke and the fourth chapter of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by vnanfwerable reasons, that they are meerely illusiue. Another fort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glasses and Crystals: of whom Cufanus : Fatui funt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt firitum inclu- Exercitat.1.2. dere : quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore, They are foolish inchanters which will that up their firits within their nailes or in glaffe: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another art belides the afore mentioned, which they call Theurgia, or White Magicke; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by facrifice and inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and Communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kinde of adoration due vnto their Creatour; fo feeing they are most free Spirits; there is no man fo abfurd to thinke (except the Deuill hanc corrupted his vinderstanding) that they can be conftrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professours thereof couer themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall fubltances and abstract natures, either by facrifice, vow, or inforce-20 ment, are men of euill faith and in the power of Sathan. For good Spirits or Angels

cannot be constrained; and the rest are Deuils which willingly obey. Other forts there are of wicked distinations : as by fire, called Pyromantia : by water, called Hydromantia: by the aire, called Mataotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeede) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft : the practifers whereof are no leffe enuious and cruell, reuengefull and bloudy, then the Deuill himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Deuill worketwo waies; either by the Deuill immediatly, or by the art of poisoning. The difference betweene Necromanciers and Witches, His Majestie hath excellently taught in a word; that the one (in a fort) command; the other obey the Deuill.

There is another kinde of petty witcherie (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beafts and birds, of which Pythagoras was accused, because an Aliandi sonor. Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if the same exceeded the biflor. art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then Mahomets Doue, which he had vsed to feede with wheate out of his eare : which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on Mahomets shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to finde his breake-fast: Mahomet perswading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the holy Ghost that gaue him aduife. And certainly if Bankes had lived in elder times, hee would have shamed all the inchaunters of the world : for whosoeuer was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their dennes, or killing of them in the holes by inchantments (which the Marsians, a people of Italie practifed. Colubros disrum- Eveitim Satyr. pit Marsia cantu, Inchanting Marsia makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath beene veed it appeares Pfal. 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many impostures may bee in this kinde; and even by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or deftroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may bee laied in the entrance of their holes that will allure them : and therein I finde no other Magicke or inchantment, then to draw out a Mouse with a peece of tosted cheese.

T 3

d. VII.

Of diners waies by which the Denill feemeth to worke his wonders.



Vt to the end that wee may not dote with the Manichees, who make two powers of Gods: that wee doe not give to the Deuill any other Dominion then he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the minister of Gods vengeance, as when \*Egypt, according to David, was destroyed by cuill Angels) hee otherwise worketh but three waies.

I he first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second by the exquifite knowledge of nature; and the third by deceit, illufion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would G. Parifien is given three causes : the first, a naturall impotencie - the second, their owne reason dissing them from daring ouer much, or indeede (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great Gulpavifidev - mercie of the Creatour, Tenens e, is ligatus (faith the fame Author) velut immanifirm as ninespenses of belluas. S. Augustine was of opinion that the Frogges which Pharaes Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Deuill (by betraying of their fenfesthat looked on) made them appeare to be fuch. For as Vairus observeth, those Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of Moses were, which might ar- 20 gue that they were not creatures indeede. Hereof faith S. Avgvstine, Nec fanè demones naturas creant, sed que à Deo create sunt commutant, vt videantur este quod non funt, The Peuils create not any natures, but to change those that are created by God, as they feeme to be that which they be not : of which in the 83, question he giveth the reafon. Domon quibufolam nebulis implet omnes meat as intelligentia, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis folet, (that is) The Denill fils with certaine cloudes all passages of the understanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.

And as Tertullian in his booke de anima rightly conceineth, if the Deuill can poffeffe himfelfe of the cies of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth 20 out, the Deuill entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more ca-Maxima vis ell filly betray the other faculties of the foule: for the fantalie is most apt to bee abused

phanafia ader by vaine apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrarie held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeede as they seemed : not made magice artis lucibrio, which indeede agreeth not with the art, but (according to THOMAS) per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem, By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For Moses could not bee deceived by that fleight of false semblance; and S. Augustine in another case like vnto this, (to wit) of the turning of Diomeces his companions into birds, per activa cum passinis, inclineth rather to this opi- 40 nion: though I am not perfuaded that S. Augustine beleeved that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parifiensis a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of natural I Magicke he yieth these wordes. De hujusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorum g, animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus fola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutorijs, qua ipfa feminanatura confortant & actunt, ita vt opus generationis tantum accelerent, vt eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (que tardius talia efficere confueuit) sed potentia demonum, &c. to which he addeth. Qui autem in hijs docti funt talia non mirantur, fed folum Creatorem in his glorificant, In fuch workes (faith he) the fodaine generation of Frogges, and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is : in all which nature alone worketh; but by meanes 50 firengthning the feedes of nature, and quickning them; in fuch wife that they fo hasten the worke of generation, that it feemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of nature, which vfually worketh more leifurely, but they thinke it is done by the power of Deuils. But they who are learned in these arts meruale not at such working, but glorifie the Creatour. Now by

CHAP.11. S.S. of the Historie of the World.

these two waies the Deuils doe most frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermoft of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or vnfearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempelts; and can infect the aire, as well as moue it or compresse it; who knowes not that these things are also naturall? Or may it bee objected that hee foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that hee sometimes dothit; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and hee foretold the death of Saul, at fuch time as hee was in his owne possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancie of the world to this day, and observed the successe of every Counsaile: hee that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counfaile with all those that studie and practise subversion and destruction: Epines, 2,2,466. that so recommend with a many and the three better indee; then those that in prince of the aire, and can thence better indee; then those that inhabite the carth; if he should not sometimes, yea if hee should not very often timesghess. rightly of thinges to come (where God pleafeth not to give impediment) it were fum rayer res very strange. For wee see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes by comparing mattum hebet like causes conceine rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the uisugoito, Aug. Deuill doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee cuermore answereth by de doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee cuermore answereth by de doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, hee cuermore answereth by 20 riddles, as

CROESVS Halym penetrans magnam subuertet opum vim.

If Crafus ouer Halys goe,

- Great kingdomes he shall overthrow.

Which answere may be taken either way: either for the ouerthrow of his owne kingdome, or of his enemies. And thus farre we graunt the Deuill may proceed in predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in Esai. Show the things 30 that are to come hereafter, that we may know that yee are Gods: frew vs at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim diuin e intelligentie as sapientie est occulta nosse & reue- Guil, Paristerses lare. It is only proper to Gods understanding and wisedome to know and reneale hidden de legibea in

### d. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Denill: and that it was not the true SAMVEL which appeared



O conclude, it may be objected that the Deuill hath raifed from the dead : and that others by his power have done the like, as in the exdead : and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the ex-ample giuen of Samuel railed by the Witch of Enidor: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the Deuils acts ex-

ceed all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. Iu- Inst. Marty is fine Martyr was sometimes of the opinion, that it was samuel indeed; and so was solven control to the first was samuel indeed; and s which so belieue. But Martyr changed his opinion : and so did So Augustine, who at Ambr. in Luc. b. first seemed to bee indifferent : For in his questions upon the Old and New Testa- Least. Eyes in 50 ment he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was Samuel which appeared: and Suppliaga. these be his wordes elsewhereto the same effect. Inrequie funt anima piorum a cor- Decini Dei pore separate, impiorum autem panas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam eternam, illurum verò liazca 8. for the man man man man man, when you man a man man man man man man man men and eterminarytem que, founds dictive reporter casificant. The foules of the godly feparated from their bodies are at rest; but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the lo-

dies of the sust rife to Eternall life, and of the wicked to an Eternall and second

Hilar.gfal.2.in 19. in Euang.

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And (befides St Augustine) Iustine Martyr, Hilarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chry-Cofforme and others beleived firmely, and taught it that the foules of men being once Seperate from their bodies did not wander on the earth at all. Credere debemus (faith CYRIL) quum a corporibus sanctorum anime abierint, tanquam in manus charisimi patris fine. Tert de Anima. bonitati dinin e commendari. We must beleiue when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the Divine Goodnesse as into the hands of of a most deere Father. If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Deuill cannot stretch so high : if in Hell, ab inferno nulla est redemptio, from Hell there is no redemption. For 10 there are but two habitations after death; Vnum (faith Avgvstine) in igne aterno; alterum in regno aterno: the one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall kingdome, And though it bee written in Jure Pontificio, that many there are who beleiue that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the Gloffe vpon the same Text 26.95. Episopi. findes it ridiculous. Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata (faith the Glosse) They beleiue, and they beleiue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions. For whereas any fuch voice hath beene heard, faying, I am the Soule of fuch a one; hecoratio a fraude at g, deceptione diabolicaest. That speach is framed by the fraud and deception of the Deuill, faith CHRYSOSTOME. Likewise of the same saith Tertullian. Absit vt animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Propheta, à damonio credamus extractam. God forbid that 20 wee should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should bee drawne

upagaine by a Denill. It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition Samuel; so doe they the wodden images Cherubins: and false brazen Gods are called Gods: and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of Ecclesiasticus (a booke not numbred among the Canonicall Scriptures, as S. Augustine himselfe in his Treatise, if it bee his decura pro mortuis agenda confesseth) yet Siracides following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all : For though the Deuill would willingly perfwade, that the foules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power, yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods inst 30 and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all dinine reason, as Saint Augustine (or whofoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken Saul, that hee refufed to answere him either by dreames, by Vrim, or by his Prophets: it were fortish to conceiue, that he would permit the Deuill, or a wicked Witch to raise a Prophet from the dead in Sauls respect : it being also contrary to his owne dinine Law to aske counfaile of the dead; as in Deuteronomie 1 8. and elfew here.

1.Kings 17.22.

2.Kings 4.34. Nullus enim

magus aut des

man martuun

verè unanam

Wier de falein.

But because Helias and Helizeus had raised some from the dead by the power of 40 Godsthose Deuils which S. Augustine calleth ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum, mockers of their owne vassals, calting before their eies a semblance of humane bodies, and framing founds to their eares like the voices of men, doe also perswade their graceleffe and accurfed attendants, that themselues both possesse, and have power ouer the soules of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tumetiam cogitantium faith, L.VIVES, The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that fo imagine. These then are the boundes of the Deuils power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vasfall: potest ad malum inuitare, non potest trahere, faith S. Avgvstine, he can allure, but he cannot in- 50 force to euill. Such as thinke otherwise may goe into the number remembred by Lu-

Therefore it was the Deuill, and not the foule of a dead bodie, that gaue answere

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atá, omnia cæcis In tenebris metuunt : sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of NINVS, and of his wife SEMIRAMIS: and of other of her actes.

Of the magnificent building of Niniue by NINVS: and of Babylon



beauty and ftrength to Babylon which it had.

Vt to come backeto Ninus the amplifier and finisher of Ninine: whether he performed it before or after the ouerthrow of Zoroaster, it is vncertaine. As for the Citty it felfe, it is agreed by all prophane writers. and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it suffined to Died hadin compasse 440. stadia, or furlongs; the walles 11.2. whereof were an hundred foot vpright, and had such Sabel lens. a bredth as three charriots might paffe on the rampire in front : these walles were garnished with 1 500. towers which gaue exceeding beautie to the rest and

a strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. But this Cittie (built in the Plaines of Affyria, and on the bankes of Tigris, and in the Region of Eden,) was founded long before Ninus time; and (as ancient Histo-40 rians report; and more lately Nauslerus) had the name of Campfor, at fuch time as

Ninus amplified the fame, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name. For these workes of Babylon and Niniue begun by Nimrod in Chaldea, and in Ass. ria, Ninus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus finished Nintue, Semiramis Babylan: Hood list. Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded : labouring to build Townes and Villages for the vse of themselues and their people without either Walles or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bulhments, and waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis liuing in that age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and 50 purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had vndertaken, gaue that



His flie did after the death of her husband Ninus: who after he had mailtred Bactria, and subjected vnto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the Mediterran Sea and Helleft ont (Asia the lelle excepted) and finished the worke of Niniue, heleft the world in the yeare thereof 2019. after he hadraigned 52, yeares. Plutareh reporteth that

Semirarus desired her husband Ninus, that he would graunt vnto her the absolute 16 fourreigne power for one day. Died. Siculus out of Atheneus, and others, speakes of fine daics. In which time (moued either with defire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband Menen, who perished for her) she caused Minus her husband to be flaine. But this fecmeth rather a feandall caft on her by the Greekes, then that it had any truth.

Ælian,li.7.cx

Howfocuer Ninus came to his ende, Semiramis tooke on her after his death the fole rule of the Affgrian empire : of which, Ninus was faid to be the first Monarch because he changed his scat from Babylonia in Chaldea to Niniue in Assyria. Instinereports that Semiramis (the better to inuest herselfe, and in her beginning without ports that Neutrania (the potter to innert nericine, and in ner beginning without murmure or offense to take on her so great a charge) presented herselfe to the peo- 20 ple in the person of her some Nimius or Zameis, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any fensible d...erence.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might bee made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable actes which are written of her by the name of Semiramis, and Subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of India (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne Ninius had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that Semiranis (who was very perfonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vulikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. yeares after by any such subtilety: (for so long shee reigned after the death of her Husband:) but it may bee true 20 that Ninias or Zameis (being wholly giuen to his pleasures as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and vndertakings.

of Semiramis parentage, and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

Ome writers (of which Plutareh is one) make this famous woman to One writers (or writer Funation is one) make this failious woman to have beene of bafe parentage, calling her after the name of her Coun. 40 rrey, a Sprian. Berofur cals her after the name of her Citty wherein fhe was borne, Semiramis Afcalonitis; of Afcalon, the ancient Citty and West Doolies, Seminant Ajamonia, 30 Coffment that the daughter of Derecta, a Curtizan of Afadon exceeding beautifull. Others fay that this Deserta or Dercetis the mother of Semiramis was fometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated feated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to Ascalon; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly yong man the was by him made with child, which (for feare of extreme punishment) he consuied away, and cauled the fame to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild 50 beatls) the fame was fed by certaine birds, which vied to feed you or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupa the harlot that foltered Remulas. For some one or other adjoyning to this Lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might

### of the Historie of the World. CHAP.12. \$.4.

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thereby hope the better to couer her dishonour and breach of yow: notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets haue fained) changed by Venus into a fith, all but her face, which ftill held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought that from this Derceta the inuention of that Idoll of the Philiftims (called Dagon) was taken: for it is true, that Daron had a mans face, and a filhes body: into whose Temple when the Arke of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground : and at the second fall there remained only the Trunck of Dagon, the head being broken of: For so St. Merome hath converted that place. Patablus, Pagninus, and Junius write it by Dagon Onely, which fignifieth a fifth, and fo it only appeared: the head thereof by the second all being fundred from the body.

For my felfe I rather thinke, that this Dagon of the Philistims was an Idoll represcriting Triton, one of those imaginary Sca-gods under Neptune. For this Citty being maritimate (as all those of the Philistims were, and so were the best of Phanicia) vsed all their denotions to Neptune, and the rest of the pettie Gods which attended

### d. IIII.

Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbabilitie of her vices.

Vt for her Pedigree I leaue it to the Affyrian Heralds: and for her viti-For delicacie and ease do more often accompanie licentious field in men and women, then labour and hazzard do. And if the one halfe bee true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame then Semiramis was, both for the workes

the did at Babylon and elfewhere and for the warres the made with glorious fucceffe: all but her last enterprise of India; from whence both Strabo and Arianis report that the neuer returned; and that of all her most powerfull Army there survived but one ly twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of India, dead of the famine, or flaine by the fword of Staurobates. But as the multitude which went out are more then reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse then could haue escaped of such an Army, as consisted of source millions and vpwards. For these suid files, numbers which she leuied by her Lieutenant Derceteus (faith Suidas) did consist of

Foot-men three millions; of Horsemen one million; of Charriots armed with

hookes on each fide one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses 40 three hundred thousand; of Galleies with brazen heads three thousand, by which the might transport over Indus at once three hundred thousand souldiers : which Gallies were furnished with Syrians, Phanicians, Cilicians, and men of Cyprus. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of Ctelias whom Diodorus followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: fo Diedorus himfelfe hath nothing of certainty, but from Xerxes expedition into Greece and afterwards: whose Armie (though the same was farre inferior to that of Semiramis) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that Xerxes transported into Greece an Ar-50 my of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to passe the Helleshort) three thou-

fand Gallies, as Herodstus out of the fenerall Proninces whence those Galleies were taken hath collected the number. But of what multitude foeuer the Armie of Semiramis confifted: the same being broken and ouerthrown by Staurobates upon the banks of Indus, canticum cantauit extremum: the lang her last long; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the Gods into a Done. (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylonians game a Done in their enfignes.

Of the Temple of BELVS built by SEMIRAMIS: and of the Pyramides of Agyot.



Bell.l.a.

Mong all her other memorable and more then magnificent workes 10 (belides the wall of the Citty of Babylon) was the Temple of Bel. ereêted in the middle of this Citty, inuironed with a wall carried fourefquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each fquare certaine

brazen gates curioully engrauen. In the Core of the square sheraised a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it agains (taking a Bafis of a leffe circuit) the fet a fecond Tower; and fo eight in all, one aboue an other: vpon the top whereof the Chaldaans Priests made the observation of the

flarres, because this Tower ouer-topped the ordinary cloudes.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower have many Travailers beene deceived;

who suppose that they have seene a part of Nimrods Tower, when it was but the 20 Foundation of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nimrod.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thouland talents of frunkin-cense energy yeare (saith Herodotus). This Temple did Nabuchodonosor adorne with the spoiles of Hierusalem, & of the temple of Salomon: all which vessels & ornaments Cyrus redeliucred. This Temple Zerxes cuened with the foile; which Alexander is faid to have repaired by the perswasions of the Chaldaans, I deny northat it might haue been in his delire to to do; but he enjoyed but a few yeares after Babrlon taken. Proclin Times, and therefore could not performe any fuch worke. The Agyptians (faith Proclus) inhabiting a low and leavell ground, and given to the fame superstition of the stars that the Chaldwans were, crected in imitation, and for the same service and vse, the Py- 30 ramides by Memphis, which were conspicue undia, nauigantibus, saith Plinie. Of these Pyramides Bellonius a carefull observer of rarities (who being in £gypt mounted by fteps to the top of the highest) maketh this report, Lemeilleur archer qui feroit a fa sommite, et tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pour oit l'enuoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se

tombast sur les degrez. The best Archer standing on the top of one of thele Pyramides and Shooting an arrow from thence into the aier as farre as he can, with great difficulty shallbe able so to force the same, but that it will fall wpon Some of the degrees

or steppes.

Finis Libri primi.

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The

CHAP.1. S.1.



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM The birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of Salemon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

# CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of ABRAHAM: and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Sto. rie of the Assyrian Empire.

Of some of the successours of SEMIRAMIS: with a briefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of ABRAHAM.



FTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis fucceeded her in the Empire, on whom Berofus Annianus bestowes the conquest of Bačtria, and the ouerthrow of Zoroaster; contrary to Diodorus, Iustine, Orosius, and all other approued writers. For Ninias being efteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacie, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninias of any moment, other then that out of icalousie he euery yeare changed his Prouinciall Gouer-

nors, and built Colledges for the Chaldean Priests, his Astronomers: nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras; but that he reduced agains the Bactrians and Calpians, revolted as it seemeth in Nini-50 as his time : nor of Aralius, the fucceffor of Arius; but that he added fumptuofity, inuented lewels of gold and frone, and fome engins for the warre: I will for this prefent paffe them ouer, and a while follow Abraham, whose wares are warrantable, (till wee meet these Affyrians againe in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we shall best give date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Ninus, Ni-

nias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Xerxes or Balanius. For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certaine by the vncertaine, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures fet vs down without error, by the raignes of the Affirian Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aductture, and leave it in the same consusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help vs, Mirum ronest in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare, No merusile if then in things very ancient, History want

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Assart Kings raigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams birth, and in what yeare the same hapned after the floud. Now since all 10 agree, that the fortieth three yeare of Nimes was the birth-yeare of Abraham; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the floud the birth of braham hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling between those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrewaccount, and others: the most part making 292.or 293. yeares 3 thers 3 52. yeares between Abrahams birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we finde him in Annius) makes but 250. yeares from the floud to Ninus : then feeing that Abraham was borne in the fortieth three yeare of Winus, according to Eulebius, and S. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of Abrahams birth was in the yeare after the 20 floud 203 or as the most part of all Chronologers gather the yeare 292.

Now, fince I do heere enter into that neuer-refolued quaftion, and Labyrinth of times, it behougth me to give reason for my owne opinion : and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walke aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those dartes, which Ennie casteth at nouelty, than to goe on safely and sleepily in the casse waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuerlity.

### ð. I I.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove ABRAHAM was borne in the yeare 292 after the floud, and not in the yeare 252.

Hose which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall floud and Abrahams birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture. So Terah lived 70. yeares, and begot Abrahams, Ham, Nahor, and Harahs: secondly vpon the opinion of Iosephus, 49 S. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are fleightly lookt ouer) feeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that TERAH at 70. yeares begot A-BRAHAM, NAHOR and HARAN: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the sonne of the promise, ought in this refpect to be accounted the eldeft sonne of Terah, and so necessarily borne in the seuentieth yeare of his life. Secondly it was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleffing; and not of Nahor and Haran : for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealo- 50 gy of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Nahor, and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham were not the eldeft sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proued, that Abraham was borne more affuredly in the 130, yeare of

Terab his age, then in the 121. 122. &c. Moles having no where fet downe precifely that Abraham went into Canaan that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 120. yeare: feeing Abraham himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

### ð. III.

The answere to one of the objections proposed, shewing that ABRAHAM made but one tourney out of McCopotamia into Canaan : and it, after

CHAP.1. S.2.

O answere all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long fince, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now for a fruch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlcffe the time of Abrahams iourney into Cana-

un be first considered of a before I descend vinto the particular examination of these arguments. I will make bold with order and method fo farre, as to fearch into a frange tradition concerning his traugils, that ferueth as a ground for this opinion,

and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; the latter after his Fathers death, the former prefently vpon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his fathers death at Haran: a confecture, drawn from a place in the Epiffle to the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith A B a A ii A u (when hew as called) obcied God, to goe out into a place, which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither hee went. This supposition (if it be granted) Hebris. ferues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill fland without it. Let vs therefore fee whither we may give credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that Abraham first departed Charran or Haran after the death of Terah his 20 Father the same is proued without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. STEPHEN: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell, that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against wich place so direct, and plaine, what force hath any mans fancie or supposition, perswading, that Abraham Ast. 7.4. made two journies into Canaan; one before Terah's death, and an other after: no fuch thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reafon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can pick any argument, prouing, or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham past into Ca-nam, and then returned vnto Haran, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleived in the rest. But that he performed the com-40 mandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving Vr and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (faith the (Martyr Stephen) Godbrought him into this Land. And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moles omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other; and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams comming into Canaan, but out of Moles? For if Stephen had spokenany thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the sewes his aduerfaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of Christ. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs thinke that Abraham passed and repaffed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that to he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearifome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despaire, he had more cause then ever man had to fall into it. For he came

into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a Nation of valiant and resoluted Idolaters. He was belieged with famine at his first arrivall, and driven to flie into

Agypt for reliefe. His wife was olde, and he had no fonne to inherit the promife. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him vo to himfelfe for Sacrifice : all which discomforts hee patiently and combantly viider-

Secondly, let vs confider the waies themselves, which Abraham had to passe over, the length whereof was 300. English miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great river of Euphrates, to trauaile through the dangerous and barren Deferts of Palmyrena, and to climbe over the great and high mountaines of Libanus, Hermon or Gilead : and whither these were calle walkes for Abraham to march twice ouer, containing, as afore- 10 faid, 200, miles in length, let euery reasonable man judge. For if hee trauailed it twice: then was his journey in all 1 800 miles from 17 to Haran: and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to disproue this fancie; the manner of Abrahams departing from Haran hath more proofe, that he had not animum revertendi, not any thought looking backward, than any mans bare conjecture, bee he of what antiquity or authority focuer. For thus it 15 written of him Then A B R A-HAM tooke SARA his wife, and LOT his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possest, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan and to the Land of Canaan they came. Now if Abraham brought all with him that was deare vinto him; his wife, and kinfmen, and his, and their goods: it is not proba- 20. ble that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleafure, in fo warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was ; or if hee could have beene thereto moved it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet valetied, and proft with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father beene then aline, hee might have hoped from him to receive more affured comfort and reliefe, then among the Egyptians, to whom hee was a meere stranger both in Religion and

What the cause might be of Abrahams returne to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures haue fent him backe thither. about the time of his fathers death: fo they perhaps, if they were viged, could fay 20 little clfe, than that without fuch a fecond voiage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not ouer-troublesome. They say that Abraham was in Haran at his Fathers death, or fome time after, being then by their account 135, yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the bufineffe, which as wee reade, was within foure or fine yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not be binde with a very folemne oath his principall feruant, in whom he reposed most considence, to traunile into those parts, and seeke out a wife for Isaac his fonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his feruant were so well acquainted in Mejopotamia, that they could particularly designe 40 any one woman, as a fit match for Ifage? Surely if Abraham had been there in perfon fo lately, as within foure or fine yeares before, hee would not have forgotten a matter of fuch importance; but would have trufted his owne indeement, in choofing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other defireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only fonne, who was then 35, yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the floud had begotten children, rather than haue left all at randome to the confideration of a feruant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it bee supposed (if it may be beleived) that either Abraham forgot this busines when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise. What might be the reason, that Abrahams man in doing his ma- 50 fterserrand was faine to lay open the whole ftory of his mafters prosperity, telling it as newes, that Sarah had borne to him a fonne in her old age? If Abraham himfelfe, a more certaine author, had so lately beene among them, would not all this have beene an idletale? It were needlesse to stand long upon a thing so cuident. Whether

Whether it were lawful for Abraham to have returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable; considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, even though a wife of his owne kindred could not Gon. 24.6. haue beene obtained without his personall presence. Iacob indeed was sent thither 68. by his parents, to take a wife of his ownelinage; not without Gods especiall appro- Gan. 28. bation, by whose bleffing he prospered in that iourney: yet he lived there as a ferpant: fuffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himfelfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a fentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence hee hath taken and transplanted them. That briefe faying, Remember Lots wife, containes much matter. Let vs but confider Melapatamia from whence Abraham was taken and Agypt, out of which the whole nation of the Ifraelites was delinered: wee shall finde, that no bleffing iffued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When Ezechias was visited with an honourable Embassie from Babel, it seemes that hee conceived great pleasure in 2. Kines 26.

his minde, and thought it a peece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by Efai, made him to know, that the counfaile of God was not agreeable to fuch thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of Babylon they fate downe and wept. Concerning Agypt we Plal 27. read, that Sefac and Neco Kings of Agypt brought calamity vpon Ifrael: also that 1.Kings 14.25.6 their confidence in the Agyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Agypt I do not remember, nor can readily find; Dest. 17, 1916.

but it is found in Deuteronomie, that God had faid, They should no more returne that way: which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to Egypt, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction pon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that hee neuer did returne, all circumstances do (to my vnderflanding) both flrongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of Abrahams is but an imagination : and that ima-

ginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of judgment or understanding : I take it sufficient, that S. Stephen hath directly taught vs. that Abraham left Haran, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleive as they doe. For all the trauails of Abraham are precifely fet downe in the Scriptures : as first from Vr or Camerina in Chaldea to Flavan or Charran : and then from Haran (after his Fathers death) to Sichem; from Sichem hee removed to a mountaine betweene Betheland Haie: thence into Egypt: from Egypt he returned thither againe, where Lot and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, then could be fed in that part : from thence the fecond time hee removed to Mamre, neare Hebron : 40 and thence having purfued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, hee after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumaa, under Abimelee : and after neare unto it at Bersabe, at which time hee was ready to offer up his some Isaac on the mountaine Moriah. But this fiction of his retrait to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or humane. Now if it may bee suposed, that Abraham had made any former journey into Canaan, as Leuita in his Cabala hath fained, it should in reason bee therewithall beleined, that hee would in those his first trauailes have prouided himselfe of some certaine seat, or place of abiding : and not have come a

whereon to rest himselfe. But Abraham, when hee came from Charran, past 50 through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sichem, and the Plaine of Mo- Genzia St rish: where finding no place to inhabite, hee departed thence to Bethel and Hai: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and finde out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in Genefis the eleuenth. Hee went foorth, going and iournjing towards the South : and alwaies vnsetled.

fecond time, with his wife, kinfmen, familie, goodes and Cattle, not knowing

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By occasion of which wandring to and tro, some say, the Agyptians gaue him and his the name of Hebrai. Further, to proue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrie, we may note, that ere hee came to Bethel and Hai, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared vnto him faying, Vnto thy feed will I give this Land, shewing it him asynto a stranger therein, and as a land to him vnknowne. For Abraham without any other prouident care for himselse, beleived in the word of the living God : neither fending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arrived he received a fecond promise from God, that hee would give those Countries vnto him and his feede to inhabit and inherit.

Laftly, what should move any man to thinke, that Moses would have omitted 10 auy such double iourney of Abrahams, seeing he setteth downe all his passages elswhere, long and short? as when he moued from Sichem, and seated betweene Hai and Bethel: the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moued thence to the valley of Mamre, being but twenty fower miles : and when hee left Mamre, and fate downe at Gerar, being leffe then fixe miles; no, Mofes past ouer all the times of the firstage with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham: shutting vp all betweene the Creation and the Floud in fix chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeares : but he bestoweth on the story of Abraham fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Mo- 20 fes forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abrahams trauailes, or other actions: or that he would fet downe those small remoues of fine miles, and omit those of three hundred. For fuch a journey ingoing and comming would have ministred some varietie of matter, or accident, worthie the inserting and adding to Abrahams ftorie.

### d. IIII.

The answere to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikelie, that TERAH should beget ABRAHAM in his hundred and thirty yeare.

Ow touching the objection, where it is faid, that it was very vnlikelie that Terah should beget Abraham in his 120. yeare, seeing Abraham himselse thought it a wonder to have a sonneat an hundred : this is hardly worth theanswering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken: Abraham hauing respect only to Sarah his wife, when he spake

of their many yeares. For when the Angell faid vnto Abraham in his Tent doore at Mamre; Loe, SARAH thy wife shall have a Sonne, it followeth in the next verse, Now ABRAHAM and SARAH were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with 40 SARAH after themanner of women: therefore SARAH laughed &c.

So then, in that it is faid it ceased to be with S AR AH after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, & not on Abraham. For Abraham by his fecod wife Keturah had many fons after Sarah's death, as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah: and the eldest of these was borne 27. yeares after Isaac: and the yongest 40, yeares after. What strangenesse then, that Terah being 130, yeares old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of Abraham at one hundred yeares? For Sarah died in the yeare of the world 2145. and Isaac was borne in the yeare 2100; and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sa-Origin bomilist, rah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109, out of 2145, there remais 50 in Gen. Aug. de neth 36. And therefore if Abraham begat fine sonnes 36. yeares after this supposed cinit. dei. 1. 16.c. Abraham was 137. yeares old: it is not strange that his Father Pererin Gen. Terah should beget Abrahamat 130. And if Booz, Obed and Jeffe, who lived so many yeares & ages after Abraham, begat fons at 100. yeares, or neare it, it cannot be mer-

uailed at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130; and Abraham others at the same age and feuen yeares after.

### ð. V.

The answere to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of ABRA-HAMS age from the Scripture, though wee make not ABRAHAM the eldest Sonne: and that therewas great cause, why in the story of ABRAHAM his two brethren should

T followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings Abrahams age altogether in doubt, except wee allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and born when Terah was 70. yeares old. For Abrahams age beeing made vncertaine, all fucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That wee cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, vnlesse wee make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terab was 205, which was the yeare of his death, then was Abraham 75. And if you aske, how I can judge of times, either preceding or fucceeding, by knowing that A-20 braham departed Haran at that age : I answere, that St. Stephen hath told vs, that A-

brahams departure followed the death of his Father Terah : and Terah died at 205: fo as the 75. yeare of Abraham was the 205. yeare of Terah : which knowne, there can be no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection. where it is faid, That Mofes had no respect vnto Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the Church but to Abraham only, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh &c. I answere, that Mofes for many great and necessary causes had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the fuccession of Gods Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For Nahor was the Father of Be-20 thuel, & Bethuel of Rebecca the mother of Ifrael: & Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah,

and Mileah and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and grandmother to Isaac Mileah alfo the wife of Wahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Iacobs great grandmother : and the age of Sarah the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a fonne at 90. yeares, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselues, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-child of Nahor; and Iacob Lea and Rachel, the daughters of Laban. the grand-child also of Nahor: it was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these menstimes and ages. And though fometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is

40 10f. 24.2. yet I fee no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleived and obeied the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural Countrie, and City of Vr in Chaldaa, as Abraham did, and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terah, ere they left Chaldea; but Let, his fonne, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the fifter of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor alfo, who remained at Charran, gaue his fonnes daughters to Isaac, and Iacob, his owne kinfmen: hee himselfe having also married in his owne familie; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleived in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seene the servant of Abraham standing at the Well beside Charran, hee inuited

to him to his Fathers house in this manner: Come in thou bleffed of Iehouah &s. And Gin.24.0.311 when this fernant of Abrahams demanded an answere as touching Rebecca, then anfwered Laban and Bethuel, and faid; This thing is proceeded of Tehonah: meaning that it 600.24.050 was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein hee acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; Take, take, goe that sheemay bee

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thy masters sonnes wife, euen as Iehouah hath said. This their often vsing of the name of lehouah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a figne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint Chryfostome, and some later writers, as Caretan, Oleaster, Musculus, Caluin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idoter, because he retained certaine Idols, or houshold Gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he beleived in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams feruant, bleffed of Ichouah, as aforefaid. So as for my felfe I dare not anow, that these men were out of the Church, who fure I am were not out of the faith.

That the naming of ABRAHAM first of the three brethren. Gen. 11.v.26. doth not proue that hee was the eldest: together with diners reasons prouing that ABRAHAM was not the eldest some of TERAH.

O the maine objection which I answere last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that striue to shorten the times, endeuor to proue that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeare of Terahs life: grounding themselues first and cheisly on this place of the Scripture, And TERAH lived 70. yeares and begat ABRAHAM. NAHOR and HARAN: To this Ifay, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that hee was the eldest and first borne some of Terab. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare that it pleafed God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first borne of Adam : nor Ifade of Abraham : nor Iacob of Ifaac : nor Juda and Joseph of Jacob : nor David the eldest of Jeffe : nor Salomon of David : as

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is formerly remembred. But it is written of Noah; Noah was 500. yeares old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and laphet : shewing that at the 500. yeare of his age he began to beget the first of August figt those three somes. For according to St. Augustine speaking energing the first of Goi. 35.

August figt those three somes. For according to St. Augustine speaking generally, New attendenGoi. 35.

August figt those speaking to the source of t dus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed signi seatio future dignitatis: in qua excelluit ABRAHAM. The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the suture dignity in which ABRAHAM was preserved. And therefore as in the order of the sonnes of Noah : fo is it heere: where it is faid that TERAH lined 70. yeares and begat ABRA-HAM, NAHOR, and HARAN: For it was late ere Terah began to beget fonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nachor at 29. as other his auncestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130. Enoth 40 Kenan at 00: Kenan Mahalaeel at 70: Mahalaeel Iered at 60: Noah was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes : as aforesaid. And S. Angustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the yongest of Terahs sonnes, then otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His owne words are these. Fieri enimpotuit ut posterior sit generatus ABRAHAM: sed merito excellentia, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, faith he, that ABRAHAM was begotten later : but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proucth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those iffues of Noah or in these of Terah : Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in na- 50 ture, as touching his election or spirituall bleffing, for Moles nameth first the children of the promife, and the eldeft and first in Gods fauour. Pietas ergò velipso potiùs electio diuina, qua comitem secum trahis pietatem, & Dei timorem,primas partes dat SEMO in libris NOA, & ABRAHAMO in liber is Thare. Pietie faith he or rather dinine

election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it pietre and the feare of God, gave place and precedencie to S E w among the children of NOAH, and to A BRAHAM among those

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeare of his age, And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived 86, years, Gen 12.4. It was at Gerar (the fourth border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Ifaac, when Abrilliam Ganto 16. had confumed 100. yeares. It was from the valley of Alamrein Canaan that Abraham role out, when herefoued Lot and ouerthrew Amraphel; and hee had then but the age of 83. yeares; and it is as manifest that he parted from Haramaster his Father Ad. 1.4 & Gon,

10 Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at 70. yeare old, then must Abraham haue beene 135. yeares when hee first fet his foot in Canaan: seeing Terah must bee dead ere he parted; and fo 70 added to 135 made 205, the true age of Terab; which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For hecentred at 75 : hee refeued Lotat 83 : he had Ifmael at 86 : he had Ifaae at 100 proued by the

Moreouer if Abraham were the eldeft fonne of Tersh, and borne in the 70 years of his age: then had Terablined till Isaachad beene 35, yeares old, and Isaachad both which must then have been borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: whleffe wee should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham 20 departed from Melopotamia after his Fathers death : or elfe give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his Chronologia antoptica, faith it was about his Pathers death : because the greeke word werd, may be transported by the Latine fub, as well as by post: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60 yeares before. Wherefore Supposing Abraham to have been borne in the 70. years of Terah; we must give those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authoritie will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Vr of Chaldaa, nor in Haran: nor in 10. yeares after his arrivall into Canaan. For the yeare of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the yeare of 30 the World 2083: and the yeare of Ifmaels birth was the Worlds yeare 2004: which maketh 10 yeares difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to bee offered vpon the mountaine Morial therein, 39 miles from Ber labe, where Abraham then inhabited and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley

of Mamre, no man doubteth. And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams sonnes were borne in Mesopotamia: nor while Terablined: nor in leffe then 10 yeares after Terabs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terah, nor borne in the 70, yeare

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75: if Terah had begotten him at 40 70, then had Terah lived but 145, for 70 and 75, make 145, which must also have Gonts beene the full age of Terah: but Terablined 205 yeare : and therefore was not Abraham borne in the 70. yeare of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Iseth wanted but 10. yeares of A-brahams age: Isaac beeing borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeares

It followeth then that if Abraham had beene the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at o. yeares old: for granting that Haran was borne but one yeare after Abraham, and Sarah within 10. yeares as old as Abraham, then of 50 necessitie must Haran beget her, when he had lived but 9. yeares; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Ifcah was Sarah, Rab: Solomon affirmeth; both names, faith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principalitie. Againe, to what end was the word Iseah or Isheah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speake of any thing superfluous it is not ysed in Gods Bookes: and if Iseab had not belonged to the story, it had beene but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had beene trew (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that Moses had no respect of Nachor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethue and Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Ifeat in this place, were the not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing elfe first or last.

The age also of Lot disprough the eldership of Abraham : for Lot was called an old man when Abraham was but 83. yeares: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Mileah, Abraham marrying one of 10 Harans daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within 10. yeares as olde as Abraham: it may appeare to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham : who also died first and before his Father left Vr in Chaldas. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, upon the same place of Genesis: drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but 10. yeares yonger than Abraham himselfe. Lyra his wordes arethele, Siigitur HARAN fuit iunior ipfo ABRAHAM, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit SARAM: imonec octo &c. and afterward, & ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod ABRAHAM fuit oltimo natus de tribus filijs THARE, tamen nominatur primo , propter eius dignitatem : & quia ponenduserat caput slirpis & generati- 20 onis sequentis : & quia primo facta est ci repromisso expressa de CHRISTO, sicut supra dictum est de SEM &c. If therefore (faith Lyra) HARAN was yonger then ABRA-HAM himselfe, it followeth that he was not 10 yeares old when he begat SARAH : And therefore it feemeth better to be faid, that ABRAHAM was the last born of the three fonnes of THARE, neuerthelesse he is named first for his dignitie, both because he was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following: and because the promise of CHRIST was first made unto him, as before it is faid of SEM.

### δ. V I I.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides : with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more unprobable.

therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and

Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham:

and that Abraham was borne in the 130. yeare of Terahs life, and not

in the 70. yeare. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, ac-

Gen.12.4.

cording to S. Stephen, and that iourney by Abraham performed when 49 hee was 75 yeares old, these two numbers added make 205, yeares, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan, For my selfe, I haue no other end hecrein then to manifest the truth of the Worlds Storie: I reuerence the judgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuerfie. For what socuer is borrowed from him out of his 16. Booke de Civitate Dei ca. 15, the same may bee answered out of himselfe in his five and twentieth question vpon Gen. But S. Augustine heerein followed tosephus, and Isidor: and Beda followed S. August. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrews and Infephus fought to make Abraham the first borne : as if God had had respect to the eldest 50 in nature . So did Iosephus together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Iewish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of

Queene Sarah: and faid that Abraham was followed with 318. Captaines, of which cuerie one had an infinite multitude vnder him : trecentes & octodecem prafectos Снар.п.§.7. of the Historie of the World.

habuit: quorum fingulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharae invading him with a great armie, tooke from him his wife Sarah. Such fables argue that Jolephus is not to be believed, but with discreete reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 202, yeares from the floud to Abraham, is veheld by manie of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of fuch Chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their judgement in fuch matters were worthie to be regarded, it would have appeared in fetting downe the fuccession of the Persian Kings, under whom they lived, whose historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of manie good wri-

10 ters. Yet groffely haue they erred therein, and fo familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome finde their opinion rehearfed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the Romane religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine what socuer they have beene formerly knowne to hold and beleiue. Contrariwife, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him: of later times Beroaldus, Codoman, Pencer, Caluin, Junius, Beza, Broughton, Doct, Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the Protestants, hold Abraham to have been borne in the 130 yeare of his Father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those neuerthelesse good Authors, as Bucholeerus, Chitraus, Functius

20 and others, are verie auerfe hecrein, especially Tofephus Scaliger with his Sethus Caluifius, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-heritique in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise Augustinus Torniellus a Priest of the Congregation of S. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose Annales are newly fet forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already deliuered; not alleadging Beroaldus, nor any Protestant writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretiques. For my selfe I do neither millike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the Romish Religion labour to vphold it, Nor fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant writers have approved; it but for the truth it felfe. To strengthen which, after all these former

30 reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First. it is apparant to all men of judgement, that the best approued Historians, Divine and prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approue the stories, and forepast actions of the world; and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let vs then make judgment to our felues, which of these two accounts giue the best reputation to the storie of the Scriptures; teaching the worlds new plantation, and the continuancie of Gods Church: either that of Iofephus, and those which follow him; who makes but 292 yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of Abraham: or this other account, which makes 352, yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking Abraham to be the first borne of Thare.

40 in the 70, yeare of his life: the other a yonger fonne of Thare, and borne when he had lived 130. yeares. And if we looke over all, and doe not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated doe slothfully and drowfily fit downe; wee shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the Septuagint, who, according to fome editions, make it abone 1072, yeares betweene the floud and Abrahams birth: then to take away any part of those 252, yeares giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, fuch as it was in Abrahams time, yea, before Abraham was borne, we shall find that it were verie ill done of vs, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deeply betweene Abraham and the floud : because

50 in cutting them too necrethe quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreame, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of St. Augustine, That wherefocuer any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood.

For in Abrahams time all the then-knowen parts of the world were peopled : all Regions and Countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent Cities: and fo had Palestina, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the world befides, as far as India: and those not built with stickes, but of hewen stones, and defended with walles and rampiers : which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, then those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marnailes? giving also strength thereby to common cauellers, and to those mens apish

### d. VIII.

braines, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the storie to

A computation of the times of the Assyrians and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Storie of ABRAHAM.

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of the World and mankinde.

N this fort therefore for the reasons before allead ged, I conclude. In this for the feel of the realists before a leading of, to the first of \_Abraham, 372. years were confumed: and taking the \_Affyrian Historie with vs, the fame \_10 number of years were fpent from the floud to the 43. years of Nie. nus: in which 43. years of Nieus Abraham was borne: which hapned in the yeare of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352, yeares, wee must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinar, as to those that staied in the East, to wit, 30. yeare to Chus, ere he begat Seba: of which, though the Scriptures are filent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, wee may the more fafely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at 34. Peleg Regulat 30. Regul Serug at 32. Now after Seba, Chus begat Hauila, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Nimrod was borne as it appea- 20 reth Gen. 10: which St. Augustine approueth. Giving then 30. yeares more to Raama ere hee begat Sheba, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered that 65, yeares were confumed ere Wimrod himfelfe was borne : and that Raamah had that age ere any of his fonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison; for Peleg, the fourth from Noah, as Raamah was, begat Re-

guin the fame yeare of his life.

Let vs then allow 60 yeares more after the birth of Nimrod, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elfe we shall hardly find people to build Babel; for fure wee are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65, and 60, make 125: The rest of the time of 131. (in 40 which yeare they arrived in Shinar whereof there are 6, yeares remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattle: and as fome ancient writers have conceived, and Becamus of ladn. & falute bu. ter times, they kept alwaies the mountaines fides, for feare of a fecond floud. Now mani generis ab if we take this number of 131.0ut of 352, there remaines 221, of which number aquis centesimo Berosus bestoweth 65. on Belus, and 42. on Ninus, before Abraham borne : both num Babylon- which S. Augustine approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there enn sub nostro remaineth 1 14. yeares of the 3 52, from the floud to Abrahams birth: which num-Saturno patre ber of 114.necessitie bestoweth on Wimrod.

Gen. 11.18.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimred, is over-long: fure if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appeare ouer-fhort. For Nimred, by this accompt, lived in all but one hundred fenenty nine yeares: whereof hee raigned one hundred and twelve: whereas Sale who was the some of Arphanad the some of Sem, lived four hundred thirty three

yeares : and of the fame age of the World was Nimred, the fonne of Chus, the fonne of Cham.

Now after Ahraham was borne

Ninus reigned Q, yeares; which added to 42, make. Ninus dieth and leaueth Semiramis his fucceffor.

Semiramis gouerned the Empire of Babylonia and Affyria 42. yeares, and died in the Of the World 52. yeare compleat of Abrahams life.

Ninius or Zameis succeeded Semiramis, and ruled 38 yeares, in the second yeare of whose reigne Abraham left Melopotamia.

When Abraham was 85 yeares old, herefcued his nephew Lot, and ouerthrew by 403.add. furprise Amraphel king of Shinar, or Babylonia, Ninias reigned 38. yeares, and Abraham came into Canaan but 23. yeares after Semiramis died: which was the 75. yeare of his age : fo that Amraphel may feeme to have beene this Ninias the fonne of Ninus and Semiramis, whose 23 yeare, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeare of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85, yeare of Abraham, and the 33, yeare of his own reigne: after which he reigned flue yeares: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, viging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbert for the times of the Allyrian kings, that they are to be ordered as wee haue fet them downe, accor-

20 ding to the times noted by Moles, in the storic of Abraham, it is most certaine : vnleffe we will either derogate from the truth of Mofes his computation, which were impietie: or account the whole Hiltorie of Ninus and Semiramis to bee a fictions which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers

That AMRAPHEL, one of the foure Kings whom ABRAHAM overthrep Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have beene NINIAS the Sonne of NINVs.

Nd now touching this Awraphel, whom Mofes makes king of Shinar or Babylonia, in the 85. yeare of Abrahams life, that is, in the 23. yeare of the reigne of Winias Zameis the king of the Affyrians, the fonne of Winus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how hee could bee at this time king of Babylonia: Ninias Zameis then reigning

there. To this doubt the answere which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath beene alreadic noted, that this Ninias or Zameis, was no other then our Amraphel: who inuaded Traconitis of Bafan, and ouerthrew those fine kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim. For the Scriptures tell vs, that Amraphel was king 40 of Shinar, which is Babylonia : and the times before accounted make him to be the Successor of Ninus and Semiramis: and it falleth out with the 85, yeare of Abrahams

life : wherein herefcued Lot, flew Chedorlaomer, and ouerthrew the reft. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarke : for Chedorlaomer commanded in cheife, though Amraphel bee first named by Moses in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of Genesis. For the Kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or of the fine Cities, were the vaffals of Chedorl, and not of Amraphel: as it is Written. Twelve yeares werethey subject to CHEDORLAOMER, butinthe 12. yeare Gen. 14.6. they rebelled, and in the 14. year came CHEDORLAOMER and the kings that were with him and therefore was Chedorl, the principall in this enterprise, who was then king 50 of Elam, which is Persia: Now Persia being seated ouer Tiggis, and to the East of Am-

raphels Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with Anraphel, being feated to the Westof Shinar or Babylonia: Anraphel, who held Babylonia it selfe, feemeth at this time to have had no great feope or large dominion. For had Amraphel beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make Ninus or Semiramis

whom he fucceeded, he should not have needed the affishance of three other kines for this expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the fitst and greatest of those fower Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of Sodome, Gomora. ere, were his vaffals, and not Amraphels) yet this makes not the conjecture leffe probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of Affyria, had now (as we shall show more plainly in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre : though not long before it commanded all the kingdomes betweene India and the Phanician Sea: to wit. in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

Of ARIOCH another of the foure Kings : and that ELLAS, whereof he is faid to haue beene King , lies betweene Coelesyria and Ara-

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Ow the two other kings joined with Amraphel, and Chedorl, were Arioch and Tidal; the one king of Ellaffar, the other of the Nations. For Ellassar, Aquila and Hierome write Pontus: So Tostatus thinketh that it floud de Heldipont: which opinion Pererius fauoreth. But this 120 onely to defend the Latine translation. For as Pentus, so is Heldipont

farre distant, and out of the way to send any armies into Arabia Petraa, or into Idumea: which Countries these foure Kings cheifly inuaded, Besides that, it is certaine, that the Asyrians (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in Asia the leffe. For at such time as the Afgrians feared the invasion of the Medes and Persians, they fent not into Afa the leffe as commaunders: but vsed all the art they had to inuite Cr.esus to their affiftance; perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himfelfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the Medes against the Asyrians. But examine the enterprise what it was, These kines (faith the Text) made warre with BERK, king of Sodome, BIRSHA king of Gomor- 30 ha, SHINAB king of Admath, and SHEMEBAR king of Zeboim, and the king of BELA which is Zoar. All which fine kings had not fo much ground as Middlefex: being fuch a kind of Reguli, as Iofua found in the land long after: namely Lords of Cities and small territories adiopning 3 of which Canaan had 23. all slaine or hanged by 10 fua. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are faid alfo to haue inuaded, be imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from Pontus or Hellespont, had manifested a great impotencie and weaknesse in the kings of Babylon and Persia,

And though it be alleadged for an example, that diners kings far off, came to assist Pompey against Cefar: yet these samples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie kings, or of the other Countries: But the cies of the world were fixed on Cafar; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leffe doubtfull then fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these soure kings maistered in their paffage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of Manasse, Gad, and Ruben: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene tordan and the mountaines of Seir : inclofed by the river of Arnon on the South fide, and by Lybanus on the North, confifting of the two small Provinces of Traconitis or Basan, and the Region of the Moabites: a conquest farre vnualuable, and little answering the power of the Assyrian Empire, aconquertance vinantacons, and necessity the fame had from any comparable effacts with the times of Ainus and Se 50 mirans, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the affiltance of any of the kings of Hellespoor, or any other part of Asia the lesse. But as the Vulgar and Aquila convert Ellassia by Pontus: so Symmachus makes Ariacha king of the Scythians, a king indeed, as faire fetched to ioyne with the Affrians

in this warre, as the World had any at that time. The Septuagint doe not change the word of Ells//ar at all, but as they keep the word Ararat, on the mountaines wherof the Arke did reft, fo doe they in this place retains the Hebrew word Edufur, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himfelfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable then this of Pontus or Helle(pont : yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latine Transaction bath it otherwise. For Stephanus de Vrbibus a Gracian Cosmographer, findeth the Citie of Eslas in the border of Calefyria and St. Hierome calleth Elles the Citie of Arioch, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by Stephanus in Calefyria, yet it standeth on the border

10 of Arabia, of which Arioch was king : who formerly joined with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the samo familie, and descended from Cham and Chiu; after whom the name of Arius was by the Hebrews written Arioch : and afterward againe Aretas: as in the Macchabes : the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of St. Mee. 25 500 Paul, who was fought to be betraied by the Lieutenant of Aretas commanding in Cor. 2.11. Damascus. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the Affrian Empire. It is true that we finde in Daniel, that in the time of Nabucho- Dana. donofor, one Arioch was Generall of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that Arioch heere spoken of, the fonne of that Arioch confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus; nor of Scythia; repi-

to ons farre removed from the Affyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch who commanded under Nabuchodonofor is mentioned in Iudith by the name of king of the Elymeans : who are a Nation of Persians bordering Assyria: according to Stephanus: though Plinie fets it betweene the Sea-coaft, and Media: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings or other of that house (knowne by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta or Aretas) had the government of that Perfian Province called Esymais (as it feemeth they had by the places of Daniel and Iudith) yet the same was in Nabucho doneforstime. But this Arioch heere spoken of may with more reason bee taken for the king of Arabia, the sonne of Arius, the confederate of Ninus : whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that fide to-30 wards the West to Bahylonia, and Chaldea : and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and bloud: which D. Sieulus also confirmeth. Disd. Sie. 12.6.3

Of TIDAL another of the foure Kings.

He fourth King by Abraham ouerthrowne was Tidal, king of the Nations. The Hebrew writes if Goym, which Patablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra of mixt people: Calain of runnagates without habitation: Pererius out of Strabo, findes that Galilaa was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of Ægyptians, Arabians, and Strabo. ii. 16/6. Phanicians. Namtales sunt qui Galilaam habitant, Such are the inhabitants of Galilee faith 523. Strabo: and therefore was Tidal called king of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be fo : but the authoritie of Straho is nothing in this question. For Galilaa was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of Strabo. For when Abraham came Gon, 12,6. into Canaan, the Cananite was then in the Land, how soener they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many pettic kingdomes adioyning to Phanicia, and Palæstina; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidice, Cassioris Chalibonitis, and all these docalso ioine themselves to Mesopotamia, on the North, and to 50 Arabia on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under Ti-

dal, I take to be the probablest consecture.

That CHEDORLAO MER the chiefe of the 4. Kings was not of Affyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

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Afly, whereas it is conceined that Chedorlaomer was the Affrican Emnour of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were fuch alfo, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Assur, and Shinar, to call the Assurance a king of E-10

lam: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of Chaldea, Shinar, Babylonia, or Affyria : but neuer by Elam; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer was fo called of Kidor, from Cidarim which in the Hebrew fignifieth Regale : for fo Q. Curtius calleth the garment which the Perlian kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleiue that the Affyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatneffeat the time of this inualion, and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp halfily, or forced violently, do not long last : Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Indus, in a time of so fhort a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himfelfe : all 20 whose cheife Commanders became kings after him. Tamberlain conquered Asia and India with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to prevalent furie God hath adioined a short life: and what socuer things Nature herselfe worketh in hast, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if

Ninus beeing the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent infolent, and cruell. Semiramis taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, then her Paramor: enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her fonne hauing chan- 20 ged Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no leffe feminine then the was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and reucinge the other: fo those kings adjoining (whose subjection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more greiuous) could not fleepe, when the aduantage wasoffered by fuch a fucceffour. For in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, this King shined little (faith Nauclerus of Ninias) in the Babylonian kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing been neuer before gawled with the yoke of forraine dominion, Nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slauery: no long descent having as yet inuested the Asyrian with a right: nor any other 40 title being for him to bee pretended than a ftrong hand; the foolish and effeminate fonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold fo many great Princes and Nations his vaffals, with a powerleffe maftering, and a mindleffe industrious than his Father, and Mother had vsed before him. And he that was so much given ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to raigne 42 yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate; witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeauoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keep what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These Considerations being joyned to the storie of Amraphel, delivered by Mo- 50 fes, by which we finde that Amraphelking of Shinar was rather an inferiour to the king of Persia, than either his superiour, or equall, make it seeme probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken afunder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at fuch time as it pleafed God to impose that great trauaile vpon Abraham from Vr in Chaldea to Charran, and then to Canaan, a paffage of 700 miles, or little leffe, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then fetled, and in peace. For it was in the 22 years of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God; tooke this great journey in hand; in which time of 22. yeares after the death of Semiramis, the neighbor Princes had recovered their liberric and former effaces. For Semiramis armie of foure millions, with herfelfe vtterly small 25 confumed in India, and all her armes and engins of war, at the fame time loft, gave an to occasion and opportunitie even to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures

of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and auncientest Historians, that Arius the fonne of Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians and Calpians, and againg fubicated them which needed not if they had not been revolted from Minias, after Winus death. And as Arioch recovered one part, so did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes. reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from Egypt to India: and therefore was called Xerxes, ideft Victor & triumphator a conquerour and triumpher, which undertakings had been no other then the eftects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves, from the Babylonian Subto jection. Now if we shall make any doubt heereof that is of the reconquest of Arius

and Nerwes, both which lived after Ninus and Ninias, wee may as well thinke the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but fained; but if wee graunt this reconquest, then is it true that while Winias or Amraphel ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torne afunder. according to that which hath beene gathered out of Moles as before remembred.

¿. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted them (elucs; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be forwe neede not fay that AMRAPHEL was NINIAS, nor trouble our (elues with many other difficulties.

place, as orten elswhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for peo-

He consent of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusall agreeing as they doe, that these 4.kings, Amraphel of Shinar, Chedorlas-mer of Elan, and their fellowes were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or feeme intituled doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the Historic must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this

ple of those lands or if (as Hierome hath it) Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitati-40 on, or gathered out of fundrie regions : then may we otherwise conceine of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolue them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to thinke that Arioch was drawn to affift the Perlian, against the Sodomite; as far as from Pontus, where it is very vnlikely that Chedorlaomer was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of Siddim should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that Chedorlaomer, if he were king of Perin alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of Allyria, Chaldea, Mesapotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia, and Canaan, to subdue those fine Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being distoined by so

50 many great Nations of different languages, a wife-man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering Persia together with the Babylonian himselfe, year the kingdome of Ellafar, & that of Tidal, so far offremoued were become his dependants, what reason can we finde that might have induced him, to hearken after Sodome and Gomorah?& when he shold have fought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire,

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Gen.14.17.

by rooting out the posteritie of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media. and Zoroalter of Bactria) then to imploy the forces of Amraphel, and those other kings, against five pettic townes, leaving Tyrus, and Sidon, and the great Citie of Damalco, with many other places of much importance, and larre neerer vnto him, vnfubdued? Now as these doubts which may bee alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement: fo are the objections to be made a gainst his reconquest of these sine Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; year and more, as being grounded partly vpon the text it felfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull a Monarch? Or ifit were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to bee forgotten, then that hee should come or fend to reclaime them; was it not more then madnesse in them. when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make relistance (being themselues a dissolute and therefore vinwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene Euphrates, yea betweene themselues and the riuer of Indus? Likewise on the part of Chedorlaomer we should finde no greater wifedome, if he knowing the weakeneffe of this people, had raifed fuch a world of men against them : whom by any Lieutenant, with small forces hee might have subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not fufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of fo huge an armie. How fmall then must his valour haue beene, who with so mightic preparations effected no more then the wasting of an that Palley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although hee had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inualion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter : but compose the two armies, as equally matcht, faying they were foure kings against fine: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall finde that Abraham slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention : Neither will the raigne of Ninias who lived foure or fine yeares longer, permit that he should have died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if hee had so strangely perished in Syria. Whereby it appeares that these foure kings, were not the same that they are 30 commonly thought: nor their forces fo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well bee true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the fame title: Lords and Commanders every one of his owne companie, which he carried forth as a Colonie, feeking place where to fettle himfelfe and them, as was the viuall manner of those times.

Neither is it unprobable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troupe of Persians, Amraphel some people out of Shinar, and Tidal others gathered out of fundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Wholocuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of Thucydides, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infan- 40 cie of Greece, or the manner of the Saracens inuading Affrica, and Spaine, with almost as many kings as feuerall Armies : or the proceedings of the Spanyards in their new discoueries; passages, and conquests in the West-Indies: may easily perceive, that it was neither vnufuall, for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his affociates were fuch manner of Commanders, it may feeme the more likely, by the flothfull qualitie of Ninias then raigning in Affyria: whose vnmanlike temper was fuch, as might well gine occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accustomed, in the raigne of Semi- 50 ramis, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remain at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthie than themselues, were advanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers upon this place make this coniecture disagreable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then wee may

hold our felues to the former coniecture, that Amraphel was Ninias ; and that the power of his Auncestours being by his sloth decaied, he might well be inferiour to the Perlian Chedorlaomer ; or if this doe not fatisfie, wee may fay that Amrablel was an Vnder-king or Satrape of Shinar, vnder Ninias; who may be supposed to haue had his Imperial feat in his Fathers. Citie Niniue and to have preferred it before Shinar and Babylon the Citie of his Mother, whom hee hated as an viurger of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That these foure kings were leaders of Colonies, sent out of the 10 Countries named in the Text, and not kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And heereto adde that Chedorlaomer feemes rather called a Persian king, then king of Persia; and that Arioch (whose kingdome vindoubtedly was betweene Syria and Arabia) having beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans fonne, was very well pleafed, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie kings. These and such like things heere to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthie to haue cost bestowed vpon it : especially considering that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholy to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these 20 opinions, or any other, if he finde any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people focuer these foure were kings, this expedition is the only publique action that we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his fonnes, and of his Nephews Elau and Jacob as they are registred by Moles, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things gonerally knowne to all Christians, nor to repeate what hath beene elsewhere alreadie fpoken, nor to preuent ourselues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, wee passe them heere in silence. And because in this Storie of Abraham and his posteritie, there is much mention of £gypt: by which it appeares that

euen in the time of Abraham, it was a feeled and flourishing kingdome, it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities, and first

kings thereof.

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# CHAP. II.

Of the kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the floud, to the time of the delinerie of the Isralites from thence.

### λ. Ι

Abreife of the names and times of the first kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes of dissipative inresoluting of the truth in these points.



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Oone after the confusion at Babel (as it Gennes) Cham with many of his iffue and followers (hauing doubt-leffe known the fertilitie of £gypt before the floud) came thither and tooke policifion of the Countrie: in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred ninetie one yeares after the 29 deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this kingdome till fach time as Ifrael departed £gypt are shewen in the Table following.

 -			
An. Mundi.	An.dil.	1	
1847.	191.	Cham.	
2008.	352.	Ofiris. Typhon 2	
2269.	613.	Hercules.	
2276.	620.	Orus.	
2391.	735-	Sefostris the great.	
2424.	768.	Sefostris the blinde.	
2438.	782.	Busiris or Orus the 2.	
2476.	820.	Acenchere or Thermu-	
		tis or Meris.	
2488.	832.	Rathoris Or Athoris.	
2497	841.	Cheneres drowned in	
	1	the red Sea.	

The Table and especially the Chronologie, is to be confirmed by probabilities and coniectures, because in such obscurite manifest and resisting the cannot be found. For S...nagus \$\frac{1}{2}\$, a man of exceeding great using ement, and incomparable diligence, who had fought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of \$\mathcal{E}\$ who, which now are lost, yet omitted the fluccession of the \$\mathcal{E}\$ gyptian kings. which he would not have done, if they dan not been more uncertainten the stropniums, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurite in the \$\mathcal{E}\$ gyptian Storic, was the ambition of the Presits: who to magnife their antiquities, filled the Recordes (which were in their hands) with many leasings; and recounted vnto strangers, the names of many kings that neuer resigned. 50 What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in \$\mathcal{E}\$ gypt, such as a recover found but in States that have greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of merapalous greatnesses.

ther false. A second cause of our ignorance in the \*\*Exprium\*\* Historie, was the too much credulitie of some good \*\*Aubors,\*\* who beleiving the manifold and contrariere-ports of sondiere \*\*Exprium\*\*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them belt; have consirmed them, and as it were enforced them yon vs. by their authoritie. A third and general cause of more than \*\*Exprium\*\* darknesses in all auncient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by \*\*John \*\*Annius\*\*, of whom (if to the censures of fundrie verie learned I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That \*\*Annius\*\* hauing seene some fingements of those writers, and added vnto them what he would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where appround writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabluous. Hereupon it comment to passes the him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabluous. Hereupon it comment to passes the chim: but otherwise is to be deemed fabluous. Hereupon it comment to passes the cascount of Authors, either in the Chronologie or Genedagie of the \*\*Exprium\*\* Kings, runnes three altogether different waies. The Christian writers fullow the edition of \*\*Annius\*\* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow \*\*Herodotus\*\*, bidderus\*\*, and such others.

### . 11.

That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynastics, and otherwise, it appeares that CHAMS reignein Ægypt began in the yeare after the Floud 101.



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CHAP.2. S.2.

O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the auncient kings, about whom is most controuerse, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynassies*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynassies* (besides the authoritie of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreet hor the most

part, if not altogether with the Histories of the Assertion, Troians, Italians, and others. &c. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is joined by general confent, with the 42, years of 30 Ninus: in which Abraham was borne. The twelve first Dynasties lasted each of them feuen yeares, under the twelve, which were called the greater Gods: fo that all the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynast indured foureteene yeares : the foureteenth 26 : the fifteenth 37. These three last are faid to haue beene under the three yonger Gods. So the fifteene first Dynasties, lasted 161. yeares. As I doe not therefore beleiue that the continuance of these Dyn, was such as hath beene mentioned, because Annius in such-wise limits out their time : so I cannot reject the account vpon this only reason, That Annius hath it so : considering that both hitherto it hath paffed as current, and is greatly strengthened by manie good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth 40 Dynastie, in the yeare of Abrahams birth, as aforesaid : the reckoning is easily casts by which the fumme of 161. yeares, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352 yeares, which were betweene the floud and Abrahams birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynaftie, which was the beginning of Chams reigne in Agypt, was in the yeare 101. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into Shinar, arrived at Babel, Anno à dilusio 131. In building the Tower were confumed fortie yeares as Glycas recordeth: whose report I have else-where confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in paffing with his companie, their Wittes, Children, Cattle, and fubfiance, 50 through all Syria then defolate, and full of bogges, Forrests, and bryers (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred feuentie one yeares had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in Egypt, wee allow twentie yeare : and these summes being added together, to wit one hundred thirtie one yeares after the floud, before they arrived at

Babel, 40. yeares for their flay there, and 20. for Chams paffage into Agypt, and fetling there, make up the fumme of 191 yeares: at which time we faid that Chambegan his reigne in Agypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. And to this summe of 191. yeares if we adde the 161. yeares of the 15. first Dynasties, as they are numbred • in common account, wee shall fall right with the yeare of Abrahams birth, which was An. Dil. 252. And heereto omitting manie other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first Dynasties must needes have beene verie short, and not containing in the whole fumme of their feuerall times about 161. yeares: Let it fuffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Agypt have beene peopled as soone as Babel after the floud : or the Dynafties (as Mercator thinkes) must have beene before 10 the floud. That the arrivall at Babel was manie yeares before the plantation of Agrot, after the floud, enough bath beene faid to proue : and that the Dynasties were not before the floud the number of the longlin'd generations betweene Adam and the floud, which was leffe than the number of the Dynafties, may fufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into manie Dynaffies, then may this have have been aswell after the floud, as before : considering that the fonnes of Nosh did not in cuerie Countric creet fuch forme of Policie, as had been yfed in the fame ere the Deluge : but fuch, as the disposition of the people. the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with manie other circumfiances, did induce or inforce them to.

### ð. III.

That thefe Dynasties were not diners families of kings, but rather successions of Regents, off times many under one king. He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not

feuerallraces of kings, as the vaunting Asyptians were wont to file them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in refittutions of decaied antiquities, it is more casie to denie than to al- 30 arme. But this may bee said, partly vpongood circumstance, partly vpon the surest proofe, That it was the manner of the Egyptian kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrie into the hands of some trustic Counsellor, only referuing the four-raigntie to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the Mafters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe Visier. This is confirmed first by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, and more then one under Ofiris or Mizrain; and must therefore have beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counfailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned in the Scriptures : of whom Abimilech the Philistim in his dealing with Abraham and Ifaac about confederation, did no- 40 thing without Phisol Captaine of his Hofte; though in taking Abrahams wife, and in his private carriage, hee followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of Abimilech the fonne of Gideon it was faid : Is not hee the fonne of IERVBBAAL ? and ZEBVL is his Officer? Also Ilbolbeth the sonne of Saul, feared Abner the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, David himselfe hating Toab for his crueltie did not punish him, in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham; who waslewd, as appeares by the Scriptures : therefore likely both for his owne idleneffe and pleafure, to have laied the burthen of government upon others; and vpon lealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to have changed his Lieute- 50 nants often. Aboue all other proofes is the advancement of Ioleph by Pharach. william Ter de For Pharaoh faid to Ioseph; Only in the Kings throne will I bee about thee : behold I bell Sacro. 1.19 have fet thee over all the Land of Egypt. William, Arch-biflop of Tyre, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the

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like or verie fame forme of gouernment by Viceroies, was in his time practifed in Agypt, having there beene in vse (as he beleived) ever fince the time of 10/eph. He plainly shewes, that the Soldans of Agypt were not Lords of the Countrie, how euer they have been so deemed ; but that they acknowledged and humbly perfourmed the dutie of subjects vnto the Caliphe: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not only of civile government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authoritie roiall into the soldens hands. He that shall reade in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Mulene Elhadech, with the fourme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient 10 Pharaoh, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authoritie as Iofeph was, though farre in-

feriour in wifedome.

To thinke that manie names of fuch Regents or Lieutenants as Joseph was, haue crept into the lift of the Agyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For sofephs brethren called him , Theman that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of Gangago the Countrie: Belides, it is not valikely that the vainglorious Egyptian Preifix 33, would as cafily report him a king to posteritie as ignorant men and strangers deeme him fuch, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and rotall managing of the State had paffed, whilst that the king himselfe intending his quiet had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example alreadie 20 cited of tofephs brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of presists do appear in Diedorus, and Herodotus : each of whom, citing their relations, as good authoritie, fay; Diodorus, that Sefofiris was the ninetieth king after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 222 after Menas: which could not have been if Menas had been Adam. Therfore we may well conclude, I'hat the Dynasties were not so many races of kings, but succeffions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many fundrie linages or forts of men. Now by what soeuer means a Dynastie or Regencie continued: whether in one famiic, as being made an hereditarie office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: fure it is that it was the kings guift, and free choice, that gaue the office. But the Crown roial alwaies passed by descent, anot by election; which (beside consent of Authors) 30 the Scriptures also proue. For whereas Infeph bought all the land of Agypt for Pharash, if the crowne had paffed by election, then should Pharash's children heereby either have beene inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successiour: or inioying their Fathers land, though not his estate, haue beene more mightie then the king: as Land-lords of all Agypt, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise wee finde in Exod. 12. that God fmoto the first borne of PHARAOH, that was to fet on his throne : And in Efay it is faid of PHARAOH: I am the sonne of the ancient king.

# of CHAM, and the sonne Muza aim, or Ostais.

Hat the succession of kings began, and continued in such wife as the Table hath thewed from Cham to Cheseres; now it followeth to thew. Egypt is called in the Scripture, the land of HAM. That this name is not Pal, 18.11. given to it because the posteritie of Cham did reignethere, but for that 195.13.

himselfedid first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For

I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of Culb, Put, of Canaan, as well as \*Egypt, were called the land of Ham. Further it is found in Diodorus Siculus, that O- pied Sicht. fire calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of Cham, saying; Mihipater Satarnes deorum om-

10 nium iunior : alfo, Sum Saturni filius antiquior , germen ex pulchro & generofo ortim : which must needs be understood of Cham: for this Saturnus & gyptius was Cham: as it is faid, that on the monument of Ninus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Agyptids. Likewise the Temple of Hammon not farre from Agypt doth testifie, that Ham resided in those parts: And St. Hierome in questionibus Hebrai-

ais faith, that the £gyptians themselves did in his daies call their Countrie Ham; as in foure feuerall places in the Pfalmes this Countrie is called the land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in Ofride, that in the facrifices of the Agyptians this Countrie of Agypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chemia: vt puto (laith he) a Chamo No Es filio, to which also he addeth out of Hidor, Agyptum via, hodie Agyptiorum lingua K A M vocari: that Agypt wnto this day in the tongue of the Agyptians is called KAM. For the beginning and continuance of Chams reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I have already given in profe of the time Spent in the 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strange that the reigne of Cham, should laft folong as 161, yeares : confidering that Sem lived 600. Arpachshad and Shelah 10 each about 400. But strange it had beene, if one Saltis created by Manetho, had in those long-lived generations reigned there, 19. yeares, and with Baon, Apachnas, . Apochis, and others of the same brood, obscured the same and glorie of Ofiris, Orus, and Sefostris. Reineccius in histor. Iulia, placeth Mizraim next, otherwise called Ofiris according to Diodorus : who faith he was the fonce of Hammon : Krentz hemius faith that Mizraim and Ofiris are words of neere affinitie and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howfocuer it bee, weeknow that Mizraim the fonne of Cham, was Lord of Egypt, and Reineccius citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that Leypt is now called by the naturals in their owne language Mezre. Neither doe I fee cause of doubt whether Ofiris were the same with Mizraim. It is more necessarie, and hard 20 to they manifeftly, how long Mizraim or Ofiris reigned. For whereas the yeare of his death is no where precifely fet downe, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly faid by Annius his Berofus, to have begun his reigne at the birth of Abraham, when the Dynastie of the Thebai began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritic of Eulebius; who auoucheth as much; next by Diodorus, who faith that he inhabited Thebes: which habitation of Ofiris there, that it might be cause of that Dynast. I can well beleiue : affenting so farre to Reineccius, who thinkes the Dynasties were named only, according to the feuerall feates of the kings;

Of the time when Osiris reigneended: and that Ircos came into Agypt in the time of ORVs the forme of OsiRis.



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He death of Ofris, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only coniecture that I know, is made thus. Lebabim the fonne of Mizraim called Hercules Lybius, made warre in Italie, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the affociates of Typhon, in the 41 years of Baleus king of Af-(yria: before which yeare he had made many great warres in Agypt,

Phanicia, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, and Spaine: and having ended his Agyptian warres, 40 left the kingdome to Orus. Thus farre Berofus, or authors following Berofus. That Dist. Ste. 12.4.1 Orus laft of all the Gods (as they were ftiled) held the kingdome of Ifis, Disderus Si-Plet. Lie Ifide culus plainty faith and Plutarch as much; to which all old Histories agree. Krentzhemius heereupon inferres, that fixe yeares may be allowed to the warres, which Hereucules made in fo many Countries, after the Agyptian warres were ended : follould the death of Ofiris have beene the 34 of Baleus: when himfelfe had reigned 297. yeares. I thinke that Krentzhemius was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For furely in those daies when commerce was not such as now, but all Nauigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so manie Countries. An allowance of more time though it would after his computation, yet 50 would it well agree with his intent ; which was (doubtleffe) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of Ofiris had beene the 34. of Baleus, then must Ifrael haue come into Egypt but feuen yeares before the death of Ofris v and haue

fined there in the reigne of Typhon. A thing not eafily beleined. For it was the fame

king who advanced Iofeph, bad him fend for his Father, and gave him leave to goe into Canaan, to the performance of his Fathers funerall; as may casily be gathered out of the booke of Genelis. Whereas therefore the raigne of Oliris, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times; beyond the seventh years of 1/2 raels comming into Forpt; we must needs cut off 23, yeares from that number. which Krentzhemius coniectures his raigne to haue continued; namely feuen which he should have lived after Jacobs comming into Agypt : nine in which Joseph had there flourished, ere his fathers comming: and other feuen in which Trohon and Hercules had raigned after the death of Ofiris, yet before Iofephis advancement.

Neither will this difagree with the time of Hercules Lybius his wars. For the war which Hercules made in Italie, is faid to have indured 10 yeares: After which proportion we may well give not only fixe yeares as Krentzhemius doth but 22 more to fo many wars in fo many and fo far-diffant Countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion we may attribute vnto Orus the 13. yeares, which paffed betweene the time of Infephs being fold into Agypt, vnto his advancement; confidering that Putiphar who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to have married, continued all that while cheif Steward vnto Pharaoh : a thing not likely to have been if fo violent alterations had hapned the whilest in £gypt, as the tyranous vsurpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I shold an confidently fay, that Putiphar for his faithfulneffe to Orus, the sonne of Ofiris, was by him in the beginning of his raigne made his cheif Steward: at which time buying Toleph and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Iosephs hands, than vnto any of his Agyptian followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weake and valucky in the trouble for daies of Typhon) I know not what could be objected against this, Perhaps I might proceed further & fay, That when the faying of Ioleph pleafed Pharaoh. and all his feruants: then Putiphar Preift of On being cheife Officer to Pharaoh, did acknowledge in Iofeph, the ancient graces of God, & his injurious imprisonment; wherupon he gaue him his daughter to wife : and being old religned his office of cheife 30 fleward vinto him: who afterward in regard of Putiphar, did fauour the Preiles, when he bought the lands of all other Egyptians. This might appeare to some a tale not vnlike to the frierly book of Alenath, Putiphars daughter: but vnto fuch as confider that God workes visially by means; and that Putiphar was the Steward of that king, vnder whom Jacob died : it would feeme a matter not vnprobable; had it an Author of fufficient credit to anough it. Concerning the warres of Hercules, in which by this reck oning he should have spent 42 yeares after he left Agypt, ere he began in Italie, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian wars considered, & his former enterprises & atcheiuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs. but for vs: or if it were against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndifputable truth of Scripture doe confirme it. Neuerthelesse I freely grant that all these profes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurities otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

of Typhon, Hercyles Egyptivs, Orvs, and the two Sesostres, Successively reigning after MIZRAIM: and of divers errors about the former Sesostres.



Oncerning the reigne of Typhon, and of Hercules, I finde none that precifely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelocrator giveth three yeares to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is so peremptorie without profe, as if his owne worde were sufficient authoritie, in many points verie questionable; alledging no witnesse;

but as it were faying, Testemeipso: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Hercules did verie soone

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undertake his Fathers reuenge: and was not long in perfourming it: and that leauing Ægypt to his brother, he followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as Krentzhemius doth) out of Berosus, that Hercules reigned after Typhon: yet seeing Auentinus a follower of Berosus hath it so, I will also beleiue it. That in the reigne of Typhon and Hercules, feuen yeares were spent, how soeuer divided betweene them, I gather out of Krentzhemius onely, who placeth the beginning of Orus feuen yeares after the death of Ofiris: forgetting to fet downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeares of the eighteenth Dynastie to 0fire Typhon, Hercules, and Oris: it feemes that the reigne of Orus lafted 115, yeares, 10 From the death of Orus to the departure of Ifrael out of Agypt, there passed 122. vegres by our account : who (according to Beroaldus and others,) thinke that Abraham was borne in the 1.20. yeare of Terah, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the floud to the birth of Abraham\_\_\_\_

of the floud to the birth of Abraham

From that time to the departure out of Abraham

Samma

which fumme divers other waies may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Agypt, there doc remaine (as is aforefaid) onely 122, yeares from the death of orus: wee are now to confider how many of them are to be allowed vnto 20 Selostris or Seloncholis: who is placed next vnto Orus, by authoritie of the Scholiaftes Apollonii: not without good probabilitie. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to have over-run a great part of Alia: to have built a fleete of thippes on the red Sea: and to to have entred into India: likewife with an other fleete on the middle-earth Seas, to have paffed into Europe, and fubdued manie Nations. This is he (as Reineccius indgeth) whom Instine erring in account of his time calleth Vexoris: For Infline placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus: whereby it would follow that Sefostris, if hee were Vexoris, was more ancient then was Osiris (otherwise Mizraim) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, no one Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the 30 way from Egyptinto Asia) till the Father in law of Salomon, Pharaoh Vaphres, tooke Gerar, and gaue it to his daughter: after which time Sefac oppressed Rehoboams, and gaue it to his daughter : after which time Sefac oppressed Rehoboam, & Necho fought passage through the land of Israel, when hee made his expedition against the Chaldeans. Ofking Paphres and Necho it is out of question, that neither of them was the great king Sefostris. Of Sefac it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into Indea, with a great armie. Reinecoius propounding the doubt leaueth it yndecided; ynleffe it bee sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that hee himselfe placeth Sefostris next to Orus: following the Scholiastes Apollonii. But further answere may be made to shew that they were not one. For as Iustine witnesseth, Sefostris, otherwise Vex- 40 oris, made warre on people farre removed, abstaining from his neighbours. Selac came vp purposely against Hierusalem. Sesostris as Diod, witnesseth, had but 24000. horse : Selachad 60000 : Selostris had 8020. Chariots, Selac but 1200 : Selostris made his expedition for no private purpole, but to get a great name : Sefae, as most agree, had no other purpose then to succour Ieroboam, and give him countenance in his new reigne: whom he had fauoured euen against Salomon; therfore Sefostris must needes haue reigned whilft Ifrael abode in Ægypt.

Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of Herodotus, and Diodorus, that one Menas, or Menis, was next to Orus : because those Historians affirme that hee reigned next after the Gods; it moueth me nothing. For Ofiris did fucced those 15. Gods, 50 namely the twelue greater and three leffer : himfelfe alfo (as the learned Reineccius noteth) being called Menas. Which name, as also Mineus, and Menis, were titles of dignitie: though mistaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemius doth verie probably gather, that Menas was Mercurius Ter-maximus : the Hebrew word

Meni fignifying an Arthmetician: which name Ter-maximue might well be attributed to Ofris: who was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Artes. In prowesse and great undertakings Sefoftris was no whit inferiour to Ofiris. For he fought victorie not for gaine, but for honour only : and beeing well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and fubmitted themselues to his will and roiall disposition, leauing them in a manner to their libertie, returned into Agypt. Soone vpon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired : which neuerthelesse hee is said to have escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirtie three yeares : after which time hee chose rather to die then to live : because he fell blinde. Both Herodotus, and Diodorus, affirme that Sefostris left a sonne, whose name was Pheron or Pherones: who afterwardes tooke the name of Sefostris: but was nothing like to his Father in glorie: for hee shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse Herodotus attributes to his affaulting the river Nilus with a laueline: which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable faying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed yet for a smuch as or us the second, (otherwife Busiris) who succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this Sefostris had been king, it must needes bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That Bushris began not 20 vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of Busin's, to the departure of Ifraelout of Egypt plainly shewes, beeing almost generally agreed vpon, to have beene 75 yeares. That none came betweene Sefosiris the fecond and Businis or Orus the second, it stands only vpon probabilities: which are these. After sefostris had reigned somewhile, he fell blinde: after certaine yeares hee recouered his fight, as is faid : which may have beene true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: furely the manner of his recouerie as it is fet downe, is verie fabulous: namely that by looking vpon a woman, or washing his eies with her water, who had onely knowne her owne hulband, he got his fight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindneffe, and when hee was well againe (if euer hee were) 30 may haue taken vp a good part of 14 yeares: fo his workes which were great doe much more ftrongly argue, that his reigne was not verie short. His words are largely let downe by Herodotus, and Diodorus: a part of which may feeme to have beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and sluces of Wilus: whom I thinke he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, then with darts, and iauclins : and by his diligent ouerlight of that worke, was like enough to loofe both his eye-fight and his peoples loue: whom his Pather had verie bufily emploied in excessive labour about it.

of Bystris the first oppressor of the stractices; and of this successor Queene Thermore Myris that tookerp Moses out of the water.



Nd heerein (if I may prefume to coniceture) Busiris, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as Ieroboam did with the fonne of Salomon. For that Busiris himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared, by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of Ifrael in his buildings: If therfore he were em-

ploied by the great Sefostris, as Ieroboam was by Salomon, in the overlight of those businesses, he had good opportunitie to worke his greatnesse with the king by induftrie: and afterward with the people by incenting them againft their new king: as Ierobosm did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at an others: vnleffe he haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreouer he fought to derine all the paine and labour of publique workes from the Acyptians. Exad.1.

Egyptians, to the Ifraelites: he furely did that which to his owne people was verie plautible: who (as appeares in Exodus) were nothing flack in fulfilling the kings crueltie, Now that Orus the 2.or Busiris was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the Edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) lasted tenne moneths:it is a common opinion of many great & most learned writers; who also think that hereupon grew the fable of Businis facrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Ex. 1. that the King, who knew not lofeph, was a king of a new family. That Bufiris was of a new familie, Reineccius doth shew: who also thinks him Author of the bloudy edict. Neuertheleffe, true it is, that Bufir is according to all mens computation, began his reigne 5. yeares after the birth of Moses; before whose 10 birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the perfecution began: which Bunting thinks to have lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of Ægypt. Let vs therfore confider, besides the blindnesse of Sesastris the second, how great the power of the Regents or Viceroyes in Egypt was : and how great confidence the kings did put in them: feeing Iofeph ruled with fuch full power, that he bought al Ægypt,& all the Ægyptians for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his owne father & brethren, for nothing: feeing allo that when the Azyptians cried out vpo Phwaoh, for bread: Phwaoh faid to all the Azyptians, Go to 10 feeh what he faith to you, do ye. If to a stranger borne, lately setcht out of prison, a king well able to have gouerned himself, would give such trust, and sourraigne authoritie: it is not vnlikely 20 that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often profpers, not only the good (fuch as to feph was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therfore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to haue begun, til the death of Selollris. But whether Businis did vsurpe the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king religned it, keeping the title: or whether Bufiris were only Regent, whilft the king liued, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that Pharaohs daughter tooke vp Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Ifrael: feeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abfurd for vs to fay that the blind king Se- 30 fostris the second oppressed Israel: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked Trant shewed his cuill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that Business did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares which passed betweene the beginning of Selostris his reigne, and the departure of Israel out of Egypt, 47. being spent: the 75. which remaine are to bee accounted to Businis or Orus the second, and his children Businis himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to Eufebius: whom verie many judicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke Moses out of the water, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. yeares : Her name was Thermutis Phareis, or Muthis according to Cedrents: Eufeb. cals her Aceneris: and out of Artabanus his Historie Me- 40 ris: 10 sephus cals her both Acenchere, & Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario saith that she was honoured afterward of the Azyptians, by the name of Thermatis the daughter of Amenoph, the fon of Pharaoh. Of this last title question might be made & much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not Pharaohs fonnes daughter, but Pharohs daughter. Amenophis indeed is placed next before Busiris or Orus the second by Eusebius and others: but whether he were a king or onely a Regent I cannot coniecture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of Sesostris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis: and his daughter by the Egyptians called rather the neece or grandchilde, then the daughter of Pharado, because of the gloric of sefoffris, and the differentiation of his sonne. If so, and if that Bush is or Orns the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniccture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife vnto Pharaoh: and furnining him, Queene of the land, 12. yeares. But if the were the daughter of Orus the 2. & lifter

of Athoris, or Rashoris, as many thinke, to whose conicedure I will not oppose mine,

then may it feeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too yong to rule when her Farher died.

# λ. V I I I.

Of the two brethren of Queene THERMYTIS and what king it was, under whom Moses was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

So Hee had two brethren the onewas Ratheris of Atheris who fuccees [6] DA ded her; the other Telegonus, who is only named by Eufebius; but his lineage and offpring described by Reineccius. Rathoris after his litters death reigned o. yeares:after whom Chenchres, thought to behis fon, reigned 10 and then perilhed in the red Sea: During the reign of Chen-

eres, Eufebuss faith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus vpon to: of which Hiltorie elfwhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Cheneres (whom some call Aegacheres: but all or most do stile 3, 6 max a fighter against God) Acherres reigned 8 weares; and but all or motion one superse an injured against God) Accepted regime objecters and then Cherrie 15. This defeatt feemes from Father to fonne. In the 11 years of Cherries it is faid by Eufels that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Ægype built 10 Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not valikely viz. That

£gypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and armie in the red Sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the later of whom, or his posteritie seemes to have raken all from Cherres the grand-child of Cheneres. For whereas Armais is faid to have reigned 4 vegres after Cherres: and Armelis one after Armais: these two kines are by Eulebius and others accounted as one; and his reigne faid to have beene 5. yeares. His name is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus: and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Historia Iulia, 

Telegonus : Epaphus : Lybia, who had

Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Ægyptus or Ramesses who gaue name to the Countrie, hauing expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lyncens, maried to Hypermneslra.

Danaus or Armeus expelled by his brother ofgyptus, after hee had reigned fine yeares, became king of Arges in Greece: was Father to Hypermnellra.

How it might come to paffe that the Nephews fons of Epaphus shoul have occupied the kingdome after Cherres, it is hard to fay : confidering that Epaphus himfelf is reported by Enfebrus to have been borne in the time of Cheneres. But for a finuch as the Historie of Epuphus his birth, is diversly related by Eufebius, it may suffice, that Belis the Father of Danaus & Ægyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Ramesses, was c-50 qually distant from Businis or Orus the second, with Cherres the grandchild of Cheneres. And that the posteritie of Telegonus did marrie very yong, it appeares by the historie of these two brethren, Danaus & Egyptus: of whom the former had 50 daughters, the later 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by divers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: How societ were, the generall conwho reigned 68. vares. This Ramesses or Egyptus is that Armesesmamum or Arme-Comismus, under whom, in the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that followes Mer-

gator, Moses was born: and the cruell Edict made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne feemes to me the chiefe, if not the only ground of Mercators opinion. For whereas the Lord faid to Mofes, Go returne to Layot, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee, Mercator hecreupon conceives, that it was one and the fame king vnder whom Moses was borne, and vnder whom he slew the Levoti-

an at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wilderneffe, and there abode for feare: 10 all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this Ramesses, who reigned so long: wherefore defirous rather to hold a true Paradox, then a common errour, hee

placeth one Aliffragmuthofis (whose name is found in the lift of Agyptian kings, but

the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 112, yeares more ancient

than others left him in : and fo continuing the Catalogue of his fucceffors from

Themolis (whom Eul.cals Amalis) downwards with no other variation of the length

of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene Manetho and Euleb, he findes

Moles borne under Armele [miamum: and I frael delivered in the daies of his sonne A-

menophis. The verie name of Aliffragmuthofis feemes to him with little alteration

a king or a wife man about the time of Isaac. For (faith he) from Aliffragmuthosis to

Phragmutholis, Pharmutholis, Pharetalis, or Pharatates, the change is not great. Merca-

tor was a man of excellent learning and industrie; and one to whom the World is

bound for his many notable workes: yet my affent heerein is with-held from him.

by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who

was drowned in the red Sea : Secondly, the place Exod. 4. all are dead &c. may bet-

ter be understood of Bufiris and all his children, then of one king alone: Thirdly, St.

Cyrill in his first booke against Iulian the Apostata, faith that Dardanus built Dardania,

when Moles was 120 veares old: Ramesies, which was this Armesesmiamum, being then king of Agypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned 19 yeares: who is thought 20

by Mercator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the king that perished

in the red Sea: of which our opinion beeing alreadie laied open, I thinke it most ex-

pedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a Chronolo-

gicall Table shall lay open) and heere to speake of that great de-

manie great confiderations de-

pending thereupon, we

may not lightly

linerance of Ilrael out of Agypt : which for

to found like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as 20

CHAP. III.

# Of the deliverie of Ifrael out of Ægypt.

Of the time of Moses birth, and how long the Ifraelites were oppref-



Rue it is that the Historie it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of Moles his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great workes of the Highelt, the different opinions are verie neere as manic, as the men that haue written of that Argument.

I. Viues in his annotations vpon St. Augustine citeth manie of their conicctures : as that of Porphyrie out of Sanchoniato, that Mofes lived in the time of Semiramis: but if he meant the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrarie to al sto-

ries Divine and humane; while that Semiramis lived face commanded Syria, and all the parts thereof absolutely : neither were the Ammonites or Moabites or Edomites while the ruled, in rerum natura.

A second opinion he remembreth of Appion, taken from Ptolomiea Preist of Mendes, who faith that Mofes was borne while Inachus ruled the Argines, and Amesis in

\*Egypt.
The third opinion is taken out of Polemon, in his Greeke Historie the first booke: that Moles was borne while Apis the third king ruled Argos.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Asyrius, who though hee cite some authorities, that Moles lived after the Troian warre, is himselfe of opinion, that Moles was farre more ancient, prouing it by manie arguments.

Fiftly, he fetteth downe the testimonic of Numenius the Philosopher, who tooke Muleus and Moles to be one: confirming the same out of Artapanus, who confesfeth that Moles was called Muleus, by the Grecians : and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Agypt: the same which Eupolemus calleth Meris; others (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes. Eufebius also affir-40 meth that by Eupolemus in his first booke de bono, Moses vir Deo coniunctissimus is cal- Ented deprepar.

led Museus Iudeorum. Eusebius in his Chronologie, findes that Moses was born while Euses, 1,3,6,3. Amenophis ruled Egypt. The ancient Manethon cals that Pharao, which lived at Mofesbirth, Thumosis or Thmosis: the same perchance which Appion the Grammarian will have to be Amosis, and elsewhere Amenophis the Father of Sethosis : to whom Lysimachus and Cornelius Tacitus give the name of Bocchoris. To me it seemeth most probable, that while Saphrus, called also Spherus or Iphereus, gouerned Assyria; Orthopolis Sieyonia; and Criafus the Argines; that then (Sefostris the second ruling in Agypt) Moses was borne. For if we beleiue St. Augustine, it was about the end of Cerropstime, that Mofesled Ifraelout of Agypt. Eduxit Moses ex Agypto popu- Aug. 182.11. 50 lum Deinouissmo tempore CECROFIS Atheniensum regis: Moses (faith he) led the decounted people of God out of Agypt, about the end of CECROPS time king of the Athenians. 2514.

In this fort therefore is the time of Mofes birth, and of his departure out of Agypt best proued. St. August. affirmes (as before remembred) that Moses was borne: Saphrus gouetning Affyria; and that he left Agypt about the end of Cecrops time.

CHAP. III.

Now Saphrus ruled 20. yeares; his fucceffor Mamelus 20. yeares; Sparetus after him 40. veares : in whose fourth yeare Cecrops began to gouerne in Attica : Ascatades followed Spareius, and held the Empire 41: So as Atofes beeing borne while Saphrus ruled Affyria, Orthopolis Sicyonia; and Criafus Argos (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, faith S. Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed Agypt) it will follow that the birth of Moles was in the nineteenth yeare of the Affyrian Saphrus: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long Saphrus reigned) to which adde the thirtie yeares of Mamelus, and the 40. yeares of Sparetus, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeares of Cecrops his 50. yeares: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of Afratades, who was Sparetus fucceffour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 10 80 at which age Moles left Agypt: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of Cecrops formerly spent, there will temaine but foure yeares of Cecrops his 50: and fo ic fallethright with S. Augustines words, affirming that towards the end of Cecrops his time, Mofes led the people of Ifrael out of Egypt.

Now the time in which the Hebrewes were opprest in Agypt, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine yeare before the birth of Moses, and 54. yeare, or rather more, after Ioseph: betweene whose death and the birth of Moses, there were confirmed 64. yeares : some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they liued in great feruitude and miserie. For as it is written in Exodus: They fet taske-maflors over them, to keepe them under with burdens : and they built the Cities Pithom and 20 Ramafes &c. And by crueltic they caused the children of Israel to serue; and made them wearie of their lines, by fore labour in claie and brick, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid vpon them by a masteting power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisedome of God appointed: euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of Iofeph, who left the World, when it had lafted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of Moses, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he perfourmed in the Worlds age 2514, towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliner of Agypt, may the better be understood, I thinke it necesfarie to speake a few wordes of the principall places therein named, in this dif- 30

Of divers Cities and places in Agypt, mentioned in this Storie, or elfewhere in the Scripture,

Hierem. 2.43.44 Ivico.l.t.c.q. Tyr.de bell.facro

2514.

His Cittie which the Hebrewes call Zoan, was built feuen yeares after Hebron. Ezechiel calleth it Taphnes; and fo doth Hieremie; the Septusgint, Tanis ; lofephus Protaidis, after the name of an Egyptian Queenc; 40 Antonius giues it the name of Thanis ; Hegelippus Thanna ; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It adioineth to the land of Gofen, and is the same, wherein Hieremie the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the Agyptian and Iewill idolatrie.

Zoan or Taplmes was in Mofestime the Metropolis of the lower Agypt, in which their Pharaohs then commonly refided; and not vnlikely to be the same Citie, where Abrahamin his time found him. But Eufebius out of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham read Astronomie in Heliopolis or On, to Pharetates King of Agypt, Alex. Polyhiftor out of Eupolemus hath it otherwise : faying, that Abraham instructed the A-Euclide prep. gyptian Priests, and not the king; both which authorities Euclebius citeth. The Sep- 50 tungint, and the Vulgar edition, for Zoan write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Vatablus, Innius, and our English call it on; and Ptolomie Onium. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower Agypt, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of Nilus falling into the Sea at Pelusium. And it

it may be that Heliopolis to the South of the river Train, was the fame which Vatablus, and our English call Auen. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine Exchange knowledge : the fame which Pomp. Mela, and Plinie call Solis oppidum : Tyrius in the Holie warre, Malbee; the Arabians Bahalbeth; and Simeon Sethi, fons Solis. Of this Helievelis or On, was Putiphar Prieft, or Prince, whose daughter to feph married. In the territorie adioining lacob inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this Joseph. L. bell. Citic, Onias the high Priest of the Iewes built a Temple, dedicated to the eternal Induition. God : not much inferiour to that of Hiernfalem (Ptolomic Philopater then gouerning in Agret) which flood to the time of Velpalian, 333. yeares after the foundation by onias, whom Iofephus falfely reporteth, heerein to have fulfilled a prophecie of Efai. 6.10. In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terra Egypti. In that day shall the altar of the Lord bein the middest of the land of Agypt. Antiochus Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannifing ouer the Iewes, gaue the occasion for the creeting of this Temple in Legyt. Lastly, there it was, that our Sauiour Christ Iesus remained, while Io-

Teph and the Virgin Marie feared the violence of Herod : neare which (faith Brochard) Broch attr. (Antithe fountaine is still found, called Iefus Well, whose streames doe afterward water the gardens of Ballamum, no where else found in Egypt. And heercof see more in

Brochard in his description of Agypt. There is also the Citie of Noph, remembred by Esai and Ezechiel; the same which 20 Hofen the prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a mountaine ad- Exception ioining, fo called, which mountaine Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great Hofal 9.6. Citie, which was called Memphis; and fo the Septuagint write it. It is knowne to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalen-

Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius, and our English write Sin; the Septuagint call Sais; and Montanus Lebna; is not the fame with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius witnef- G.Tyr 1. 20.6.17 feth. In the time of Baldwin the third, Pelufium was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyri- lib.z.c.s. us) qua olim dicta est Pelusium, Belbeis, that in times past was called Pelusium.

The Citie of No, the Septuagint call Diospolis. Of which name there are two or Exchanges 30 three in Agypt. Hierome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, for fo Hierome and Ziegler write it, is the same which the Hebrews call Exchange. Pibefeth.

To make the storic the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of Gosen, in which the Ifraelites inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethfemes, Balfephon, Succeth, aud the rest; together with Moses passage through the Desertes of Arabia the Stonie. For all storie without the knowledge of the places, wherein the actions were perfourmed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader, neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what we read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digresse in manie places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent : taking for my authoritie, after many others more ancient, that great learned man Arias Montanus; who in his Preface to the Storie of the Holie land, hath these words. Si enim abs fg. locorum observatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeò consusa atý, perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit. If narration (faith he) bemade of those things which are perfourmed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicallknowledge; all 53 things will appeare fo intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficultie.

Of the crueltie against the Ifraelites yong children in Agypt : and of Moses historefernation, and education.

Vt to returne to the storie it selfe. It appeareth that not with standing the labour and flauerie, which the Ifraelites endured, yet they decreafed not in numbers: infomuch as Pharaoh confidering the danger of discontented pouerty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his effate, by fuggeftion of the Deuill refolued to flaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as fooneas they should be born. To which end he fent for Sephora & Thua, women the most famous and expert amongst them, quapraerant (faith Commessor) multitudini obstetricum, who had commaund ginen them ouer all midwines; by whom (as it seemeth) he gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the midwines of Agypt together, had beene a ftrange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the Hebrens, or of the Agyptians, it is diverfly disputed. St. Augustine calls them Hebrewes, because it is written Exodus the first, The King of Agypt commanded the midwines of the Hebrew women &c. But tofephus, Abulenfis, and Pererius beleine Abul & Farer, them to be Agyptians. Who socuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the 20 execution of that fecret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the Ægyptians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future

> feare of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howfocuer, to destroic all the male Hebrew children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharash had of the multitudes of the Hebrewes, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by assording them the justice, which cuerie king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have emploied or sent 10(ep.am.l. 12.0.5 awaicat his pleasure; 10/ephns giueth an other cause of his rage against them, name-

indignation and reuenge: Pharaoh finding those women filled with pietie, and the

ly, T hat it was prophetically deliuered him by an Agyptian Preift, that among the Hebrewes there should bee borne a childe; who growing to mansestate should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and prefuming that he could relift the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrarie to the lawes of Heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloudie and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention Herodlong after practifed, when fearing the spirituall kingdome of Chrift, as if it should have beene temporall, he caufed all the male children at that time borne to be flaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe; it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of Exodus. Come,let vs workenifely with 40 them, least they multiplie; and it come to passe, that if there bee warre, they ioine themselves alfounto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But wee see,

and time bath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they relie on the inuentions of their owne most feeble; and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and minister of Gods meruailous workes taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a fucking and powerleffe infant. And this Princeffe hauing beheld the child his forme and beautie, though but yet in the blouth, so peirced her compassion, as she did not only preserue it, and cause it to be softered; but 50

commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the fonne of a King nourished. And for memorie that it was her deede, shee called the childe Moses, as it were, extractus, or ereptus, taken out, to wit, out of the water : or, after to fephus and Glycas, Nioy, a voice expressing water, and hifes, as much to say, as

that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of strom. Li. opinion, that Mofes was circumcifed, before he was put into the Arke of Reedes. and that Amram, his father, had named him Toachim. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of Pharaohs daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding taught and instructed : quem regio more educauit, prafect is ei sapientibus Phil. devita Agyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur, faith BASIL; Vnto whom shee gaue Prince- Moys. lie education, appointing ouer him wife Masters of the Agyptians for his instructers. Thereby (fay Iofephus and Philo) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Leyptians; which also the Martyr Stephen in the leuenth of the Acts confir-10 meth. And Moses was learned in all the wifedome of the Leyptians. Which wife-

dome or fapience, fuch as it was, or at left fo much thereof as Six. Senensis hath gathered, we have added, betweene the death of Moles, and the raigne of Iolus.

ð. 1111.

Of Moses his flying out of Agypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Athiopia; and of his marriage there : PHILO his indgement of his Pastorall life : and that of PERERIVS of the bookes of GENESIS and IOB.

CHAP.2. \$-4.

Hen Moles was growne to mans effate, Tolephus and Eulebius, out of Artapanus, tell vs of ten yeares warre that he made against the Athiopians; of the belieging of Saba, afterward by Camby (es called Meroe: and how he recoursed that Citie by the fauour of Tharbis, a Daughter of Ethiopia, whom he tooke to wife. So hath Commestor a pretie

tale of Mofes, Howafter the end of that warre, Tharbis refulling his returne into \* Egypt, Moles, most skilfull in Astronomie, caused two Images to be ingrauen in two pretious stones : whereof the one encreased memorie; the other caused forgetfulneffe. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of oblinion,

- 20 to his wife Tharbis, referring the other of memorie for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulnesse, after shee had awhile worne, shee beganne to neglect the love shee bare her husband : and so Moses without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them : It is true, that about the 40. yeare of Moles age, when hee beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrewes, moued by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdaine against the other; in the contention he flew the Egyptian. Soone after which act, finding a disposition in some of his owne Nation to accuse him, for whose defence hee had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduife of God, whose chosen servant hee was, hee fled into Arabia Petraa, the next bordering Countrie to
- 40 Æ (ypt; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forfaken, in a place vnknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconciliable enemies of the Hebrewes: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldlie meanes) to make the watering of a few sheepe; and the affifting of the Daughters of Raguel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and fustained him in a Countrie nearest Agypt; fittest to returne from : necessarie to bee knowne, because interjacent betweene Agypt and Indaa, through which he was to leade the Ifraclites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best ferued. And lastly, where the glorie of the world shined least, amids mountainous
- 50 Deferts, there the glorie of God, which shineth most, coucred him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great Pharooks daughter, but as a meeke and humble sheepe-heard, fitting at a mountaine foote; a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of Arabia, neare Madian, he confumed 40 yeares. And though (as

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Philo in the storie of Mofes life obscructh) he did not neglect the care of those slocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledges yet in that solitarie Desert he enjoyed himselfe; and being separate from the presse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, he gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his yonger veares had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging, that his Paltorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principalitie, which he afterward obtained. Est enim (faith PHILO) ars Pastoralis, quasi praludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetisimi. Quemadmodum bellicolaingenia praexercent fein venationibus, experientia in feris; quod posteain militia & bello per- 10 fectura sunt : brutis prabentibus materiam exercitis, tam belli quam pacis tempore: At verò prafectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis sideo q, Reges cognominantur Pallores populorum, non contumelia fed honoris gratia : The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductorie exercise onto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle slocke : Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselues in hunting, practifing on wild beafts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beafts affoording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance unto a Kinglyrule over Subjects; therefore, Kings are stilled sheep-heards of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.

That Moles, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Booke of Job, as Pererius Supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought; that lob was at that time liuing. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererius opinion, That Moses, while he liued in that part of Arabia, wrote the bookes of Genelis; although I cannot denie the reason of Pererius coniecture, That by the example of Jobs patience hee might strengthen the oppressed Hebrewes: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Ifaac, and Iacob, put them in affurance of their deliuerie from the Egyptian flaueric, and of the Land of rest, and plentic promised.

Of his calling backe into Egypt by the Angell of God, and the meruailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perfwade Pharaoh, that hee was the mel- 20. fenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were Exed. c.3. 21.73. needleffe. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Moses defired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him knowne, and by whom he was fent; he received from God fo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and everbeing nature. Out of which he deliucred him in the first part of his answere, a name to be considered of by the wifest; and in his second, to bee understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the eternall: which truly is; which is about all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; neuer continuing 49 at one flay, nor being the fame follong, as while one may fay Now. Likewife, whatfoeuer is confumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest Hieron, adDam, peece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. Vnaest Dei & folanatura, quaverè est : idenim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cateraque creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rur fum non effe, quod non fuit; It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is : for he hath his being of himfelfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being. And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the faying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: Tota rerum natura vmbra eft, aut inanis, 50 aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either emptie or deceiptfull: in comparison of whom (faith Esay) all Nations are as nothing, leffe then nothing, and

Of the ten plagues wherewith the Egyptians were firucken, the first was by

changing the Rivers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned; the innocent children of the Hebrewes. To which this place of the Reuelation may be fitly applied: And I heard the Angel of the waters fay, Lord, thouart just, which art, and which wast: c.16.0.5. and holy, because thou hash indeed these things; for they shed the bloud of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore halt thou given them bloud to drinke.

The reft of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flies, or flinging Waspes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leaprous scabbes; by haile and fire; by Gralhoppers; by darkneffe; after which Pharach forbad Mofes his presence: moved the hardned 19 heart of the vibelecuing King no longer, then the paine and perill lasted, till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then; while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce ) stood you no condition: whereas before, hee first yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, referuing their bestiall; but hee was now content for the prefent, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their owne, but with a part of the filuer, gold, and jewels of his owne people : of which (the feare being past) he suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when every one of the Hebrewes had (according to direction from Moles receiued) flaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the Passeouer, (a Sacrament of the 20 most cleane and unspotted Saujour) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the dores; the Angell of God in the dead of the night smote every first-borne of Egypt, from the sonne of the King, to that of the begger and slaue: the children of the Israelites excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, Pharach being more then euer amazed, yeelded, as before is faid, to their departure. The Agyptians (faith Epiphanius) did in after times imitate this colouring with Epiphan, lib. 16 bloud, which the Ifraelites vied after the Paffeoner; afcribing an exceeding vertue cont. Heref. to the red colour: and therefore they did not only marke their sheepe and cattell, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserue them from lightning and other harmes.

Of PHARAGHS purfuit of the Ifraelites: and of their passage towards the red Sea, fo farre as Succoth.

Ow, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God ) hee bethought him aswell of the honour loft, as of the thame remaining after to many calamities and plagues, in fuffering them to depart with the spoiles of his pleople, and in despight of himselfe. And having before this time great companies of 40 Souldiers in readinesse, hee consulted with himselfe, what way the Ifraelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrie of the Philistims. But because these people were very strong, and awarlike Nation, and in all probabilitie of his Allies, hee suspected that Moses meant to finde fome other outlet, to wit, through the Defert of Etham; and there, because the Countrie was exceeding mountainous, and of hard accesse, and that Moses was peftered with multitudes of women, children, and cattaile, he thought it impossible for the Hraelites to cleape him that way. In the meane while having gathered together all the Chariots of Agypt, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; he de- exed. 14.07 termined to fet vpon them in the plaines of Gofen, which way foeuer they turned themselues. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with brode and tharpe hookes on both fides; in fathion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Brittaines vsed against the Romanes, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Armie of Pharaoh, Insephus affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. 10, am. 1, i.e.s. horse,

horse, and 20000. foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that

Pharaoh intended long before to affaile the Hebrewesat their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an armie.

to fet on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exedus, hee doubted two things.

cither that the Hebrewes might joyne themselves to his enemies within the Land or

being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforst him at

this time to give an affent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and Infephus partiall in this affaire, yet by the wordes of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Agypt: which could not be done

in hast. For Moses made but three daies march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrie, and to drive their cattell and sheepe with them, pestered with a world of women and children. was a march witneshing the dread of a powerfull enemie at hand. Now, as Moles well knew, that he went out with a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his enterprises: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but v-fing the vnderstanding which God had given him, he left nothing vnperformed, becomming a naturall wife man, a valiant and a skilfull conductor; as by all his actions

# ð. V I.

Of the Solarie and Lunarie yeares : and how they are reconciled : with the forme of the Hebrew yeare, and their manner of intercalation.

### The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

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The first Moneth, Nifan, or Abib.	1. March.	
The fecond, Iar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2. Aprill.	
The third, Sinan, or Sinan, or Siban.	3. Maie.	
The fourth, Tamuz.	4. Iune.	
The fifth, Ab.	5. Iulie.	
The fixth, Elul.	6. August.	
The feuenth, Tyfri, or Ethauin, or Ethanim.	7. September.	
The eighth, Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or Bul, or, with Iofeph, Marfonane	. 8. October.	I. Ant. c.s
The ninth, Chiflen, or Caflen.	9. Nouember.	
The tenth, Tebeth, or Thobeth.	10.December	
The eleuenth, Sebeth, or Sabath.	I I .Ianuarie.	
The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.	12.Februarie.	

E Adar was an intercalarie Moneth, added, fome yeares, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunarie yeare agree; which (befides the generall inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Sommer into the Winter season, to the by calting the Monetus of Journal was more necessarily to bee regarded great confusion of all accounty was more necessarily to bee regarded

of the Hebrewes, because of the dinine precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts Dout.ie, to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeare, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have so beene kept, if either the day of the 30 Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe beene found farre diffant from his place in the feafon of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time, and to afcertaineall reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commoditie of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeares vnequall, by adding fometimes, and fometimes abating one or more dates, as the errour committed in foregoing yeares required. The errour grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yeare. For though by the continuall course of the Sunne, causing Sommer and Winter duly to succeede each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most sauage of all people, when a yeare hath 40 paffed ouer them; yet the necessitie of ordinarie occurrences, that are to bee numbred by a shorter talie, makes this long measure of whole yeares insufficient for the fmaller fort of more daily affaires. Therefore men observed the monethly conspi-

cuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeare into twelve parts, fubdiniding the Moneth into 20. daies and nights, and those againe into their quar- 10. 0 29. ters and houres. But as the markes of time are fensible and easily discerned : so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexitie in the vnderstanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moone, containing leffe time by eleven daies orthereabout, than the yearelie course of the Sunne, through the Zodiack, in the space of fixteene yeares, every Moneth was found in the quite contrarie part of the 50 yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeare, making it to confift of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more,

as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearelie renolution by any fet number of whole daies; neither did the Moone Z 2

Exed-14.7.

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and counfailes from this day to his death well appeared. When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded 20 him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after hee had warned Israel of the Paffeouer, he appointed a generall Affemblie or Rende-vous of all the Hebrewes The territorie at Ramales, in the Territorie of Golen; a Citie standing indifferent to receive from of Goles was af- all others parts of the Countrie the difperfed Hebrewes: and gaue commandement. terward called that euery familie should bring with them such store as they had, of Dow and Paste, the name of no staying to make it into bread; knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on this Citie, as his way towards them. Which done, and hauing confidered the great strength of appeareth in Pharaohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence Moles was ytterly ynprovided (though as it is written, the Ifraelites went vp armed) hee marched from Ramales Eastward, towards the Deserts of Etham, and incamped at Succoth; which 20 he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth Abib. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Moneth of the yeare. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to beginne their yeare exod.23.0.16. in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Agyptians, and were now re-6.34.0.22. called by Moles to the rule of their forefathers, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politike yeare, which was not

now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed,

and still continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among

them, vnto the beginning, middeft, or ending of the yeare; that diffinction of the

daies in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeare, like enough it is that

Moles himselfe in fourtie yeares space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose

care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that

any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuitie of Ba-

brlon, I doe not finde. Now because time and motion beginne together, it will not,

I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what

was the forme of the Hebrew yeare: with the difference betweene them and other

Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

Sacred, and the Politike years is not to bee neglected. Concerning the number of

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è. VI.

CHAP. 2. S. 6.

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change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and leffer fractions were to bee observed by him; that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not full alike) into any certaine rule. Here lay much wisedome and deepe art. which could not foone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the Athenians held the yeare to containe 260, daies, wherein most of the Greekes concurred with them. That 260, daies filled up the Greeian yeare (befides many collaterall proofes) it is manifelt by that which Plinie directly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erected in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were (faith he) 260, whileft as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of daies. By this account neither did any certain eage of the Moone beginne or end their Moneths, neither 10 could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places; but must needes be shifted by little and little, from Winter to Sommer, and from Sommer to Winter, as the daies forgotten, to be inferted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupie their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnitie of the Olympian games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth Hecatombeon (which answereth in a manner to our ium) they were carefull to take order, that this moneth might cuer beginne with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last moneth of every yeare; those games being held once infoure yeares. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter eyen; which 20 caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeare, which was the second of the moneth Badromian; (agreeing nearely with our August) fometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to infert another for it into the fourth Lunarie years. accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this not withflanding, their moneth of tune would every years have growne colder and colder, had they not fought to keepe all vpright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth yeare one whole moneth, which they called the fecond Polideon, or December; which was the deuice of Harpalus, who also taught them to make one moneth of 20 daies, another of 30, and fo fucceffinely through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, vnto the high 30 way of the Planets; but these markes which they observed, were found at length to be deceiptfull guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 24. houres and 10. minutes, or 26. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good methode, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian, who not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth yeares intercalation, deuised a Cycle of 10. yeares, wherein the Moone having 235, times runne her circuit, met with the Sunne in the fame place, and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past shee had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and paffing 40 from Greece to Rome, was there inferted into the Kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoided the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had beene yied; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19. yeares, all was fo euen, that no fenfible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeare could not be perceiued, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles: the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus denised a new Cycle containing foure of Metons, that is to fay, 76. yeares; and afterwards Hipparchin, a noble Astrologer, framed another, containing foure of Calippus his Periods, each of them finding some errour in the former observations, which they diligently 50 corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which Julius Celar made, who by aduise of the best Mathematicians, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenlie bodies, reduced the years vnto the forms which is now in vse with vs, containing 365, daies and fixe houres, which houres in foure yeares make

vp one whole day, that is intercalated energy fourth yeare, the 24. of Februaric. The correction of the Inlian yeare by Pope Gregoriethe 13. Anno Domin. 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall confent; it was indeede, but as a note added vnto the worke of Cafar : yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed. that the Sunne, which at the time of the Nicene Councell, Anno Dom. 324 entred the £auinoctiallon the 21.day of March, was in the yeare 1582, ten daies fooner found in that time. Pope Greeorie strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of October, fo that in steade of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moueable Feafts depending on the Sunnès entrance into Aries, were a-10 gaine celebrated in fuch time, as at the Nicene Councell they had beene. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of Trent ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeare, the leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred : because the Sunne doth not in his yearelie course take vp full fixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth fo many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about 2. whole daies.

But the Cycle of 19. yeares, which the Hebrewes vsed, was such as neither did neede any nice curiofitie of houres, minutes, and other leffer fractions to helpe it; neither did in fumming vo the daies of the whole yeare, neglect the daies of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fellout fo, that 20 alwaies the Kalends or first day of the moneth was at the new Moone, and because that day was festivall, they were very carefull aswell to observe the short years of the Moone, paffing through all the 12. figures in one moneth, as that longer of the Sunne, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue to Nilan their first moneth, which is about our March or Aprill, 30. daies; to lar their fecond moneth 29. daies; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two moneths of theirs contained somewhat enenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. daies, 12. hours, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact daies; which made vp 7. moneths in 19. yeares; to 6. of which 7. 20 were commonly given 30.daies; to one of them 20.daies, or otherwife as was found requilite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the seuerall daies of each moneth) contained 354 daies, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sunne finisheth his course, 11. whole daies, with some fractions of time. But these daies, and other broken peeces, howfocuer they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeares were fo disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Crele, both the Sunne and Moone were found on the fame day of the yeare, moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Divers have diverfly fet downe the forme of the Hebrew yeare, with the manner of their intercalations. Sigonius tells vs, that every fecond yeare they did adde Sigde res. Hebr. a moneth of 22. daies; euery fourth yeare a moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. 43.61. daies and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sunne. But herein Sigonius was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22. or 23. daies: and therefore to have added so many daies to the end of the yeare, had been the way to change the fashion of all the moneths in the yeares following, which could not have begunne as they ought, with the new Moone. Genebrard faith, Geneb. Chronic that every third yeare, or second yeare, as neede required, they did intercalate one 1.2. moneth, adding it at the yeares end vnto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was ( if it be worthy of confide-30 ration) me thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keepe all farre from euenneffe untill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as erregrosly) some there are who fay, that after three yeares, when befides the daies spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. daies are left remaining, that is, 11. daies of each yeare; then did the Hebrewes adde a moneth of 30. daies; keeping three daies, as it were in pluffage

vnto the next account. The like, fay they, was done at the end of the fixt yeare; at which time, belides the intercalarie moneth, remained fixe daies, namely three furmounting that moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, befides the three formerly reserved. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeare; at which time they have 18. daies in hand : all which with the Epact of the 19. yeare make vp a moneth of 20. daies, that

being intercalated at the end of the Cycle makes all eyen.

Whether this were the practife, I can neither affirme nor denie; yet furely it must needes have bred a great confusion, if in the 18, yeare every moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was vnauoidable. Wherefore, 10 I preferre the common opinion, which preventeth such diflocation of the moneths. by fetting downe a more conuenient way of intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. daies remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th yeares. added vnto the 22. daies, arifing out of the Epacts of the 7th and 8th yeares, doe fitly ferue to make vp a moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two daies is fo farre from causing any disorder, that indeede it helps to make the yeares enfuing varie the lesse from the proper seafon of euery moneth. This may fuffice to bee spoken of the Hebrew Moneths and Yeares, by which they guided their accompts.

### δ. VII.

Of the passage of Is RAEL from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the divers waies leading out of Agypt.

Rom Succeth in the morning following, Mofes led the Ifraelites towards the Defert of Etham, to recouer the mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse then to goe out that way, of all other the nearest. But being affured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himselfe 30 from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he restected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and Succeth being about eight mile. That he forbare to enter Arabia being then in light thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third divine. For Pharsoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moles tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which Moses led, confishing of aboue a Million, if not two millions of soules, (for as It is probable it is written Exod. the 12. Great multitudes of fundrie forts of people went out with them) that all those could not possibly passe ouer those desertand high mountaines with so great multithe prime was could not pointly pair ouer triote actert and inguinountains waith or great indus-cions brought, tudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fall-by-therebrews neffe he flouid have ouer-taken them, and defiroied the greatest numbers of them. to the know- For these his owne wordes. They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse half but them ledge of the true. God, followed in, doe shew his hopes and intents; which Moses by turning another way did fru-Moses at his de ftrate. Secondly, Moses by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the East lide of the land of Gofen, or Ramefes: from whence (miffing Mofes there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the Hebrewes kept the mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses confidence in the all-powerfull God was 50 fuch, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the gloric of his delinerance and victorie to almightie God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wife conduction, or valour. The third

day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the Valley of Pilhacheroth, 16. mile distant; and sate downe betweene two ledges of mountaines adjoyning to the Red Sea; to wit, the mountaines of Etham on the North, and Balzephon towards the South : the same which Oforius calleth Climax : on the top whereof there stood a Climax is rather Temple dedicated to Baal. And as Phagius noteth, the word fo compounded, is as fo called in remuch to say, as Dominus specule, sine ensired at Lord of the watch tower. For the £277-sage vp and tians believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to e-dower, than scape that way into Arabia, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to that it is any returne to their Lords and Masters. For the Agyptians had Gods for all turnes. Proper name,

10 Agyptij Dijs facundi; The Agyptians were fruitfull in Gods, faith St. Hierome. But Moles who incamped at the foot of this mountaine with a million of foules, or as other conceine, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower alleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Agypt into Arabia vpon the sirme land Moses refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of Indea, as the other by Etham; from which he restected, for the Exed, 13, 2,170 reasons before remembred and tooke the way by the valley of Pihacherotis, between the mountaines, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharaoh made to great speede with his horsemen and chariots, as hee gaue the He-20 brewes no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gat fight of them, and they of him, even at the very brincke and wash of the Sea: insomuch as the Hebrewes being terrified with Pharaohs fudden approch beganne to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to have taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to Moles charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, which, faith the booke of Wifedome, is the be- c.17, 112 traying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former promifes, and to be forgetfull of their owne ftrength and multitudes.

d. VIII.

Of their paffage ouer the Red Sea : and of the Red Sea it felf.

Vt Moles who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath neuer abandoned those, that affuredly trust in him; vling this comfortable and resoluted speech. Fearenot, &c. for the Agyptians whom yee have feene this day, yee shall Exod. 14. v. 12. neuer see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you. After which Mo-

fes calling on God for fuccour, received encouragement, and commandement to goe on, in these wordes. Wherefore crieft thou unto me : speake unto the children of 16- Exed, 16, 115. 40 rael that they goe forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and firetch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Ifrael goe on drie ground through the middest of the Sea. Moses obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands vncouered, past on towards the other side and coast of Arabia: two parts of the night being spent ere hee entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible

Easterne winde, and by Moses rod to prepare. Pharaoh followed him even at the heeles, finding the fame drie ground which Mafes trod on. Therefore, as It is written, The Angel of God which went before the Holt of Ifrael, removed, and went behinds them : also the piller of the cloud went from before them, and flood behind them; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his im-50 mediate power or by the ministerie of his Angell, to interpose his defence between the Hebrewes and their enemies; to the end that the Agyptians might hereby bee tolar 24. 1.73

blinded, in fuch fort, as they could not purfue Ifrael with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch Moles feifed the other banke of Arabia fide; and Pharaoh ( as the dawne of day beganne to illighten the obscureaire) finding a beginning of the

Each. 14, 207. Seas returne, hafted himfelfe towards his owne coaft: but Moses firethed forth his hand, and the Searcturned to his force, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ranne backe towards the land with unrefitable furie and flwitineffe, and ouer-whelmed the whole Armic of Pharaob, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Charior wheeler, that is, when the waters began to couer the sinds, the sex graptims being strucken with fear of death, ranne on athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stucke fast in the mudde and quick-stands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with sipernaturally volence.

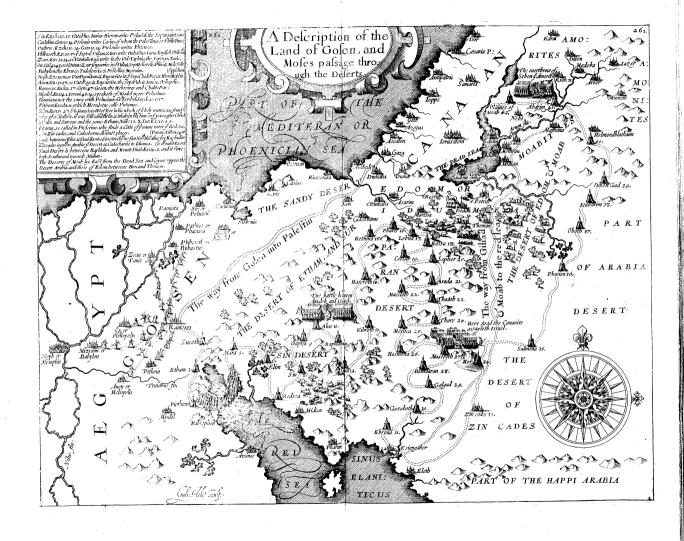
Lymnus upon Evolu 14, and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of 10 the Hebrever, conceiued, that after Hofes had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Ifrad were Fearefull to enter it, Immundab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Inda first made the adventure, and that therefore was that Tribe ever after honoured about the rest, according to the prophecie of Indab. Gen. 49. 8. The fathers formes splad bow denive wate these. But Hierome upon the 11. of Hofe condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Inda had the first place in all their marches in the Defert, and, as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (where upon it may bee inferred, that hee also led the way through the Red Nea) yet that Insafe hindle was the conductor of Ifrae at that time, it signemeally received. For, as it is written in the 77. Pfalme; Thou didst led thy people like fleepe by the hand of 20

The Hebrewe haue also another funcie, that the Red Sea was divided into 12. parts, and that every Tribe path over in a path apart, because it is written in the 132 Pfalms, according to the Vassar, Divisifis macrobrom in divisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a green field or pathere. But Origon, Epiphamia, Abhelasi, and Genebrard, Suvouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12. pillers, nor 12. armies of the Ægyptims. It is written in the 77-11 falme, v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea 3 not thy water 3 and in the last of the book of Utilesleeme, verif. 7-1 in the Red Seathere was away.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise cal- 30 led Chenchres, perished in the 16. yeare of his raigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the Red Sea; though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a blewith colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene Arabia the Happie and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abylins : the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolomie calleth Poffodium, to the other land of Athiopia, hath not about fixe leagues in breadth: and the fame also filled energy where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it felfe 58. leagues from coaft to coast: and it runneth up betweene Arabia the Happie, and Arabia Petraa, on one side, and Athiopia and Agrpt on the other, as farre as Sues, the vttermost end and in- 40 draught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his fleete of Gallies. The Cofmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Sues, and where Mofes past, is called Heropolites of the Citic Hero, fometime Troy: and of later times Sues. Plinie calls it Cambifu, by which name it was knowne, faith he, before it was called Hero many yeares. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Alemiticum: King Iula Laniticum: others more properly Elaniticum, of the Port and Citic Elana: which the Septuagint call Elath: Ptolomic Elana: Plinie Lana: Iosephus Ilana, and Marius Niger Aila: there is also Ilalah in Affyria, to which Salamanaffer carried the Ifraelites captive Kings 2. c. 8. 11. which Ilalah in Affyria, the Septuagint call Elaa: and in the first of 50 Chron. the 5. Ala. But as for this red Sca or the parts thereof, thus diverly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vaffals to the Turke) know it by no other appellation, then the Gulfe of Meca, after the name of Mahamets Towne Meca. The Greekes swrite it the Sca Erythraum: of a King called Erythrau, or Erythrau ; and because Ery-

Plin.l.6.c.29.

3"K-9. 20(Ant.8.c.2)



CHAP.3. S.8.

three in the Greeke fignifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erg-

threws, the sonne of Perseus and Andromeda, yet it tooke the name of the red Sea, as Quin, Curtius coniectureth: which Arianus and Strabo confirme. But it feemeth to Arian, de cets Minis Commented the Market Sea in the yeare 1544 performed by Steum Alexand, 18, 66. Gama, Viceray of the East India for the King of Portugall, that this Sea was focalled Strabel. 6. from a reflection of rednesse, both from the bancks, clifts, and fands of many Ilands. and part of the Continent bordering it. For finde by the report of Cafro, a principall commander under Gama (which difcourfe I gaue Mr. Richard Haduit to publish) that there is an Iland called Dalaqua, fometime Leques, containing in length 25.

10 leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, fands, and clitts, of which Iland, being of a

reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from 24. degrees of Septentrional latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180. mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth, or itone, which by reflection of the Sunne beames, give a kinde of reddilh luster to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and wee know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red 20 trees, faith *Strabo*, and those growing vnder water, may also be a cause of fuch a colour. Of these appearances of rednelle by the shadowes of these tiones, sands, earth,

and clifts, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the red Sea, because in so many places it feemeth to be fuch: which Iohannes Barros in his fecond Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from Elana, or Exion Gaber adioyning, now Tore, called by the ancient Cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian or Midian, is for 16. or 17. leaguestogether, along Northward towardes Sues, fome three leagues or nine English mile ouer, and from this Port of Toro, to Sues, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. leagues, of which the first 26. haue 30 nine miles breadth as aforefaid, and afterward the lands both from Aeypt and A-

rabia, thrust themselues into the Sea, and straighten it so fast, as for fixe miles together it is not about three mile ouer; from thence vpward the land on Agypt fide, falleth away and makes a kinde of Bay or Coue for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at four emiles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that Moses past it ouer, though others would have it to be over against Elana or Toro; but without iudgement : for from Ramases to Pihacheroth and Balzephon, there is not aboue 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which Moses past ouer in three dates: and betweene the land of £gypt oppolite to Elans or Toro, the diffance is about 80.

40 miles. For Ramsfer to which Citie Mofes came (being the Metropolis of Gofen) when he left Pharaott Zoan, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees fine

minutes of Septentrional Latitude: and Migdell, or the Valley of Pithebrenth, at the foote of the mountaine Climax, or Baalfephon, in nine and twentie and a halfe, which made a difference of flucand thirtie English mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

That the paffage through the red Sea was miraculous, and not

He Ægyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the Hebrewes have objected that Alofes past ouer the red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharao* conducted more by suriethen discretion, pursued him so far, as before conducted more by furie then differention, purfued nim to tar, as perore he could recouer the coast of Ægypt, he was ouertaken by the floud 10

and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authoritie to men that beleeue not cherein perswadeth nothing) I say that by the same naturall reason unto which they fasten themselues, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from about or affiftance given from God himfelfe to Moles. and the children of Ifrael than ordinarie and cafuall, then could not Pharae and all his armic haue perished in that pursuite.

For wherefoeuer there is any obbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there 20 doe the waters fall away from the land : and runne downeward towards the Ocean : Icaning all that part towards the land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to bee drie land. Now Moses entring the Sea at Migdoll under Balzephon (if hee had taken the aduantage and opportunitie of the tyde) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand drie and vincouered. For if a paffage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelue mile farther into the Sea then Sues; much more was it made at Sues, and betweene it and where Mofes past: who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleene or Strait, had beene by the ebbe of a spring-tide discouered, when Pharao found the floud increasing, he needed not to haucreturned 30 by the same way toward Agypt side, but might have gone on in his returne before the tide, on his right hand : and so taken ground againe at the end of that sea, at Sues it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truly witnesse the contrarie, that is, That the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that Moses past on betweene two seas: and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharao by any returne of waters could not have perished, ashe did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to have beene a power about nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong east-winde, doerather proue the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more then ordinarie: for that sea doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-winde blew athwart the sea, and cut it afunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South, and maine body thereof: the other part remained towards Sues, and the North. Which being vnknowne to Pharae; while he was checkt by that fea, which yfed in all times before to ebbe away: the floud prefthim and ouerwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Tofephus auoweth, that Mofes was not only of excellent judgement generally, but alfo fo great a Captaine, as he ouerthrew the Athiopians in many battels, being imploied by Pharao, and wan divers Cities feeming impregnable: it were barbarous to 50 condemne him of this groffenesse, and distraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardneffe of a mountainous paffage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which hee would there winne vpon Pharao) he would have trufted to the advantage of an ebbing water.

Por hee knew not the contrarie, but that Pharae might have found him, and prefhim, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it feemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaes approch, cr.ed out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their fafetie and when Moles praied vnto God for helpe, he was answered by God : Wherefore crieft thou unto me : fleake unto the children of Ifrael that they goe forward, and lift thou vo thy rod, and firetohout thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it : which prones that there was not at the time of Pharaes approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the fands discovered themselves betweene the sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moued not, and the fea which was towards the South on

CHAP. 2. S. 6.

the right hand, (o that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the (14, v. 22) left hand, that is, the waters fo defended them on both fides, as the Agyptians could only follow them in the fame path; not that the waters flood vpright as walls doe. as some of the Schoolemen have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Agyptians perceiued any fuch buildings in the fea, they would foone have quitted the chace and purfuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can thinke, that Pharaoh and the Leyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heauenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the fea. in his owne Countrie, on his owne coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented 20 Ports and Hauens, and wherein, his people having had fo many hundreds of yeares experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance nor by any foreknowne or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but

their owne prosperitie, they least discerne it comming, and least feare it. Lastly, if

the Armie of the Egyptians had beene ouertaken by the ordinarie returne of the floud, before they could recouer their owne coast; their bodies drowned would have beene carried with the floud which runneth vp. to Sues, and to the end of that fea, and not have been east ashore on that coast of Arabia where Moles landed . to wit, vpon the fea-banke ouer against Baalzephon, on Arabia fide: where it was that 30 the Ifraelites faw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinarie floud would have carried them: Which floud doth not any where croffe the Channell, and runne athwart it, as it must have done from Agypt side to Arabia, to have cast the Agyptians bodies there; but it keepes the natural course towards the end of that sea: and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the lines of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Agyptians which staied in the Countrie, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Ifrael, did euer after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharaohs destruction; as he that was then labouring in his garden made a God of that Plant or Roote, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be gi-

vs, that in his time, who lived some 400. yeares after Christ, the prints of Pharaphs Chariot wheeles were to be feene at a low water on the Agyptian fands : and though they were fometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared againe. But hereof I leave every man to his owne

uen elsewhere. Orosius in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans tells

beleefe.

CHAP.

Acts.7. Tolua.14:

2514.

Exed-12.

Wan. 33.

Exed.13.

Num.33.

Exed.14.

Num.33.

Exed.14.

Num.33.

Lxtd.15.

Num.33.

Exed.15.

### CHAP. IIII.

Of the iournying of the Hraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a dycourfe of Lawes.

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A transition, by way of recapitulation of somethings touching Chronologie :
with a continuance of the storie, wntill the Amalekites met
with the Ilraelites.



V 1 to goe on with the floric of Ifrael, in this fort I collect the times. Angles was borne in the yeare of the world 24,44. Sapirus then gouerning Affria; Orthopolis Systemia, or Peleponne[in ; Crissius the Argi-20 are; Orus Ægypt; and Deuasium Thessalia. He fled into Missius when he had lined 40. yeeres, in the yeere of the world 24,74 and two yeeres after was Calabborne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Ægypt, and wrought his miracles in the sields of Exam, in the yeere 2314 in the Alast moment of that yeere. On the 14. day of the first

Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 1 y, of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sunne fetting, in the years of the world 2 y 1 4, was the celebration of the Palfeuner: and in the dead of the night of the faine day were all the first borne flaine through y a Leypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited. The 1 y, day of the first moneth, of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeare of the world 2 y 1 4. Chasses with the children of Wastermoued from the general laf-

fembly at Rama(es, and marched to Succoth. And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and journying from Ethan they incamped in the valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdell, under the mountaine Budzephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea : Pharaoh and his Armie perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. Moses hauing recoursed the banks of Arabia, gaue thanks vnto God, for the deliverie of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Deserts of Arabia Petras, called 40 Sur. But finding no water in that paffage, he incamped at Marah, in the Defert of Etham, which in Exod. 15.0.22. is also called Sur, 25.miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel prest with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses the second time; first at Pharaohs approch in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Mosestaking the branches of a tree, growing neere a lake of bitter water, and easting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plaine Type and figure of our Sauiour; who vpon the tree of the Croffe changed the bitterneffe of cuerlasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. Plinie remembers these bitter fountaines in his sixth Booke and 20. Chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Sefostris first, Darius after him, and lastly Ptolomie the second, beganne to cut an artificiall River, thereby by Boats and 50 fmall shipping to trade and nauigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Wilus. From Marah he remoued to Elim; the fixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue fountaines of fweet water, and 70. Palme trees, hee rested divers

Whether

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or Citie in Mofes time, I cannot affirme. And yet the learnite of waters in that Region was fuch, as Helim, which had two the Fountaines, could hardly be cleft upeopoled. Whilms, Archibility of Tyre, in his Hiltorie of the Helim Kurze, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient Citie. And a fuch time as Baldwine the first past that way into Agypt, Ingrefius (latithe) Helim, Cinitaten antiquestimm oppolus Ireation aliquando willy, Internet and quam arm peruntifet, locillus intola. Regis dakentu precegnite, mani-tipulo, culamingredientes in mare vicinum secondulerunt; Entring Helim a very ancient Citie, allowing the more summer for the vicinity, while the came, the volubilities, fore-walknowne sometime to the people of That's, while the work of came, the volubilities, so for-

The statement of the people of juries, whether, when he came, the volutions, forc10 warned of the Kings approach, sowe Boats, and blied them fluctuation the Stack, lying near—
them. From Elim hee returned againe towards the South, and fate downe by the
banks of the Red Sea: the fewenth Mansion. For it feementh that he had knowledge
of Amaleeh, who prepared to refift his pallage through that part of Arabia. And
Mose who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrares, appointed to beare arms:
nor affured the minds of the rest, who encountring with the least missine, were
more apt to returne to their quiet slaverie, than either to endure the wants and perils which enery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustained to dangerous an enemie: hee therefore made stay at this Mansion,
vntill the fifteenth of the second Moneth called Zim, for Sur 1 and made the eight End. 16.

Mansion in the Desett of Zim; where the children of Vierd mutinical eagaint Mo-

Manslion in the Desert of Zin; where the children of Israel mutinied against Osasses the third time, having want of foode. In the sixteenth Chapter of Exodus, Mossomitteth this retrait from Elimto the red Sca, but in the collection of enery seuerall incamping, in the 23.0 f Numbers, it is set downe.

Here it pleafed God to find formany flights of Quailes, as all the Countrie about their incamping was coursed with them. The morning following it allo rained Annua, being the fixteenth of their Moneth, which ferued them in flead of bread.

For now was the flore confumed which the people carried with them out of Egyl. And though they had great numbers of Cattle, and Sheepe among them, yet it feemeth that they durft not feed themfelues with many of those but referso ued them both for the milk to relecue the children withall: and for breede to flore themfelues when they came to the land promised.

themseliuss when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards Raphidins they made two remoues of twentie mile: the one to Daphas, the other to Alus, distant from Raphidinn fixe miles. Here being againe preft with want of water they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Agypt, where they rather contented themseliuss to bee fed and beaten after the manner of beaths, than to suffer a cassall and sometime necessarily.

farie want, and to vindergoe the hazzards and trauailes which every manly minde feeketh after, for the love of God and their owne freedomes. But Mofes with the fame rod which hee divided the Sea with all, in

the fight of the Elders of Ifrael, brought waters out of the Rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were fatisfied. Exod.17,

Αa

S. II.

Exed.172

ò. I I.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and I ET HROES comming : who being a Kenite. was Priest of Madian.



nd while Moses incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approch, and gheffed that he meant to leade the children of Ifrael through their Countrie (which being barren of it felfe, would bee vtterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattle) thought it most for their advantage to set you them at 10

Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man infeebled them. On the other fide Moles perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to Iolia, to draw out a fufficient number of the ablest Hebrepes, to incounter A malech. Betweene whom and Israel, the victorie remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day : the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many houres. And had not the strength of Moles praiers to God beene of farre greater force, and more preualent, than all reliftance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcitic of foode, and those minds whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired 20 in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought againe to hazard themselues.

After this victorie lethro repaired to Mofes, bringing with him Mofes his wife, and his two Sonnes, which either Jethro forbare to conduct, or Moles to receive, till he had by this ouerthrow of Amalech the better affured himfelfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exodus, v. 1. When I ET HRO the Prieft of Midian, Moses Father in law, heard all that God had done for Moses, &c. of which, the last deede, to wit, the ouerthrow of Amalech, gaue Jethro courage and affurance. he then repaired to his sonne in law Moses , at Sinai ; where amongst other things, headuised Moses to appoint Indges, and other Officers, ouer Israel; being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of 30

people, full of discontentment and private controversie. This *tethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Indges v.* 11. & 17. it is made manifest; where it is writton. Now HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, to wit, the Conne of IETHRO, the father in law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents untill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedelh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, leaft hee should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountaines of Sin Kadelh: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plaines, according to the faving of Mum. 24, v.21 Balaam, speaking of the Kenites. Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest 40 in the Rocke. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercie to all the children of Ifrael, when they came up from Agypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the iffnes of Madian, one of the fixe fonnes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent Abraham. For Moles, when he fled out of Agret into Midian, and married the daughter of Ieiling, would not (had hee found them Idolaters) haue made lethroes Daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kerites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seede 50 of Abraham should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from Abraham himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genef, verf, nineteenth these Kenites or Chusites are listed with

the Hittites and Perizites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergofites, and lebufites, which were indeede afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from A- Genus. braham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, Heber the Kenite, which was of the children Tade a of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to fay, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedelb or Kadelb. Againe, Moles nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of Abrahams other sonnes were borne : which he did (referring my felfe to better judgement) rather , because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

of the Historie of the World.

10 And as of the Kenites, fo we may confider of the Madianites, parted by Moles in- Genas, at to five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroied by Moses. But the Madianites neare the bankes of the Red Sea, where Mofes married his wife Zipora, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of Amalech, feeme likewife not to haue beene corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites affished Ifrael, and guided them in the Deferts. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia; called Petraa; were by I/rael rooted out, when those adjouning to the Rea Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom Jethrowas 20 Priest, and the other Cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrarie is more probable. For Moses would not have fent 12000. Ifraelites, as farre backe as the Red Sea, from the Plaines of Moab, to have destroied that Madian; where his wives kindred inhabited: feeing himfelfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by Amalech, in that paffage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himselfe and Israel had wandered

That lethro, or lether, Raguel, or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the Vulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raquel: and our English Reuel; Exad. 2. 18. calls him lethro, or lother, Exad, 2. et v. 1. c. 4. v. 18. et 30 c. 18. 1. 6 6. 9. 10. 6 12. and in Numbers c. 10. v. 29. Hobab, Others take Jethro and Hobab to be the fame, but not Raquel:

Of the time when the Law was given : with divers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.



CHAP.4. S.3.

He rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515, were spent in the Desert of Sinai, neare the mountaine of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth Mansion. Eulebius thought that Sinai or Horeb were diffinet mountaines: Hierome, to be but one; of a double name. Entire to and in Exposite April 6
Scriptures. For in Exod 3.v.1.it is called Hords and in Exposite April 6
The April 2. Sini. And 60 it

it is written Sinai. In the 100. Pfalme v. 19. Horeb: in Exod. 19.11. Sinai, And fo it is called Galatians 4. 24. and againe; Deut. 4.10. & 15. & Deut. 5.2. Horeb. And fois it in the first of Kings 8.6. and the 2. of Chron. 5.10. and in Malachie 4.4. Finally, in Ecclefiasticus the 48. 7. they are named as one: Which heardest (faith Ecclefiasticus) therebuke of the Lordin Sinai, and in Horeb the indgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are diffoyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius: who in the yeare 1588 50 pall out of Agypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and travailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb : Sinai being by farre the higher hill. From the fide of Horeb (faith he) there falleth a very faire firing of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two Monafleries of Christian Marronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and

Santart. Gen.25.

268 Pet.Bel.lik.2.

excellent wine. These (faith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers. which paffe that way.

Now, that there was some such Torrent of water neare Singi in Moles time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: fecondly, because it is written Exed, 22, 20. that when Moles had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which Agren fet vpin his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of 1/2 rael to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angell of God was given to Moles, where he staied a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he removed not till 10 the 20 day of the second moneth of the second years; and he arrived about the 45 day after the egression; the Law being given the 50, day,

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 20. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that booke; all in Leuitieus; and all in Numbers, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and viethereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the storie any way distoyned, he may turne ouer a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and fquare of Lawes: fo 18 it pleased God to give thereby vnto Moses the powerfullest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouerne that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Sea-man to his defired Port : fo is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in generall, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinewes of enery estate in the world, by which they line and moue: the Law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eie without luft, and to a Minde without paf- 20 fion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue.

This benefit the Ancient, though barbarous, effeemed to highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as Gods. or as the fonnes of Gods and the reft, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesseliberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The Ifraelites, the Lacedemonians, and the Alhenians, received their Lawes from one : as the Ifraelites from Mofes; the Lacedemonians from Lycargus; the Athenians from Solon; the Romanes formetime from 48 their first Kings, from their Decemviri, from their Senatours, from their Lawyers, and from the people themselues : others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in England, France, and in other Christian Monarchies and Estates.

### ø. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.



He word Lex, or Law, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diverfly, and 50 in an indifferent fense vsed. For if we consider it at large, it may be vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And fo the rules of Grammer, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word Law: of which E/ay, Was unto them E/ay 10. that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things. Likewise, the word is yied for the tumultuarie resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Artsiotle also call lawes, though cuill and vnfufficient. Mala lex oft, qua tumultuarie polita est; It is an Ethiclas xi ill law that is made tumultuoully. So as all ordinances, good or enill, are called by the

The word Law is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it 10 were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and platforme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call legem fomitis, is to be vinderstood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it : in which sense as \* elsewhere, \* Gen.6.5. this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the Hem 8.2. heart : fo in St. Paul to the Romanes it is called a Law. But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading mecaptine unto the law of sinne Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called 4 lawes, so g \$9 Viscus farre as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a Lyon, to bee continuo has lefierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, doe often pur possibility attention to on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, (6) it is to be prescribing a necessarie meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill com-noted that he munitie. The reft, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not joynes legis & the common good for their end, but being leges inique, are by Thomas called violentiamagis quam leges; rather compulsions then lawes: And what soener is not just, Saint Scripture the Augustine doth not allow for lawes, how soener established : for he calls them iniqua called the cohominum conflituta, que nec iura dicenda, nec putanda funt; The vniust conflitutum, cuenticunant.
men which are neither to be termed nor thought layes. For faith ARISTOTLE, Legaliz Anst. stille, 5. infta funt factina, & confernatina falicitatis : Inft lawes are the workers and preferences of cap. 1.

30 happinelle: because by them we are directed advitam quietam, to a quietlife, according to Cicero. Yea, to life everlafting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the law. faith Plato, is God and his worthip. Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Lex, or the Law Plato in Dial, si is so called by the Latines alegendo, or a ligando, of reading or binding: Leges quia letta deleg, & ad populum lata, faith Varro; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etys mologie, a ligando, is no leffe agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as confregerunt ingum, diruperunt vincula they Hierem, 5.5. haue broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the fecond Pfalme, dirumpamus vincula corum, & projetamus a nobis funes ipforum; Let vs breake their bands plats 40 in funder, and cast away their cordes from us.

The Couenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God : and because of Gods peoples voluntarie submission of themselves vnto it: for which word the Septuagint, and the Epiffle to the Hebrewes, vie the word sudbuxu. a Testament or last will: which name it bath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our saluation. but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force : as Hebr. 9. 17. it is faid, Testamentum in mortuis ratum ett.

The Hebrewes call the law Thorah of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The Greekes call it Nomos of diffributing. 50 because it distributeth to every man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. Imperiumlegis imperium Dei eft; The raigne of the law, is the raigne of God.

Law in generall is thus defined by the Philosophers : Lex est with regula, pracipiens que sunt sequenda, & que suzienda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow

1.Reg.2 43.

and what to shunne, or Lex oft omnum divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina; Law is the Queene or Princesse of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisedome of Nature : the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For as aright line is called Index (ui & curus, the demonstrance of it selfe, and of the croo-

ked : fo is the law, the Judge and measure of right and wrong.

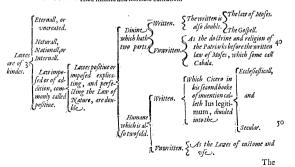
Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the fubstance and effence, consist in vnderstanding: Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Tet it comprehends the act of our will. The word Ius is also diverly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for 10 the law it felfe: as Ius Civile, or Ius gentium. Isidore distinguisheth the two generall words Ius and Fas: whereof Ius, faith he, hath reference to men, Fas to God. Fas lex divina, Iuslex humana. To goe ouer an other mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans : and therefore in a thing out of controuerlie, Virgil vsed both

those words : as Fas es jura sinunt : God and Men permit.

The word Iss or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Nowne influs, a bidding or commandement : or perhaps from the Greeke (we, which is the name of Inpiter : or of the Latine genitiue case Ionis : because as the Scripture speaks, the indeement is Gods. For as it is certaine that ins-inrandum came of Ionis-inrandum 2 (bron.19.6. (for fo we finde it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which fenfethe Scripture 20 calls it iuramentum Iehoue) fo also we may say, that Ius came of Iouis, quia Iouis est: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerents the Magistrates, he is the pronouncer and exequutor of right. Of this Ins the just are denominated, influs à jure, and institu à insto; The right gines name to the righteous : and instice takes her name from the inst.

## Of the definition of Lawes, and of the law eternal.

Vt because lawes are manifold, and that every kinde hath a proper 30 and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and diftinguish them. I meane those forts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne : leauing the individuals of humane lawes to particulars are grawne....... their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternall is thus defined by T H O MA'S. Lex aterna est aternus dinina sa- V.2.79 ant. 1. pientia conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso pracognitarum : The eternall law is the eternall concept of Gods wifedome, as it is referred to the gouernement of things foreknowne by himselfe. Or Lex aterna oft summa at q, aterna ra- Thio, on, art. tio dining latientia; augtenus resomnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, vt illis iuxta conditionemiplarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is the high and eternallreason of diuine Spience : as it directeth all things in such fort to their proper ends, imposing akinde of necessitie according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the fame divine vinderstanding directeth all these to their proper ends; To fo it is called providence; but as it imposeth a necessitie according to the natures of

all things which it directeth, fo it is called a law.

CHAP.3. \$.5.

Of this eternall law Cicero tooke knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, hee wrote in this manner. Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & adrecte faciendum impellens of a delicto auocans: que non tumincipitlex effe cum feripta eft: fed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simil est cum mente diuina : quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendumes ad vetandum ratio est recta summi Jouis : That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from eaill, did not (faith he) then beginne to be a law when it was written : but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princesse 20 to command and forbid is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaics one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessarie, as the motions of the heavens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to

things contingent : another law to men : another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate. By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counfaile and providence of God: from this law all lawes are derived, as from the rule vniverfall; and thereto re-

ferred, as the operation of the second to the first. 30 The eternall, and the divine Law, differ only in confideration; the eternall dire- Tho. 6 Airs. ching more largely, aswell enery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall : but the divine law to a supernaturall end only : the Naturall law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall : as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Lawhumane or temporall is also thence drawne: in that it hath the forme of right reason : from which if it differ, it is then impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are fubicated : aswell Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessarie or contingent, naturall, or morall, and humane. For the law eternall runneth through all the vniuerfall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Directour: as Praise him all yee his Angels: praise yee him Sunne and Moone, all Plalia? bright Starres: heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. Hee hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise yee the Lord from the earth yee Dragons and all depths: Fire, and haile, fnow, and vapours, stormie winds, which exequate his Word: mountaines, and hils: fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beafts, and all Cattell, &c. Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glorie and felicitie proposed ynto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other 50 naturall things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their owne natures, an obedience formall to it: without any proper intention, knowne cause, or end propofed. For beafts are led by fense, and naturall inftinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downeward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heate what focuer is apposed. This

CHAP.4. S.6.

kinde of working the Ariftotelians afcribe to common nature : others to fate: a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other then Gods generall providence; for as it is truly faid of God, that he is omnia super omnia: so are all things which appeare in themselves, thence derived : there-ynder subjected : thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the confideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal! law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them : so is the object and mat- 10 L. t. delib, arb. ter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. A v G V S T I N E. Lex aterna est, quainstumest ut omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is just. that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the refolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. Augustine vieth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of Free-will the fixth Chapter. For the law of Moles which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last untill the time of the Perdagogia of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which time of expiration fome thinke our Saujour noted to be come, when on the Croffe hee faid. Consummatum oft. But I rather thinke these words of our Saujour to have no other 20 fignification, then that now the prophecie of their giuing him Vineger to drinke was fulfilled. For fo S. Iohn expounds it, when he faith v. 28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be fulfilled , Vt confummaretur Scriptura , That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said I thirft: though I denie not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law cerimoniall, and of so much of the indiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new Tellament and Gospell of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it selfe: but the things prescribed change according to this eternall ordinance; of which the Wifedome of SAL o-MON. And being one speecan doe all things, and remaining in her selfereneweth all.

Pfal.69.22.

# Q. VI. Of the Law of Nature.

🎖 F the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as a social money of the eternal law in the response in mpression of dutine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the response in able creature. Lex naturals of invastoria. VLTIAN defines the naturallaw patio legis aterna invationali creatura. VLPIAN defines the naturalllaw 40

& lured 1 die to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures 3 Jus naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit : and he afterward addeth, Itu islud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium qua terramariá, nascuntur, auium quoque commune est; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures : as well to birds, as to those which the Landand Sea produceth. But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall law in things of life.

The law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall qualitie, which God in his eternall prouidence hath given and imprinted in the nature of enery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is diainum lumen in men, inlightning our formall reason: so is it more then sense in beasts: and more then ve- 50 getation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first fight, and without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: fecing that Bulls and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, then the least kinde of Dogs: and yet the Hare and Decre feedeth by the one, and flieth

from the other, yea though by them neuer feene before, and that as foone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it fense which hath taught other Beasts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their nefts, high or low, according to the tempefluous or quiet feafons : or the Birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang ouer Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elfewhere: to faue their egges and yong ones from the Monkies, and other beafts, whose weight fuch a twig will not beare : and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the semale of the Pal-10 mitte will not beare any fruit except the male grow in fight. But this they doe by that law which the infinite and vnscarchable wisedome of God, had in all eternitie provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double corrupt. and incorrupt; corrupt where the reason of man hath made it selfe subject, and a Vaffall to paffions, and affections brutall; and where time and cuftome hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by Sapra \$.4.02 the law of Nature incorrupt, which St. Augustine calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft; and that other Nations were by law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the lawes of Lycurgue it was permitted to men to vie one anothers wife, and to the wo- Thread to decise nen to choose them others besides their hulbands, to beget them with child: Which randia affect of the manual affects of the state of t

law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day. The Scythians, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawfull to burie with them

the best beloued wives : as also they have many other customes remembred by G. Valentia, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authoritie it is that these lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse : to prouide for our selues by another mans destruction: that injurie is not done to him that is willing: to destroy Memojure wethose whom we feare : and the like. For taking the definition of natural lawes, ej- tura com alteri-20 therout of St. Augustine or Aquinas, (the one calling it the impression of dinine light; sustained it, the other, the dictate or fentence of practique reason) the same can teach vs, or incline dibe. vsto no other thing, then to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, faue that which wee would bee content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For such is the law of nature to the minde, as the eie is to the bodie; and that which according to David the weth Pfalm. vs good, that is, the observation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption 40 is not taken for the law, is, as aforefaid, the impression of Gods divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternall. For without any law written the right reason and understanding, which God hath given vs, are abilities within our felues, fufficient to give vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrarie, wee prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the Gentiles (faith S.P AV L) which have not the Law; Rom, 2.ver, 14; doe by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are alaw unto themfelues. Now, to love God by whom wee are, and to doe the same right to all men, which we defire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason : in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation. 50 In arce altissimarationis quies habitat; Therefore, the Gentiles (faith S. PAVI) which Roma ver. 15:

show the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for witnesses of those effects : and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

And it is most true, that who so euer is not a law vnto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the

betraying of his owne foule, by craftic varighteounfeeffe, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth vs not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eie, seeing from him, who is an infinite eie, we cannot hide them: some Garlands wee may gather in this May-game of the world, seel flasiste, dam loquimme, are feit; Thofe shores wither while we disconse of their colours, or are in gathering them. That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our selenes, and become fearefull witnesses of our secreteft cuils, did that reusernd Philosopher Pythogonast each in this golden precept. Wil turp committees, request economic tectum, mostime eminion were exterplim; Committenthing foule or disposeli, faith he, meither to be knownet others, not to time-owne heart: but above all monreusernet time owne conscience. And this may be a pre-10 expense heart is that above all monreusernet time owne conscience. And this may be a pre-10 expense in the constitution of the properties of the constitution of the properties of the constitution of the properties. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he apsly, mound to those things which his proper forme presented not hand in the properties.

Снар.4.5.6.

creature. For all elfe, both fensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obay the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

en.y: b.c.18.

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The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the budde of the hearbe which feedeth feede, &c. and the Beaff, 20 which lineth thereon. He gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obay. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caufed the Sunnet o moue, and to give light, and to ferue for tigness and for feafons. Were the feas rebellious as man, for whose fake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes, the whole world would then perith, and all returne to the first Chass, darkenesse, and confission.

which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue; and

in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reafon, did Caine perceive his owne wickeneffe, and offence, in the murther of Mol. for he not only feared the differentire of God, but the reuenge of Men: it being written in his reafon, that what focuer 30 he performed towards others, the same by others might be edone with him againe. And that this udgement of well and cuil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall law, before the law written: Mofes in the perfon of God witneffeth, Ger. the fourth. If thou doeweld Bodt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, finne lepth at thy dore...

The Śchoolemen are large alló in this question of the natural! Law: the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subiest.

But this law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an act of reason taken properly, and not ababite, as it is an euident naturall indgement of practique reason: they divide into 49 indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and cuill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proved, out of higher and more vinuerfall propositions. Againe, as it answereth the naturall appetite, preserving things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as cuill (as of the first to desire to live, and to statisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, forrow, and death) in this consideration they divided it, according to the diviners kinds of appetites are in the second in

man is a being, Ens or Res: so bee doth desire good, and shunne eutil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good desined by Artifolds, to be that which all desire. Like Li e.t. Which desire the Bestime approve the Reste quiden Benim desirierum, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have some men desired Good; or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs. as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, wee desire the delights of every sense; but with fuch moderation, as may neither glut vs with fatietie, nor hurt vs with 10 excesse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, euen by the law of nature, that the fenfitiue appetite should not carrie vs to the deftruction, either of our life or being. And although (feeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) wee may well say, that Nature hath given divers lawes anto them: An which fenfe the Civilians define Naturall right, or Jus naturale, to bee the fame which Nature hath taught all living creatures. Yet the Schoolemen admit not. that the inftincts of beafts can be properly called a Law, but only a Ius, or Right, which is the matter, and aime of every Law. For so they distinguishit; where vipian affirmeth, that Ius naturale is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (faith Valentia) Ins is not to be taken for a Law, but for the mat-20 ter of the Law. And yet where Vipian also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one Ius natura, the other Itis gentium: the Divines understand the law of nature more largely. that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason; both in beasts

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a lining creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selues: and the lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our reli-

and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

Now although there are many other branches and diuifions of this law of nature of an anticology of the diuifion of matter, which it preferibeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of nature but one law, according to Aguinas: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motite faculties, which is but one, filtring yot ogood, and declining the contrarie: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill auxided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifelt: and chiefly man, becausing the he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth, Possanaria ad perfection venis, tune six quad for in Asia.

40 ptum off, Advaniente mandata pocositum reuixit; When resfon grew to perfection, then it came to pelfe, which was written by S.P. av L.; When the Commandement came, finne reuimed. Neither is it a finall warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the fame, are faid by S.P. av L.; To be delinered over into a reproduct fenfe (or minde) Rom.1.28, to due those things which are not coincinner: and againe, that their conficiences bear with Rom.2.15, nelfe, and their thoughts accopie them. For, though this law of nature fireten not to eurory particular: as to command failing and the like; eyet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatfocuer is agreeable to right reason. And therefore, said D.A.M. as c.R. is, homines failif furt mali, declinance in it quod constrantaran of § S. Avvestins, "350 to Mone vitium nature nocet; as per hoc contra naturean of § Luery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore constraine with it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature fo flreight, but that they fuffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequalitie of portions, according to vnequall ment:

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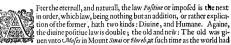
by taking from the euill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselues: according to the rules of justice and equitie.

And though the law of nature command, that all things bee reftored which are left in truft, yet in some causes this her law shee suffereth to be broken; as to denie a madde man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while hee was fober. But the vniuerfall principles can no more bee changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to St. PAVL, abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.

2. Tim. 2.

d. VII.

of the written Law of God.



flood 2513, whole yeeres : and in the 67. day of this yeere when as Acatades or Alcades gouerned the Allyrians, Marathus the Sycionians, Triopus the Argines, Ce- 29 crops Attics, and Acherres Agypt: to wit, after the promife to Abraham 420. yeeres. And this, it feemes, was the first written lays which the world received. For the very word Nomes, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the Gracians: no not in Homers time: who lived after the fall of Troy So, veeres at leaft: and Troy it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after Moses led Israel out of Agypt. This law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his express will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to medicate, till the comming of Christ and that so these children of Ifrael, though bred among an Idolatrous people in Egypt, might be without excuse the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason knowne to vs why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the Elders of families might cafily without any written law instruct their owne children; and yet as they increased so doubtlesse they had belides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, for a fmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good, and euill; nor condemne euery finne in particular: nor fufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders : nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue enery day leffe authoritie than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessarie, that the law should be written, and set before the cies of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne confci- 49 ences. The Schoolemen, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necesfitie, why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded upon this place of DAVID, The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting foules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giving wifedome to children. For the humane law, faith St. Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away fomething feeming necessarie, and hinder common profit : but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evill, and therefore by David it is called

Secondly, it ferueth for the direction of our minds. For the lawes of men, can 50 only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words converting our foules, added by David: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the Cabalists. Actiones

CHAP.4. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

hominum nulla effent, nist prius in mente dicerentur; The actions of men (fay they) would benone at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar lawes among fundrie Nations, wee cannot bee affured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said DAVID, That the testimonie of the law of God is faithfull guing wifedome to children.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the Patriarks by Tradition.

Ow, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriar ks* of the first age received many presepts from God himselfe, and whatsoever first age received many presepts from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by Adam, the same was observed by Seth, who in-

ftructed Enos: from whom it descended to Noah, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Ioleph, and Moses. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were for-20 merly imposed and delivered over by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the lewes afterward called Cabala, or Receptio. precepts received from the mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the Iewes after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosomes of their Priests, and vnlawfull to be yttered to the people. But the true Cabala was not to bee concealed from any; as being indeede the divine law reucaled to the Patriarks; and from them delivered to the pofteritie, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vinderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name Adam of Adamah, Earth, or 20 red clay, hee gaue other names fignificant, not only to beafts, but to his Children

and Nephewes, which afterward his iffues imitated; as the name of Seth fignifieth, . The come as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, reading is conor rather, one given in recompence for Abel that was flaine: and Enolb fignifieth terra: but God did not definoy man or miferable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and the certh; and man or miscrapic, qc. 1 arcter, 300 cauchim the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden, and in Adam also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being this preposition on in this place commanded to cohabite with their Wiues, rather than with their Father and haue the fame Mother.

That murther and crueltic was also forbidden, both before the law written, and to Inniis, Gen. 40 before the floud it felfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was 4-1. Hem 44-4. one of the greatestcauses of the destruction of mankinde by the generall floud. For especially, see God faid vnto NoA, An end of all flesh is come before mee : for the earth is filled with ingeliefewords God filled the Constant of the sense of the mercie and indice interposing betweene the vntaught, and reuenge. This com. v.t. Delabor-mandement God repeated to Nos., after the waters were dried up from the earth. fixet one. Who fo fleddeth mans bloud, by man (hall his bloud be fied: for in the Image of God hath he Geneve 6. mademan.

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was observed among the to faithfull, and the contrarie punished by the fathers curse: as, Cursed be Canaan; a servant Ging 25, of feruants (ballhe be onto his brethren. Againe, we finde that the vinatural finne of the Sodomites was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heauen. The finne of Adulterie and Rauishment, was before the law no leffe detefted than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for Dina's forcing; and by the Gonzalate

iudgement which Inda gaue against Tamar, That shee should be burnt : and by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced. Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken : for shee is a mans Wife. To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and yncleane beafts, of Circumcifion, of the Brother to raife vp feede to his Brother that left a Widdow childleffe, and divers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deligered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the law of Moses containeth that which is called The old Testament, may be faid, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was ingrauen in stone, but also in substance to have beene to given in precept to the Patriarks. For as S. Paul witnesseth of himselfe, I knew not finne, but by the law: fo cuer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the Angels intuitinely; Men by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessarie motions, without fenfe or perception,

### ð. I X.

Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

Rom. 3, v. 19,

Luc.24.44.

Fom.6.4.

Gal. 2.18.

Gal 3.23.

Luc. 16.6.

Heb.7, 12.

Ø 10.L.

Ow as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforefaid, hath divers fignifications, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and reftraine : fo this Law, called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by S. Paul diverfly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, Now we know what soener the law faith, it faith to them which are under the law.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets, and Pfalmes, it is there 20 taken for the five Bookes of Moles. For fo Saint Luke hath diftinguished them; as, All must bee fulfilled which are written of mee in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the

When it is opposed to the Gospell, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, Therefore we conclude, that a man is instified by faith without Kom.2,28.

> When it is opposed to Grace, it fignifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremitie of law, and (immum ius : as, For yee are) not under the law, but under grace.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signes are taken for the things fignified; as the Sacrifice for Chrift, and the like; then it fignifieth but shadowes and figures; as, The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by I E s v s Christ.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christs comming, it signifies the whole policie of the Jewes Common-weale; as, Before faith came, wee were kept under the Law, &c. or the law of the order and institution of the Aaronical Priesthood; as, All the Prophets, and the Law, or the Priests, prophecied unto IOHN. And if the Priesthood bee changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needes bee

The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, 50 Authoritic, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.

But the Written Law of Moses, or the Lawc of the Old Testament, of which wee now fpeake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first out into CHAP.4.S.9. of the Historie of the World.

the mindes of men by God, and afterwards written by Mafes, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Justice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obscruers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to Saint James, Whosoever shall keepe the whole, and faileth in James 2, 10. one point, is guiltie of all. The definition vsed by the Shoolemen, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus given. Lex dismaelt distinum decretum, hominibus prascribens modum necessarium vt apte peruenire posint ad supernaturalem heatitudinem, que est vitimus humana vita finis; The divine law (fay they) is the decree of God, preferibing unto men a necessarie meane, whereby they may aptly attaine supernas o turall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.

The law of Mases hath three parts : Morall, Ceremoniall, and Indiciall. The Morall part commaundeth this or that good to be done, and this or that cuill to be avoided, in particular, as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as Doethis for I am the Lord, whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of dinine sernice, and of holineffe; (for externall worthip, and the order of hallowing our felues vuto God is called Ceremonie ) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the Iewes; and prescribeth orders for inflice and equitie. And therefore was it faid of Saint Paule, The commandement is full, ho- Rom T. 12. 20 ly and good: iuft, or iuftice being referred to the Iudiciall; holy, or holineffe to the

Ceremoniall:good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the gonernment of the common-wealth of the Ienes, in which manie things must need be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremoniall is divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holie things, Sacraments, and Obferuances. To Sacrifices belong beafts, and the fruits of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veffels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumcifion, the Paffeouer, and fuch like. For the Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to eate the bloud and fat of beafts; or in some other

20 outward things, as in walkings, purifyings, annointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Wollen; as also it prohibiteth other vnnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an Oxe and an Asse, or cast mingled seede in one field. It also exhorteth naturall compassion; and forbiddeth crueltie euen to beafts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroicd without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, Then shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beate downe the first buddes of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Oxe, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Muses; but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of Christ. For 40 the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away : fauing in the abilitie of instifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to lone and worship God: and to vic charitie one towards another : which for ouer shall bee required at our hands. Therein also are wee in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it foresignified. For the shadow is not destroied, but perfected, when the body it felfe is represented to vs. Besides, it ftill liueth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimonie of Christ, and in that it so giveth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before Christs com-

ming, and in a farre leffe degree of necessirie. Lastly, the Indiciall lineth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuerfall equitic thereof.

Bb 2

Rem.S.1.

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But the Morall faileth in the point of instification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall observation (because Christ himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were fignes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the Iewes Common-weale, and policie.

A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.



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S for that which remayneth in the generall confideration of the divine written Law, it may in effect bee reduced into these nine

- The dignitie and worth of the law.
- The Majestic of the law-giuer.
- The propertie and peculiaritie of the people receiving it.
- The conveniencie of the time in which it was given.
- The efficacie and power thereof.
- The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
- The end and vse of the Law.
- The fense and understanding of the Law.
- The durance and continuance thereof.
- 1. The dignitie of the Law is sufficiently proued by St. Paul in these wordes. Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and inst, and good: which three attributes are referred, as aforefaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iu-
- 2. The Majestie of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures : who as hee hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he only gave the law, who could on- 20 ly give the end and reward promifed, to wit, the faluation of mankinde: but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministerie of Angels : as it is said. Andthe law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediatour : and in the Acts. He caue the law by the ordinance of Angels.
- 3. The proprietie and peculiaritie of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared; Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diffenered : Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God. when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and feuered they were, because of Godschoise and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto Abraham, and his seede: not vnto his seedes, as to Esau and Jacob, but to his feede, as to Jacob, or Ifrael fingularly, of whom Christ. Now to ABRAHAM and his feede were the promifes made : he faith not to the feedes, as fleaking of many, but to thy feede, as of one, which is Christ.
- of many, out to 1my feeta, and your, immore const.

  4. The conteniencie of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Auguline: that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature, and Grace: the law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the law written in the Commandements, received by Moles in the worlds yeare 2514. continued to the Baprisme of Iohn: from which time begunne the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniencie are formerly ginen.
- 5. The fifth confideration is of the efficacie of this law, the fame being a dispofition to, or figne of our justification : but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sinnes forgiuen, who takethaway the sinnes of

CHAP.4. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

the world: and therefore S. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law beggerly and weake, Gal.4. beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgiue and inflifie. The bloud Hab 2. of Goates and Bulls, and the alhes of an Heifar could only cleanfe the body; but they were figures of Christs bloud, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the Gal x. law could instifie, then Christ died in vaine.

### δ. X I.

Of the fixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old



He old and new Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to faluation; as the old by workes, the new by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, mans happineffe and faluation.

which is, mans happinette and autation.

The old Teftament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witnesse. Yet the new of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the 20 waies of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to bee

abrogated: In that he faith the new Testament, he hath abrogated the old. For the old Heb. c.3. v.12. law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and deliucred with wonderfull miracles, yet was it conflituted in a policie perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an cuerlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the Apocalips, a Testament and Gospell for euer during.

The old Testament is called the law, because the first and chiefe part is the law of Moses, of which the Prophets and Psalmes are Commentaries, explicating that

The new Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part there-30 of is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epiftles or Letters of the Apolles, and the Acts or Storie of the Apolles, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word Euangelian fignifying a joyfull, happic, and prosperous message, or (as Homer vsed it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a facrifice, offered after victorie, or other pleasing successes. as by Xenophon. In the Scriptures it hath three fignifications · First, for glad tidings in generall, as in Esay the 52. v. 7. concerning peace : Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained to signific that most joyfull message of saluation, as in Luc. 2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for the Historie of Christ: and so wee vnderstand the foure Asi, s

Lastly, for the Preaching and disulging the doctrine of Christ, as Cor. 1.9. v. 14. and Cor. 2. 8. v. 18.

The agreement of both Tcftaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volumes) is by Danaus comprised in these source.

In their Author.

In the fubstance of the Couenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in right confine fie and justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Teframent and will of God in Substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church; 50 fo was there one couenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the fame thing being promifed in both; both tending to one, and the fame end : even the faluation of our foules : which according to S. Peter is the end of our faith. For although it bee faid, that Mofes did promife

Gal.3.v.19.

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by observing the law an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke and honie, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleffings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to affure the Fathers of those spiritual bleffings by Christ; for by the earthly hee raifed their minds to the hope of heauenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselues strangers, and pilgrimes, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem: according to this place of the

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Hebrewes: All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but law them a farre off and believed them confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth. To which purpose also S. Avgvstine: Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissaterrena aterna promitti. Few (faith hee) doe understand the old 10 law : not attending that by things earthly eternall are promifed. And S.HIEROME: Noluit Deus pascere Iudaos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, vt Iudai somniant: God would not feede the Iewes as beafts with corporall gifts and riches as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods owne words, Ego fum Deus tuus, er ero vohis in Deum: Iam thy God and I will bee your God. For the wordes, I will be your God. proue that it was not for the prefent, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promife; but in respect of the future : to wit the safetie of their soules. For as God created both bodie and foule, fo hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncared for, which liueth euer.

The agreement betweene the Old and New testament in substance, inferres also 20 the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the Apostles and Prophets : in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are affured : the fathers having caten the same spiritual foode, which we

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our finne and miferie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, serueth in subordination to the Gospell, the proper effects whereof are mercie and faluation: to which the law feruing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sinne and miseric, God sheweth his mercie and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we seuer the law from subordination to the Gospell, the cf- 20 fects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesses by workes, the other by faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; Moses accuseth, Christ desendeth: Moses condemneth; Christ pardoneth. The old reftraineth the hand, the new the minde. Data est lex que non fanaret (faith St. AVGVSTINE) fed que egrotantes probaret; The law was given not to Mamil. ad Rem. helpe but to discouer sicknesse : and S. CHRYSOSTOME, Data est lex, vt se homo inveniret, non vt morbus sanaretur, sed vt medicus quereretur; The law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection; not that his difease was thereby holpen; but that he might then feeke out the Philitian. For Christ came to faue the world, which the law had condemned. And as Moses was but a seruant, and Christ a sonne, so the 40 greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the worthiest person, faith Cyril: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

> ð. XII. Of the rest of the points proposed.

He feuenth confideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to Christ: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne works, we must secke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and 50 vtmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. Cur (ed

is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.

The second end of the law, is to render vs in excusable before God: who know-

ing so perfect alaw, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward rightcousnesse, and performance of dutie to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law is, as hath beene faid, to fend vs to Christ, and his grace, being in our felues condemned and loft. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and searefull tempest, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to deligne, and preferue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of Christ: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world. These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremonial law, is to confirme the truth of Christ, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equitie, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The fense and understanding of the law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worlhip and service of God: by the spirituall the figures

and mysticall fore-speakings of Christ.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law; the same had being vntill the paffion of Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the Genet. 40: 10. old and the new were in force. But after that the true facrifice was offered vpon the The Scepter Altar of the Croffe, then the Iewift facrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and from Itela. nor 20 figures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shadowes) ceased to binde the con- a Lawe-gine.

figures of Christ Christ being the body of those inadoves because the missing from between his feet, varill finished. In token whereof the vaile of the Temple rent a funder; noting that the shile come. ceremoniall vailes and shadowes were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakened at all : otherwise then that it had not power to condemne according to the Iewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by Christ himselfe seuerely commanded : our loue towards God being thereby to be witneffed. And herein Danid fo much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yeeld. In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitis; Ihaue becne delighted 20 in thy law as in all manner of riches: And againe. The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue

thousands of gold and filuer. This is the love of God (faith S. IOHN) that wee keepe his John 1:5. Commandement: And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in Deuteronomie witnesseth. This Commandement Deut.30.11.12. (laith he) which I command thee this day is not hidde from thee, neither is it farre off. It is 13.0 14. not in heaven that thou shouldest fay who shall goe up for us to beaven, and bring it us, and 7.8. cause us to heave it that we may doe it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest fay, who shall goe over the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? Orc. but the word is very neare unto thee, cuen in thy mouth and in thy heart for to doe it. Behold (faith Moses) I have fet before thee this day life and death; good and euill; in that I command thee this day to love the Lord

thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiest line, &c. Neither is it faid in vaine in S. MATTHEW. Si Capp. var. vis ad vitam ingredi serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements: and in S. Io HN : Scio quiamandatumeius vita aterna est ; I know that his Commande- c.12.0.56. ment is life everlasting. And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements : certainely he is but alvar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it is not in mans abilitie, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (Christ only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly conlider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Com-

50 mandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow libertie, and rather let flip our affections, and voluntarily loofen them, from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and dinine reason hath sastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedie of libertie) proposeth to it selfe. For this is the love of God , that wee keepe his Commande-

Louis.18,5.

Heb. 70

ments, and his Commandements are not grieuous. 1, IOHN 2, verf. 12, and if wee examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easie perswafions, we fleale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vie it against our pleafing defires.

### ð. XIIÏ.

of the seuerall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficultie is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our

Or by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? Fig. 6 (eing euery reasonable man may conceine and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites; and that it is of necessities to that by this almightie Vnitie, all things have beene caused, and are continued. And if brute beafts had this knowledge of their Creatour, and how in his prouidence he hath also prouided for every of them, which giveth to beaits their

foode, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serue and love himonly.

The fecond precept is the forbidding of Idolatrie, and worlhip of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the begin-Glotte in val. ming, feeing this is generally true. Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt; All ill examples did (bring and arife from good beginnings, For their first erection was to keep the memorie of men famous for their vertue; vntill (faith Lactantius ) the Deuill crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himfelfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead flocks, more worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that having life and reason, implore their helpe, which have 30 neither: yea, of more vilde prize and bafer, then the bafeft of beafts, who have fenfe and estimation? for what doe wee thereby (faith the Wisedome of SALOMON) but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, aftifiance in our journeis of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hathno power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which hee praieth. be more fenfeleffe: David maketh a doubt. For (faith he) they that make them are like unto them, and fo are all therest that trust in them.

The breach of the third Commandement is neither perswaded by worldly pleafure, nor worldly profit; the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, wee are no way allured to this horrible difdaine of God, vnleffe the hate of good men, and 40 Gods curfe, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfience me appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our defire. And therefore this strange custome hath the Deuill brought vp among men, without all fubtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornefull advantage over vs. For slaughter fatisfierh hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to neede, Adulterie to lust, Oppression to conetonfineffe: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemie, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it giveth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabaeth day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of the law; as in Exod, 23.12. And in the sewenth day thou shalt rest, that thine One and thine Affemay reft, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weake and helpleffe infancie, and bestowed on vs the haruest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, curling of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

CHAP.4. §.13.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, have made difference between flaughter cafuall, 10 and furious. Affectio enim tua (faith BRACTON) imponit nomen opers tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke fuch as it is. And certainely who focuer cannot for beare to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne

The third of the second Table, commands vs from adulterie. Now, if the prefernation of Virginitie have been poffible, for thousands of Men and Women, who Number relies in all ages have maftered their fleshly delires, and have returned chast to the grave: terram, Virginia It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the dishonour and injurie, which we offer to others by fuch a violation, feeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men! to all that affect it. And there is no man living whom the defire of beau-20 tie and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease for beare the prosequution of this ill : did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to from heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the fecond Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kind of violent robberie had beene vled in Moses time, which many Ruffians practise nowa-daies in England, and to the dishonour of our Nation more in England, than in any Region of the world among Christians, out of doubt, he would have censured them by death, and not by reflictation, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miscrable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth, but of those detefted Theenes, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, robbe, and 20 wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man, or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Bruterie, Drunkennesse, and voon Harlots, in one day, what other men fometime have laboured for all their lives: impourrishing whole families : and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might eafily be observed, it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolue, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence; that incourageth these Hellhounds. And if every man may prefume to be pardoned once, there is no state or common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witnoffe: from which if men could not forbeare; all furetie of estate, and life, were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to fuffer the fame death or punishment, which he fought by fallhood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupifcence, or their goods for defire of gaine. And this precept feemeth the hardest for men to obferue; fo esteemed by reason of our fraile affections : and yet if wee judge hereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconfiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For although it be not easie to master all our suddaine passions, yet 50 we may restraine and hinder their growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word Coneting reacheth to all those it is to be considered. For Concupifeentia, according to some, Est offrenatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of hauing: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selues by any our naturall frailtie, or vnaduised error;

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But, as I suppose, the word Concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vabridled cuill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later fort : which is, Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione nucell principium proprium actus boni aut vitioli : Such palsions or inclinations are unperfeet acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action. And fure, it may feeme, that fo long as wee relift fuch motions they harme vs not; as they fay, Quamdin refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as wee give no affent onto them, it is thought by somethat they hart us not : and that then only they hart when we suffer them to beare sway. But these men, as it feemes make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been to forbidden in the other: for in every Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward affent vnto euill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that wee may know the difference betweene this Commandement and the reft, the distinction of desires is to be held; that some are with affent and unbridled; others bridled, and without affent. For so euen the Morall *Philosopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath cuill desires, but without affent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good defires, but restrained and suppressed by contrarie passions. The cuill defires when they are accompanied with affent, are in enery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act : and therefore, if wee will have any thing proper to this 20 Commandement, we must needes say, that the cuill desires of the Continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though hee that bridleth his euill defires, be much better than he that veeldeth vnto them : vet fuch a man, even according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Ariffotle himfelfe makes Continentia, not to be vertue, but only a degree vnto it : confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his cuill affections, yet he doth not all, feeing hee ought not fo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinitie delivereth touching this matter. For, as he faith, that in the Continent man the having of these euill desires, though he relift them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man; so we, that the 20 having of them is a finne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of Divinitie to give the true reason of this doctrine : which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth that the euill defires of the Continent man, that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be finne; feeing fuch defires, though bridled, are a-pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleafed God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull indenours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our loue toward himselfe: wee may not fafely give libertie to our vanities, by cafting backe vpon God ( who is iuflice it selfe) that he hath given vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For as he is accurfed (saith St. Hierome) that anowes that the law is in all things possible to bee observed: so hee hath made this addition. Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum pracepisse; Accursed is hee that (aith that Godhath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the law: so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laid before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to bee vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our selues, doe our faithfull indeuours to observe them; which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, Danid witnesseth. South macket out and the time to the way of the south of liberation; let euery mans conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restraine himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandement upon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some service : if the fubicat neglecting the fame, feeke to fatisfie his Soneraigne with fhifting excuses, out of doubt fuch a Prince will take himfelfe to be derided therein.

of the Historie of the World.

### d. XIIIÍ.

If there were not any Religion nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessarie to be observed.



Снар.4.§.14.

Nd if we confider aduitedly and foberly, of the Morall law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of Moles gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that fuch was his mercifull proudence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them, were there no divine power at

all, nor any Religion among men, yet if we did not for our owne fakes striue to obferue these lawes: all societie of men, and all indeuours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would bee taken away : and every state and common-weale in the world fall to the ground and diffolue. Therefore, these lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a bleffing : to the end that the innocent might bee defended, that 20 euery man might enioy the fruits of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by inftice, order, and peace, wee might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of civill men, and not of faluages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, Letvs see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these

As first, what would the iffue be if wee acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diverlitie of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receive thence-from, either helpe or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disaduantage, and ill to man, that who foeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him; when hee may justly

The observing the Sabaoth holy, giveth rest to men and beasts, and nature her felfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given vs being, we thereby teach our owne 40 children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeares require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and scuerely punished, the races of mankinde would be extinguished: and who focuer would take the libertie to destroy others, giueth libertie to others to destroy himselfe.

If adulterie were lawfull and permitted, no man could fay vnto himselfe, this is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posteritie, no indeuour by vertue and vndertaking to raife families: murthers and poissinings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and energy man subject to most filthie and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankinde would shortly after perish, or line as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruits thereof. And fuch is the mischiefe of robberie, as where Moses for leffer crimes appointed reflitution foure-fold, policie of State and necessitie hath made it death.

Pfal.141.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mensiones and estates from them by corruption : the wicked would sweare against the vertuous : the waster against the wealthie: the idle begger and loiterer, against the carefull and painefull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and inflice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while wee couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne : our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, wee can looke for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be de- 10 prined of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing ? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himseise, did the most mercitull and prouident God ordaine them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertilitie of the earth, with all the bleffings given vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether unprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappie con-

> δ. X V. Of humane Law, written and unwritten.

Vmane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first divided into two, viz. Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten confifts of vlage, approved by time : which Isidore calls Mores : and hee defines Mores to be Consuetudines vetustate probata, to be customes approved by antiquitie or unwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from vse, as the cause from

the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a law: but yet 20 there where the law is defective, faith Isidore.

And of cultomes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the cufromes of Burgundie, and Normandie: the ancient generall custome of England, and the customes of Castill, and other Provinces.

The fecond are these pettie customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others

The particular or pettie customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The customes of the Duchie of Cornewale comprehending 40 also the Stannerie of Deuon, as touching Tin, and Tin causes, are written in Deuon, but not in Cornewale. But how soeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, In Reg. larin, v. 2 yet ought every custome to be rationabilis, as well as prascripta. Non firmatur tractu q.1.7. at.1. temporis quod de iure abinitio non subsissit; That which at first was not grounded whon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (faith V LPIAN) quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessaring in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law dinine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessarie continuance: it being manifest that every custome, which is against the law, had his 50 beginning from euill deedes, and therefore not without the former confiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tollcrated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have beene fince continued, because posteritie is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto mo-

ued. For non fufficit fimplex toleratio. And it is in this fort ouer-ruled in the law : Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nousm consistutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est; The people cannot bring in a new custome, against law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason; by which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the Law a common precept, the adulfement of Wifemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isido; e calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Governement and common profit : And more largely, Omneid quod ratione confifit; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, Greg. de Palets agreeing with the Law naturall, and eternall: made by the rationall difcourfe of Thangai artists those, that exercise publique authoritie: prescribing necessarie observances to the fubicet. That every law ought to bee a righteous decree, S. Augustine teacheth, faying : Mihilex effe non videtur, que iufla non fuerit ; It feemes to be no law at all to me. which is not just : and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law inst and legitimate (faith S. Augustine) which the Law-

20 makers have not derived from the eternall. Nihil influm atque legitimum eft, quad L.t. delib. Ath. non ab aterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authorifed Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the Gouernement of what kinde focuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called Violentia, or inique constitutiones; Violences, or wicked constitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure 4. Parts, conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: fo enery particular of the humane law may be refolued into some principle or rule Tho.q.9.5.art.2. of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be confidered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authoritie.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall under it. For according to THOMAS, Alia lex IVLIA de Adulterijs, alia CORNELIA de Sicarijs; Thelaw of IVLIAN against Adulterie is one. 40 the CORNELIAN against Ruffians, is another. Now the humane law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of Nations.

The Law of Nations is taken leffe or more properly; leffe properly for every law which is not of it felfe, but from other higher principles deduced; and so it feemeth that Vipian vnderstands it : for he defineth Ius gentium, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that distate, or sentence, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an cuident principle, yet so probable that all Nations doc affent ynto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadours be granted betweene ene-

mies, &c. which Nationall law according to divers acceptions, and divers confiderations had of the Humane law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, fometime of the Humane.

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Jus Cinile, or the Civill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers chates it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is ; For it is partly deduced out of fuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or cafily affent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and doe not fit all estates, Intes 6, to ff. Hercof V LPIAN, Inscinile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per om-de luftita ture, nis ei feruit : itag, cum aliquid addinus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Civile efficients; The Civill law (faith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature. and nations, nor yet in all points obay it : therefore, when we adde ought to, or take from the

Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civill Law. The law now commonly called the Civill Law, had its birth in Rome; and was

first written by the Decem-viri, 202. yeares after the foundation of the Citie. It was compounded afwell out of the Athenian, and other Grecian lawes, as out of the ancient Romane customes and lawes Regall. The Regall lawes were deuised by the first Kings, and called Leges Regie, or Papyriane, because they were gathered by Papyrine, Turquin then raigning. For though so many of the former lawes as maintained Kingly authoritie were abolished, with the name vet those of Servius Tullius, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common vtili-(Signal, 1, out tie, were continued, and were a part of the lawes of the twelue Tables. To these of Tomponius. lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by 20 the Senate, called Senatufconfulta: those of the common people, called Plebifeita: those of the Lawyers, called responsa prudentum: and the Edicts of the Annual Magiffrate: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by Iulian, and presented to Adrian the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall lawes: and the Volume stilled Edictum perpetuum; as those and the like Collections of Justinian afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the French call Reglements, confifted in this, that lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soperaigne authoritie (be the foueraigntie in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but Iuffum Magistratus, vn- 20 leffe by authoritie it be made a law) hath end with the officer, who made the fame, faith VARRO. Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam effe dicunt; They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeare: Though Isidore doth also expresse by the word Constitutions or Edicts, those Ordinances called Acts of Prerogatines: as Constitutio vel Edictumest quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.

Laftly, the Humane law is divided into the Secular, and into the Ecclefiafticall, or Canon. The Secular commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquilitic of the Common-wealth: the Ecclesiallicall the spirituall good, and right Gouernement of the Ecclefiasticall Common-wealth, or Church, illud natura legem, hoc divinam 40 spectat: That respecteth the Law of nature, this the law of God. And so may Ius Civile be taken two waies: first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the fame with the Secular, and divers from the Ecclefiallicall. But this division of the Schoolemen is obscure. For although the Civill be the same with the Secular, as the Civillis a law, yet the Secular is more generall, and comprehendeth both the Ciuill, and all other lawes not Ecc'efiasticall. For of Secular lawes, in vse among Christian Princes, and in Christian Commonweales, there are three kinds; the Civill which hath everywhere a voice; and is in all Christian estates (England excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of Fingland called Common, and the Lawes of custome or Provinciall. In Spaine besides the Law Civill, they have the customes of 50 Castall, and other Provinces: In France besides the Civill, the customes of Burgundie, Bloys, Berri, Niuernois, and Lodunois, &c. Tous lieux litues & afis en Lodunois, feront gouernez felon les costumes du dit Pays; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall bee governed according to the customes of that place.

There are also in France the cultomes of Normandie, and these of two kindes: Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three efforces. The Charters of confirmation of these ancient cultomes, before and fince their reformation have these wordes. Wes autem, registrum pradictum, wsus landabiles, etconsuetudines antiquas, &c. Laudamus approhamus & authoritate Regia confirmamus: The Register aforesaid, laudable vsc, and ancient customes, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authoritie confirme. The common law of England is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine Maximes by those customes of the Realme approved. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of Re-10 cord, of the Chancerie, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small

These ancient customes of England have beene approved by the Kings thereof,

from age to age : as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, dif-

feifed, nor otherwife destroied, but he must first be put to answere by the law of the land, was confirmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custome of England that the eldest Sonne should inherite without partition : In Germanie, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland it is the custome for all lands (that have not been religned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his ownelife; and so the second and third 20 eldeft (if there be fo many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent; this is called the custome of Tanistrie. For example, if a Lord of land have foure Sonnes, and the eldest of those four chaucalso a sonne, the three brothers of the eldest sonne. shall after the death of their brother; enjoy their Fathers lands before the Grandchild: the custome being grounded upon the reason of necessitie. For the Irish in former times having alwaies lived in a subdivided Civill warre, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were inforst to leave fuccessors of age and abilitie to defend their owne Territories. Now as in Normandie, Burgundie, and other Provinces of France, there are certaine peculiar. and pettie customes, besides the great and generall custome of the land, so are there 30 in England, and in curry part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our lawes, as I take it, are the Acts of Parliament : lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are Acts of choise, and selfe desire. Leges nulla alia VIp. ff. de Logi causa nos tenent quam quodiudicio populi recepta sunt; The lawes doe therefore binde the Leg. 32. subject, because they are received by the indgement of the subject. Tum demum human ale- Any dewerare. ges habent vim fuam; cum fuerint non modo infitute, sed etiam firmate approbatione com-munitatii; It is then that humane lawes haue their strength; when they shall not only bee de-dift. a. Cimin. uiled, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to every Christian law; that the same be honest; 40 that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrie; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. Hee also giues foure effects of the law, which Modestinus comprehends in two: to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds vs by feare, to avoide vice: the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to Ciceso, Legem oportet elle vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemá, virtutum; It behoueth the law to bee a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes; and it is two-fold, the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare 50 of external punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, Coactine, and Directine.

The second of these two effects remembred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incouragement to vertue, as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being fuch as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and for10

bidding, vrge vs to well-doing: laying before vs the good and the cuill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding euill, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter : and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and fubstance thereof: saying, Declina a malo, & fac bonum; Decline from euill, and doe

### ð. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane lawes, and in what fort.

Ow whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written or this subject, as well *Diumes as Lawyers:* and namely, whether Soue-graigne Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforefaid, the one Directive, the other Coactive: to the power Directive, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a preiudiciall 20 judgement against himselfe: and if equals have not any power over each other, much leffe haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receive their authoritic and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much about the lawes, as the foule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and fenfeleffe carcaffe. For the King is truly called, Ius viuum & lex animata; An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authoritie to lawes, Princes both adde greatnesse to themfelices, and conferue it, and therefore was it faid of Bracton out of IVSTINIAN. Merito debet Rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei : nam lex facit vt ipfe fit Rex : Right fully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King, for it is the 20 law that doth make Kings.

Brief. 2.

But whereas Bracton ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes divine : and by humane lawes only declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawiers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God only.

Tibi foli peccaui, faith DAVID; Against thee only have I sinned : therefore, the Prince cannot be faid to be subject to the law. Princeps non subjectur lezi; For secing according to the Schoolemen, the law humane is but quoddam organum & instrumen- 40 tum potestatis gubernatina: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsavis potestatis humana non pertinet : sed vis potestatis humananon se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neg, lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law (fay they) is but a kinde of organ, or instrument, of the power that governeth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold off: but the governour himfelfe, in whom the governing power dothrefide, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his owne power becontrolled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for every active abilitie is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfere- 50 fides. And feeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the Gree de Valen- law : Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sine legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliner himselfe from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus

CHAP.4. S.16. of the Historie of the World.

concluded. Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, Princeps verò sola voluntate fua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the law by necessitie of compulsion, but the Prince only by his owne will, and regard of the common good

Now concerning the politique lawes, given by Moles to the Nation of the Ifraelites, whether they ought to be a Prefident, from which no civil institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater abilitie. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, that we ought not to feeme wifer than God himfelfe, to who hath told vs that there are no lawes fo righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their feuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no leffe than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the fame law very hardly-were able. The Roman civill lawes did indeede containe in order, a great part of the then knowne world, without any notable inconvenience, after fuch time as once it was received and become familiar : vet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall customes of the fundric people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perswalion; or (as Astrologers more willingly grant) some in-20 fluence of the Heagens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, af-

foording matter of propocation to vice (as plentie made the Sybarites luxurious: want and opportunitie to steale, makes the Arabians to bee Theenes) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence fo common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diftinguished from instand honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of Congo vnhappily discreted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great furie rejected, because pluralitie of Wives was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, mee thinks, it were not amisse to consider, that the high God him felfe permitted fomethings to the Ifraelites, rather in re-

20 gard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were confonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the law, given by Mofes, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the cuill, which forceth man, as neare as may bee, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained, a vicious, yet not intollerable habite, with folong and fo publique approbation, that the vertue oppoling it, would feeme as vincouth, as it were to walke naked in England, or to weare the English fashion of apparell in Turkie: there may a wife and vpright Law-giuer, without prefumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of Moses his law required; 40 cuenas the good King Hezekia did, in a matter meerely Ecclefiasticall, and therefore

the leffe capable of diffeen fation, praying for the people; The good Lord bee mer- 2. Chron. cap. 30, cifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to feeke the Lord God, the God of v,18.19. bis Fathers, though he be not cleanfed according to the purification of the Sanctua-

rie: which praier the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor Willet, that the morall Indicialls of Moles doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tied to the same severitie of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they doe hold, that now the punishment of death fhould not be adjudged, where fentence of death is not given by Mofes: Christian 50 Magistrates ruling vnder Christ the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemencie and Mer- 1619.

cie, may abate of the feueritic of Mofes law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heavie; for to shew more rigour than Mofes, becommeth not the Gospell.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subject of

many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon mee, to speake any thing defini-

CHAP. V.

The Storie of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Ifrael, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the renerence giness to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.

Hen Mofes had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the Aske and Sundinarie; her mustered all the Tribes and Families of Issale; and hausing seen what numbers of men, fit to beare armes, were found in every Tribe, from 20. yeares of age vpwards; he appointed vinto them, by direction from the Lord, such princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole armie was 603550 able men for the warres, besides women and children; also, besides the frangers which

followed them out of Leppt. This great Armie was divided by Mofes into foure 30 groffe and mightie Battalions, each of which contained the ftrength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three R egiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of hadds, flightbar, and Zabulen. In the Tribe of hadds were 74600 fighting men, led by Nathan, lind hadden, flather of the Standard of the Tribe of hadds, who held the Vantquard, and was the first that moued and marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East side of the Armie; which was held the first place, and of greater dignitic.

15 The fecond Battalion or Armie, called in the Scriptures the Hoft of Reuben, Indicioned vinto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151450. All which marched vinder the Standard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were 46500, under Elizar: in Simeon 59300, under Shelmirel, in Gad 45650, under Elizar in Giber and incamped on the South fide of the Tabernacle.

The third Armie marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were iouned the Regiments of Standfe and Beniamin; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. alble men. The semanthed in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500, under Elishama: Manusse 32000, under Gamilel: Beniamin 3,400, under Abidam.

The fourth and laft Armie, or Squadron, of the generall Armie, containing 157600. able men marched valuet the Standard of Dan; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of Nephrali and Albor. And the Bhad the Rereward, and moued laft, incamping on the North lide. Dan had 62700. vnder Abiezer: Alber 41500. vnder Pariel: Nephrali 37. abov, nder Abir.

Belides

tiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthie Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Indiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly fay, that the defence of it hath alwaies beene very plaufible. And furely, howlocuer they bee not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and only law; yet shall wee hardly finde any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equall satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, ariling out of any Law besides it. Hereof. perhaps, that Iudge could have beene witnesse, of whom Fortescue that notable Bulwarke of our Lawesdoth speake, complaining of a judgement given against a 10 Gentle-woman at Salisburie, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her hulband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeare after being Conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) grienously lamented; but this Judge. faith the same Author, Sapius ipse mini sassus est, quod nunquamin vita sua animum eius de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed unto mee, that he should never during his life, be able to cleare his confeience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgement which other Sciences yeeld vnto the Metaphysiques, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of sciences, which out of the sci-20 ences themselues cannot be proued, may justly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject Hittitions, to that of respect, and to make the more time, you now make the unsected the Methyliques, which is, Ensuadance Ens. Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the Ens Entime, The being of beings, the only good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisedome. To which purpose well faith Saint A V G V S T I N E. Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam confulit aternam, de qua nulli anima iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall lawes if he bee good and wife, do therein confult the law eternall, to determine of which there is no power given to any foule. And as well Prince Edward, in

is no power giuen to any foule. And as well Prince Edward, in Fortefue his difcourfe, Nemo pretef melius ant aluafundamentum ponere, quam pofuit Dominus; No man can tay a better or another foundation,

than the Lord hath

CHAP.

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Belides these Princes of the seugrall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines oner Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinic and infurrection against Moses, Numb. 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against Moles 250. Captaines of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the twelue Princes of the Tribes, or Generall Colonells before spoken of, as by their names Num. 1. is made manifest.

The bleffing which Ifrael gaue to his children, tooke place not only in the divifion of the Land of promife, and other things of more confequence, long after fol- 10 lowing, but even in forting them under their feuerall Standards in the wilderneffe it was observed. For Iudah had the precedencie and the greatest Armie, which also was wholly compounded of the fonnes of Lea, Iacobs wife. Reuben having loft his birth-right, followed in the fecond place, accompanied with his brother Simeon. who had vndergone his Fathers curse; and with Gad, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. Inseph, who in temporall bleffings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the yonger (according to *Iscobs* prophecie) taking place before the Elder. He was affilted by *Beniamin*, his best beloued brother, the other sonne of *Rachel*. To Dan, the eldest sonne of Jacobs Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Ar- 22 tnie, according to Jacobs prophecie. Hee had with him under his Standard none of the children of Lea, or Rachel, but only the fonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, fur-rounded by the Leuites. Neare vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approch, by reason of these source powerfull Armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of Ifrael to come nearest, who were not of the Leuites, to whom the charge was committed. So facred was the moueable Temple of God, and with fuch reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000, persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580, had the peculiar charge, according to their feuerall offices and 20 functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of Aumbers, And as the Armics of the people observed the former order in their incampings; so did the Leuites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; The Geffurites on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of Ephraim, oner whom Eliasaph commanded, in number 7500. The familie of Cohath on the South fide, guided by Elizaphan, within the Armie of Reuben, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third companie were of the familie of Mer. ri, ouer whom Zuriel commanded, in number 6200 and these were lodged on the North fide within the Armie of Dan; On the East fide, and next within those Tribes and Forces which Indah led, did Moles and Aaron lodge, and their chil- 40 dren, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other Leuiticall families, was Eleazar the sonne of Aaron, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Armie of Israel, and of their incamping and marching: the Tabernacle of God being alway fet in the middle and center thereof. Thereuerend care, which Mofes the Prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Arke and Sanctuarie, witneffed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industrie vsed in the framing thereof, and cuerie, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in 50 the prouisions; the dutifull observance in the laying vp and preferring the holie Veffels; the folemne remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the fame, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now fo forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Familie, by the

. Anabaptist, Brownist, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ferued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Poperie, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as Time would foone bring to paffe (if it were not relifted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministerie (robbed of all dignitic and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-Gouernement, left to newnesse of opinion and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within England: to every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; infomuch as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrarie to it felfe, the Faith of men will foone after die away by degrees, and all Religion bee held in Corne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of Germanie cause of this answere to those that perswaded him to become a Lutheran, Si me adiungo vobis, tune condemnor ab alijs : si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor ; Quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo; If I adiogne my selfe to you, I am consemned by others; if I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you; What I should avoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.

CHAP.5. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: The Passeover of the second yeare; The departing of IETHRO.

Ow when Moles had taken order for all things necessarie, prouided for the feruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Armic, and diuithe feruice of God, written the Lawes, name to the strailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all forts: The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, Num. 6.

fixe couered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the San- The Hebrewe Etuarie excepted; which for reuerence was carried upon the shoulders of the sonnes of the sixteene of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conucied the other parts of the Tabernacles and Velicls thereto belonging, were deli- Gerah of filuer nered to the Leuites for that feruice, namely to the fonnes of Gershan and Merari.

Besides these Chariots each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, ling the Side offered vnto God, and for his service in the Temple, a charger of fine silver, waighing 130. sheckles: a filuer Boll of 70. sheckles: after the sheckle of the Sanctuarian in Gastister. and an incense-Cup of gold of ten sheckles: which they performed at the same time 30.13.) conteiwhen the Altar was dedicated vnto God by Agron: and before they marched from for a Santharie Single towards their conquest: besides the beasts which they offered for facrifice, ac- size of filter is cording to the law Ceremoniall, the waight of all the twelve filuer chargers, and the comen state claims and the waight of gold or is but halfe of in the incense-Cups, to 120. sheekles of gold: which makes of sheekles of liluer 1200 so much towir, euery sheckle of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which it is vsually exthey offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twentie pound fterling. poudded though This done, Moses, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for Villalpandur lathe celebrating of the Palleouer: which they performed on the fourteenth day of that the comto the fecond Moneth of the fecond yeare: and on the 20. day of the fame the cloude mon, and the was lifted vp from about the Tabernacle, as a figne of going forward; Mofes begin-were all one. ning his march with this innocation to God, Rife up Lord, and let thine enemies bee Num.9.v.s. feattered, and let them that hate thee, flie before thee. Then all the people of Ifrael remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine Sinai, towards Param Num 9.17.

the Armie, or great squadron of Iuda, led by Naashon, taking the Vantguard, followed by Nethaneel, and Eliab, Leaders of the Tribes of Iffachar and Zabulon : after whom the rest marched as in the figure express. And because the passage through fo many Defarts and Mountaines, was exceeding difficult: Moles leaving nothing vinforethought which might ferue for the advancement of his enterprize, he inflantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom in the tenth of Numbers he calleth Hobab to accompanie them in their journey towards Canaan : promifing him fuch part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man as hee was of great vnderstanding and judgement (as appeared by the counsaile he gaue to Moles for the appointing of Judges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those 10 parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian or Madian; and (asir feemeth) a man of great yeares and experience, for he was then the Priest or Prince of Madian, when Mofes fled first out of Agypt, and married his Daughter: which was 42. yeares before this request made. And though Mofes himselfe had lived 40. veares in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to trauaile : yet the better to affure his paffage, and fo great a multitude of foules, which could not bee fo few as a Million: it was necessarie to vse many guides and many conducters. To this request of Moses it may seeme by the places, Exed. 18.27. and Num. 10.30. that lethro, otherwise called Hobab, yeelded not : for it is euident that he went backe from Indicated Mofes into his owne Countrie. But because it appeareth by other places of Scrip- 20 11. Alfo 1. Sam. ture, that the posteritie of this Hobab was mingled with the Ifraelites: it is most like-15.6. And 2. ly that this his returne to his owne Countrie was rather to fetch away his familie: Reg. 10. 15.

1. Chron. 2. 55.

and to take his leaue of his owne Countrie, by fetting things in order, than to abide

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### ð. III.

The voiage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the red Sea.



Fter this diffmiffion of Hobab, Ifrael beganne to march towards the De-Jarts of Paran: and after three daies wandring, they fate downe at the Sepulchers of luft, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio: by reason that God confumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers, which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23.day of the same Mo-

neth. And from this 23, day of the second moneth, of the second years, they rested and fed themselues with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of Sinan or June: Num.11. & 33. whereof furfaiting there died great numbers : from whence in the following moneth, called Thamus, answering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth: where Miriam 40 the fifter of Moles was stricken with the leaprosie, which continued upon her seven daies, after whose recouerie I/rael removed toward the border of Idumaa: and incamped at Rithma, neare Kades Barnea, from whence Moles fent the twelve discoverers into the Territorie of Canaan: both to informe themselves of the fertilitie and strength of the Countrie: as also to take knowledge of the Waies, Passages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For Arad King of the Canaanites furprised divers companics of the Ifraelites, by lying in ambush neare those waies: through which the discoursers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discouerers of Cades, the wrath of God was turned against Ifrael; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his fo many benefits, fo many remissions, fo many mira- 50 cles wrought, was fuch, as they eftermed their deliuerance from the Egyptian flauerie, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible Wildernesse (for so Moses callethit) with the victorie which hee gave them against the powerfull Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee

Num.21.

Dtst.1.v.19.

led them on and preferued them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be flaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported vnto them, by the fearchers of the Land, That the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many firong Towers, and Castles: that many of the people were Giantlike ( for they confest that they saw the sonnes of Angethere) who were men of fearefull flature, and fo farre ouer-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect, Now, as

this mutinie exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now-a-daies, an Electo) to carrie them backe againe into Agypt: fo did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every foule of the whole multitude (Iofua and Caleb excepted) who being confident in Gods promifes, perfwaded the people to enter Canaan, being then neare it, and at the mountaine foote of Idumaa: which is but narrow, laying before them the fertilitie thereof; and affuring them of victorie. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued, both of reason and common fenfe: they threatned to flone thefe encouragers to death: accounting them as Num. 14.10; men either desperate in themselves, or betraiers of the lives, goods, and children of all their bretheren, to their enemies; but God relifted these wicked purposes, and interpoling the feare of his bright glorie betweene the vnaduifed furie of the multi-

20 tude, and the innocencie and constancie of his fernants; preserved them thereby from their violence: threatning an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a confuming and mercileffe peftilence. For this was the tenth in- Num. 14, 7,22, furrection and rebellion, which they had made, fince God deligered them from the flauerie of the Agyptians. But Males (the mildest or meekest of all men) praied vnto Numas vas God to remember his infinite mercies : alleadging that this fo feuere a judgemen how descruedly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations: and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of Ifrael failing in power to performe his promifes, fuffered them to perifh in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no leffe just than mercifull, as God is flow to anger, so is his wrath a confuming

30 fire: the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude; and therefore, as with a hand leffe heavie than hoped for, he footrged this injustic, fo by the measure of his glorie (euermore jealous of neglect and derision) hee suffered not the wicked to palle vnpunished; referuing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, hee was pleased to preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which have never beene frustrate.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne : with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the returne.



Ow when Mofes had reueiled the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them : they beganne to bewaile themselues, though ouer-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among

them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, They would needes amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrarie agains to the adulfe of Mofes : who affured them. that God was not now among them : and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by his direction, who could not erre: and that the enemies fword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leffe sharpe than death; and in the handes of the Amalekites, and Canaanites no leffe cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwaies follow those counsells which carrie

them to their owne destructions: so the Hebrewes after they had for laken the opportunitie by God and their Conductors offered : and might then have entred Indea before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrarie to Gods commaundement, vndertake the enterprise of themselves; and ranne headlong and without adulfe into the mountaines of Idumaa. There the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joyned and attending their aduantage, fet on them, brake them: and of their numbers flaughtered the greatest part : and following their victorie and purfaste, confumed them all the way of their flight euen vnto Hormah : the Amalekites in revenge of their former loffe, and overthrowe at Raphidim: the Canaanites to preuent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which power- 10 full affemblie of those two Nations (affisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common fafetie ) it pleafed God to forewarne Mo-(es, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For hec commaunded him to returne by those painefull passages of the deferts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe : in which retraite before they came backe to paffe ouer tordan there were confumed 38. yeares; and the whole number of the fixe hundreth and odde thousand, which came out of Egypt (Moles Jolhua and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wilderneffe, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholy worne out, and the promifed Land beflowed on their children: which were increased to 600000, and 20 more. For belides the double fault both of refuling to enter the Land vpon the returne of the discourrers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermainded; it feemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping Moloch, and the Host of heaven. For although Moles doth not mentionit, yet Imos doth, and so doth the Martyr Stephen; as also that the Ifraelites worthipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times it is proued out of fundrie

2.Kmgs c.17. v.16.& cap.at. v.3.& c.23.v.4 5.11. 2.Chro.c 33.v.3 Hicrom.c.19. v.13.&c.

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Now after the broken companies were returned to the Campe at Cades, Moles, according to the commaundement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recouer the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from 20 Casles or Rithma he removed to Remmonparez, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence hee went on to Libral, taking that name of the frankingense there found. From Librah hee crost the valley, and fate downe at Reffa neare the foot of the mountaine. And after he had refted there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at Ceelsta: where one of the Hebrewes, for gathering broken wood on the Sabaoth, was stoned to death. After which, Moles alwaies keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountaines (those which bound the Desert of Sin, and those of Pharan) cross the same from Ceelata; and marched Eastward to the mountaine of Sapher, or Sepher ; this making the Twentieth manlion. From thence hee paffed on to Harada; then to Maceloth; 40 and then to Thahahand fo to Thara or Thare the foure & twentieth manfion. Where while Mofes rested, the people began that infolent and dangerous mutinie, of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram: who for their contempt of God and his Ministers were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the earth opening her mouth deuoured, others euen two hundred and fiftie which offered incense with Korah were consumed with fire from heauen; & 14700. of their partie, which murmured against Moses, stricken dead with a fudden peftilence : one of the greatest meruailes and judgements of God. that hath beene shewed in all the time of Moses his government, or before. For among fo great a multitude, those lay-men who would have vsurped Ecclesiaflicall authoritie, were fuddenly swallowed up aline into the earth with their fami- 50 lies and goods; euen while they fought to ouerthrowe the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the gomernment both of his Church and Common-weale of his people, And the better to affure the people, and out of his great mercie to confirme them, it pleafed him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his fernant amon, by the twelue roddes giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which Mossis received one of cuery Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and drie Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and Amons on that of Leta; it pleased God, that the rod of Amon received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Arke one night, had on it both Buds, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

10 From Tharab the whole Armic removed to Methna; and thence to Efmona; and thence to Maferath, (or Mafarir after S. Hierome) and from Maferath to Beneiacan; and fo to Gadgad; which Hierome calleth Gadgada; thence to Mahata, the thirtieth Manilion; where from certain fountaines of water gathered in one, Adrickomius maketh a River, which falleth into the Red Sea, between Madian and Afloneaber.

Now although it be very probable, that at Assignator, where Salamon furnished his Fleets for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though Herodosus Hulls; maketh mention of a great River, in Arabiathe Stonie, which he calleth Corys, from whence (shirth he) the Inhabitants conveigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of Arabia relieved the Armie of Cambylis: yet is A-

30 drichomius greatly deceiued as manytimes he is, in finding these fiprings at Gadgad, or Extabata, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manison. For it was at Futon, that those springs are spoken off, which in Deat. the 10.-2. 7: is also called tetabata, or Iobbath, a Land of running waters, and which by all probabilitie fall into the Reiver Zonei, the next adopting. And that these springs should fall into the Red Sea at Association, the next adopting. And this I sinder an Association in Belonius, that there are divers Torrents of first hwater in those sandaparts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a sew miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirstie sand, before they can recover the bankes of the Red Sea.

From Istabata, Moses directed his iourney towards the Red Sea, and incamped at Hobrons; and from thence to Esong aber: which Citie in Iosephus time had the name of Berevice; and in Hieromes Esia. From thence keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: Essong aber Deal Speing the farthest place towards the South-east, that Moses travailed in that passage.

It feemeth that Esongaber or Assongaber, Essistand Assonation to at this time in the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is said, That the Lord spake with MOSES NAMELONAL AND ASSONATED ON in the Mount Hor, ware the scale of the Lands of Edom; So as the Mount Hor was at this time in the South border of Idomes. And if Essions so as the Mount Hor places neare the Red Sea, had at this present been subject to the Idomesus, Model of the World of the Moses of

(s) few would allo have demanded a free pallage through them. It is true, that in the future the falumens obtained those places for it is faid. Another week on 69 Midian, 1.Kingi 11.1%, and tame to Paran, and tooke mon with them; which were those companies that followed you and took and took of falumes into & Egypt, when he fled from took Likewife it is faid of Solomon, that he made a nauie of lihps in Elongabor befides Eloth; in the Land of Edom.

ð. V.

Of Moses arrivall at Zin Kades: and the accidents while they abode there.

Rom Estongaber he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness for Zim, which is Kadesh sor in Beroth, of the children of Lucan; where they sate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeare after they left Lappe. For at the next Mansion Laron died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; then ine and thirties they have the state of the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; then ine and thirties they have the state of the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; then ine and thirties the state of the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; then ine and thirties the state of the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare; then ine and thirties the state of the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth years.

Tan 20-1.

tieth yeare taking end at Esiongaber. And at this Citie of Cades (for so it was thought to be) or neare it, died Miriam or Marie, Moles fifter, whose Sepulcher was to bee feene in Saint Hieromes time, as himfelfe anoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine Hor, all the people murmured most violently against Moles, by reason of the scarcitic of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being denoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the suddaine pestilence which often feifed themsnor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could prenaile with this Nationany longer, than while they were full fed and fatisfied in every of their appetites: but in flead of feeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murnured, repinded, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed effates, and calling vugratefully on Moses all their misaduentures; yea though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deferts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherein all their miferies were to take end. And being, as it were, in fight of the Land promifed, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end: he commanded Moles to strike a R ocke adjoyning with his rod; and the waters iffued out in a great abundance, with which both themselues and their cattaile were fatisfied. Neuertheleffe, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in 20 Mosesand Aaron, at this place: therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promifed, whereto perchance their worldly delires might inuite them. But it pleafed him to end the trauailes of Aaron at the Mountaine Hor, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of Hor, Aaron was despoiled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his Sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the Mountaine; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more

Of this Mountaine called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deuter. 10. vers. 6. those Horites tooke name, which the Idumaans had formerly vanquished. Some there are 30 which make Mosera, which was the seuen and twentieth Mansion; and Mosera which they write Moleroth for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manfion, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places : because Moses in passing from Cadesbarne towards Estiongater, incamped at Mosera, after he departed from Hesmona, and before he came to Beniascan. And this Mofera, which is also called Hor, he came vnto after he left Cades, where Miriam, Moses fister died; the first being the feuen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should have been written, Hor inxta Mosera; Hor neare Mosera: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into diverstops, as Sinai and Horebare - whereof the West part Moses calleth Mosera, and the East 40 part Horeb. By the West part Moses incamped, as he past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand 5 by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards Modb: as in the description of Moses his passage through Arabia, the Reader may

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Mofes fent Meffengers to the Prince of Idumea, praying him that hee might passe with the people of Israel through his Territorie into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the Citie of Kadeft, where Moses then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of Zared, Arnon, and Iordan, hee might have runne into many hazards 50 in the paffage of those Rivers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commaunded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of Idumaa hercunto, Moles remembred him, that he was of the same race and familie with Ifrael: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the

Edonates and ifraelites were the Sonnes of one Father, to wit, Ifage; inferring thereby, that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to ashis the Canapites; against whom Elas his Ancester had made warre, and driuen out the Harites (who were of their ancient races descended of Cham) out of the Region of Ser, calling it by his owne name Edom, or Edumed. Hee also making a thort repetition of Gods bleffings beflowed on them, and of his purpoles and promiles; affured Edom, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrie, but that hee would restraine his Armie within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high waies, paying money for 10 whatfoeuer he vfed, yea cuen for the water, which themfelues or their Cattaile thould drinke. For Moles was commanded by God not to prouoke the children of Esas. But the King of Educated knowing the firength of his owne Countrie, Deat. 2.4, the fame being neare Canan, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines: and with all fuspecting, as a naturall wife man, that 600000. ftrangers being once entred his Countrie, it would reft in their wills to giue him law, refoluedly refufed them paf-fage, and deliuered this answere to the Meffengers: That, if they attempted to en-Numao, No. ter that way, he would take them for enemies and relift them by all possible means. 21. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his countrie together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their 20 paffage. For as it is written: Then E D o M came out against him (to wit, Moses) with rum oco. much people, and with a mightie power. Whereupon Atofes confidering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of Seiror Edumas, and that the Land promifed was that of Canaan: like vnto himfelfe, who was of a naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, he refused to aduenture the Armie of Ifrael against a Nation, which being ouer-come, gaue but a paffage to inuade others; and which by reason of the seate of their mountainous Countrie, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength

of Israel, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to have conque-

Of their compassing Idumea, and transiting to Arnon, the border of Moab.

red the rest.

E therefore leaving the way of Idumea, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of Mash. Which when Arad King of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanched the way of Edum.es; and knowing that it was Cansan, and not Edom, which

If ael aimed at, he thought it fafeft, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrie, than to be found by them in his owne : which he might have done with a farre greater hope of victorie, had Mafes beene enfort first to have made his way by the sword through Idameat, and thereby, though victorious, greatly haue leffened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being resoluted to make triall, what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Agypt, before they came nearer his owne home, leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defert, he set vpon some part of the Armie; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattle that they 50 draue with them, could not incampe fo neare together, but that fome quarter or other was cuer-more subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and car-

ried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessioner, which Dd 2

Nm.14-45.

ioyned his forces with the Amalekites, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous Uraelstes, which without direction from God by Moles would have entred Canaan from Cadesbarne. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Armie were of the Consanites, because in the first of Deuter, 44, the Amorites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are faid to have beaten the Ifraelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the fame that had a victoric ouer Ifrael, neare Cadesbarne, or if it were his Predecessour that then prenailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses purpose to compasse Most, determined while he was yet in the Desert to trie 10 the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites vtterly destroied the Canaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the Ifraelites. But it is to be understood, to have beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of lofus. For had Moles at this time entred Canaen in the pursuit of Arad. hee would not have fullen backe agains into the Deferts of Zin and Moab, and have fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compasse, by the Rivers of Zared and

Num.33.40.

Neither is their conicerure to bee valued at any thing, which affirme, that Arad did not inhabite any part of Canami Eelfe, but that his Territorical with 12 out it, and neare the Mountaine Ilar. For Ilar and Zim Cades were the South borders of Eelom, and not of Canam. And it was in the South of the Land of Canam, that Arad dwelt: which South part of Canam was the North part of Felom

Againe, Horma (for fo farre the Israelites after their victorie pursued the Canamites) is scatted in the South of Indeas. There is also a Citic of that name in Simeon. But there is no slich place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutine which followed presently after the repetition of this victorie, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in Tosias his time, and not at the instant of Anads assault. For had the Israelites at this time 37 stacks the Cities of Anad, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water, and bread. But it was in the time of Issae, that the Israelites took their reuenge, and after they had past Israelites. In the Israelites took their reuenge, and after they had past Israelites that then gouerning them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, namet this Anad by the name of his Citie so called 3 and with him the King of Horma: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canamites. And hee nameth them amongst those Kings, which hee vanquished and put to death.

Now after this affault and furprife by Arad, Môfes finding that all entrance on that fide was defended, hee led the people Eaftward to compaffe Idamasand the 40 Deads. Sea, and to make his entrance by Arman and the Plaines of Mode, at that time in the possibility of the Arman and the Plaines of Mode, at that time in the possibility of the East and the Plaines of Mode, at that time in the possibility of the East and the Plaines of Mode, at that time in the possibility of the East and the East an

From the Mount Hor, Moses leaving the ordinarie way which lieth betweene the Red Sea, and Calesyria, incamped at Zalmons: and thence hee removed to Phimon, where hee rected the Brasen Seprent; making these ioninies by the edge of Edamona, but without it. For Phimon was sometime a principall Citic of the Edomites. Now where it is written in Nambers 21. Fers. 4. That stom Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grineed the people, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned backe towards the Red Sea;

neither did they march (according to Fonsech) per viam, que latet a lateremare rabrum; By the way that stdet the Red Sea, but indeede they croft, and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitis, and the Countries of Maub, to the ked Sea, that is, to Ejongaber; Elath, and Addan: which way, as it lay North and South, fo Israel to lhunne the border of Edom, and to take the vimost East part of Maub, to Croft the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

CHAP.5. 8.7.

From Phunon he went to Oboth; where they entred the Territorie of Modb, adioyning to the Land of Suph,a Countrie bordering on the Dead Sea; and from thence 10 to Abarim, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of Moab: From thence they recoucred Dibon Gad, or the River of Zared, which rifeth in the mountaines of arabia, and runneth towards the Dead Sea, not farre from Petra the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having palt that River, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the Cities of Moab; which Hieremie the Prophete. 48. v. 22. calleth the House of Diblathaim, the same which afterward was destroied among the rest by Nabuchadneffar. From thence they came to the River of Arnon, and incamped in the mountaines of Abarim: though in the 22. of Numbers, Mofes doth not remember 20 Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh of his remoue from the Riner of Zared, immediately to the other fide of Arnon; calling Arnon the border of Moab, betweene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrie at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by Sehon, King of the Amorites : euen from the Predecessiour of Balac Peor then raigning. From Diblathaim, Mofes fent Messengers to Sehon, King of the Amorites to defire a paffage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he defired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet hee had no warrant from God to enforce him. Moles also in sending messengers to Seon observed 20 the same precept, which he left to his posteritie, and successours, for a law of the war. namely in Deut. 20. v. 10. in these wordes, When thou commest neare unto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries onto thee, and ferue thee, but if it refule, oc. thou shalt fmite all the Males thereof with the edge of the fword. Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

### δ. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Storie, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture which are loft.

Ow concerning the Warre between I frael and Sehon, Mofes seemeth Numeralwas to referre a great part of this Storic to that Booke entituded Liber bellowing to referre a great part of this Storic to that Booke entituded Liber bellowing to the self-bellowing the booke of Gods battailes and therefore passet from the most of things monorable, with greater breuitie in this place. His wordes after the General translation are these. Wherefore it fall be forein in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and the Rivers of Armon. The Fulgac copie different not in self-off or this: But the Greeke Septuagint varie. For the Greeke writes it to this effect, For thus it is faid Numer. On the Control of the Red Sea, which is in the General and Vulgar Edition, names the Region more Chapto of \* Suph, a Countrie bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as he consectured. A. 4, 1, 2.

The Text he readeth thus. I direr date foller in recensions bellow in East over, contra solventhere of Valera values and the season of the Red Sea towards the East, as the consection of the Sea

Spoken 18. 5.3.

Spoken in repeating of the battailes of IEHOVAH, against VAHEB in the Countrie of SVPH: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon. In which wordes he understands, that amongst the Warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Ifraelites, there was in those times a famous memorie in the mouth of most men, concerning

the Warre of Sehon against Vaheb, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrie neare Arnon , out of the possession of the Monbites. For this Valeb was the immediate Predecessour of Balae, who lived with Moles: though it be written that this Balac was the fonne of Zippor, and not of Vaheb. For it feemes (as it is plaine in the fuccession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not succeffine: And as Innius in this translation understandeth no special Booke of the bat- 10 tailes of the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special booke be meant; and if any; whether it bee not a prediction of Warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the booke of Indiges, Stracidese, 46, tells vs plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by I o s v A. Who was there (faith he) before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few wordes, referring the Reader to other bookes, written of the fame matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a booke as this there was; wherein the feuerall victories by Ifrael obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Ifraelites, were particularly and largely writ- 20 ten. And that the fame should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have beene destroied by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the bookes of Hensel, howfocuer they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of Thaddeus, and cited by Origen ment apair, and by Tertullian.

That worke also of the Patriarch Abraham, of Formation, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The bookes remembred by Iofua c. 10. v. 12 and in the second of Samuel c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of Jasher, or Justorum, is also loft; wherein the flay of the Sunneand Moone in the middeft of the Heauensis 30 recorded, and how they flood ftill, till Ifrael had avenged themselves of their enemics : out of which also David tooke the precept, of teaching the children of Inda, to

exercife their bowes against their enemies. Somethinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the instare

written, according to the 69. Pfalme v. 28. where it is faid, Let them be put out of the Microningnen, booke of life, neither let them be written with the righteous. HIERO ME thinks, that fager Lis Regime David by this booke understood those of Samuel; Rabbi Salomon, that the bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust Abraham, of Isaac, Iacob, and Mofes, are written; others, that it was the booke of Exodus; others, as Theodoreius, that it was a Commentarie vpon Iofus by an vnknowne Author.

The booke of Chozai, concerning Manaffe, remembred in the fecond of Chron. Hirron.in ennot. 33. v. 18. 6 19. Of this booke, alfoloft, Hierome conceines that the Prophet I/ay

was the Author. in Paralie.

The same mischance came aswell to the Storie of Salomon, written by Ahia Silonites, who met with Ierobeam, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of If ael from the fonne of Salomon: as to the bookes of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Jeedo the Seer, remembred in the second of Chron. 6 9. v. 29. with these haue the bookes of Shemajah and of Iddo, remembred in the fecond of Chron. c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of Jehn the sonne of Hanani, of the acts of Jehossaphat, cited in the focund of Chron.c. 20. v.34. Also that booke of Salomons which the Hebrewes 50 write Hiferim, of 5000 verses, of which that part called Cantieum Canticorum only remaineth, 1. Kings 4. 32. and with this divers other of Salomons workes have perished, as his booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. Kings 4-33with the reft remembred by Origen, Isfephus, Hierome, Cedrenus, Ciccus Afculanus, Pieus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith Nebuchadneffar burnt the Temple of Hierufalem. But let vs returne thither where

Of Moses his sparing the issue of Lot: and of the Giants in those parts: and of Sehon and Oc.



Hen Moles had past Arnon, he incamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, oppolite to the Citie of Nebo, leaving the Citie of Midian on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Moabites on that fide. For Moab did at this time inhabite on the South fide of Arnon, having loft all his ancient and best Territorie, which was now in the possession

on of Sehon the Amerite. For Moses was commanded by God notto molelt Most, Dent. 2, v.9. 6 peither to prouoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children 10.11.618. of Lot; the same which was anciently possess by the Emims, who were men of great flature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the sonnes of Airce.

God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise were descended of Lot: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the Ammonites called Zomzummims. For it feemeth that all that part, especially to the East of Iordan, even to the Defert of Arabia, as well on the West, as on the East side of the Mountaines of Gilead, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promifed, the Ifraelites did not at any time paffe those Mountaines to the East of Balan, but left their Countrie to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We finde also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: fo these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of Canasa, and the Land it felfe, had among them many families of Giant-like men. For the Ant- 10f. 15. v. 12. 50 kims dwelt in Hebron, which fometimes was called the Citie of Arbah, which Arbah 14. v.15.

30 in Iofua is called the Father of the Anakims; and the greatest man of the Anakims. There had also beene Giants in the Land of the Moabites, called Emims : and their chiefe Citic was Aroer or Ar, neare the River of Arnon. To the Giants of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gaue the name of Zamzummims; which were of the fame ancient Canaanites : and their chiefe Citie was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They were alfo called Zuzims, which is as much to fay, as Viri robuffi, horrendia, Giganies: Strong men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the fame Prouince, and not farre to the North of Areer.

Now Mofes having past Arnon, and being incamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to Sehon, as he had done to Edom, to pray a paffage through his Coun-40 trie, was denied it. For Selion being made proude by his former conquest upon Faheb the Moabite, which Nation the Amorites effected but as frangers and viurpers. (themselves being of the sonnes of Canain, and the Moabites of Lot) refused to grant Ifrael any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter Moles with as much speede as he could, because Moses incamped in the Countrie of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of Madb; the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which Moles wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattle. Towards him therefore hafting himfelfe, they encountred each other at Inhaz: where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomfitted; and the victorie so pursued by Moles. as few or none of the Amorites escaped. Hee also flaughtered all the Women and 50 Children of the Amorites, which he found in Effebon, and all the other Cities, Vil-

lages, or Fields; they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were: and descended of Emoreus or Amoreus : for Moses calleth the Bulanites also Amorites. Dest. 1. 18. And although Israel might now have taken a ready way and passage into Indea: being at this time, and after this victorie at the banks of Iordan: yet hee knew it to bee perilous

perilous to leave fo great a part of that Nation of the Amorites on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of Bafan or Traconitis: and therefore heled on his Armie to inuade 0g: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the only man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the mountaine of Hermon (which mountaine faith Moles, the Sidonians call Shirian, and the Amorites Shenir) and the River of Iordan. And it befell vnto the King of Bafan ( who attended Mofes comming at Edrei) as it did vnto Sihon: for he and his fonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and poffest. After this Moses with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the mountaines of Abarim, left the perfequation of that warre vnto Jair the sonne of Manasie: 10 who conquering the East parts of Basim, to wit, the Kingdome of Argab, euen vnto the Nations of the Geffuri and Machati, 60. walled Cities: called the fame after his owne name Hauoth Jair : of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of Mamaile poffet the North part as farre as Edrei, but the East part that belonged to Sibon the Amorite, with the mountaines of Gilead adjoyning, was given to Ruben and

### ð. I X.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses his death.

Fter these victories, and while Ifrael sojourned in the valley of Moab, the Madianites and Moabites (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that Balae King of the Moabites then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the aduise of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to divide them both in Loue and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beat them out of Mad, and the Countries adiopning. The Ifraelites as they had ever beene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these cuill courses, and thereby drew on 20 themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons : befides which punishment of God the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the fword, or other violent deaths; after this, when that Phineas the sonne of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbia Daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appealed. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of Phiness in prosequating of

Zimri (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes became an Idolater) as hee forgaue the rest of Minel, and staied his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that Mofes caused the people to be numbred the third time: 40 Num. 26, 2.51, and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601 730. of which as his laft enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to inuade the Cities of Midian, who together with the Mosbites practifed with Balaam to curfe Ifrael : and after that fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the feruice of Beth-Pear: and to the reft of their barbarous Idolatric. Ouer which companies of 12000. Mofes gave the charge to Phineas, the sonne of Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the fine Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately beene, the valfalls of Schon, as appeareth by Iofuals. These five Princes of the Midisnites flaine by Eleazar were at this time but the vaffalls of Sehon the Amorite, to wit, Eui, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the Dukes of Schon, faith Iofua. Hee flew alfo all the 50 men, male-children, and women : fauing fuch as had not yet vfed the companie of men, but those they saued and dispers them among the children of Israel to serue

And Moses having now lived 120. yeares, making both his owne weakenesse of

body knowne to the people, and his vnabilitie to trauaile: and also that he was fore- Dent.31.1.2. warned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: Hee hastned to settle the Gouernement in Iosua: whom hee perswaded with most lively arguments to prosequute the conquest begunne, assuring him of Gods sauour and ashistance therein. And so having spent these his later daies after the Conquest of og and Sehon, King of the Amorties, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to S. Augustine) vsing both arguments, praiers, Augustatessis and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to con-rab fair series.

10 firme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: Hee pentage bleffed the twelue I ribes, that of Simcon excepted, with feuerall and most comfortable bleffings: praifing the greatnesse and goodnesse of him, vnto whom in his praiers he commended them: Hee alfo commanded the Priefts to lay up the booke of the Law, by the fide of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: Hearken yee Heauens and I will speake, and let the earth heare Dua 32.1. the word of my mouth and being called by God from the labours and forrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land Down.34.v.6; of Most, ouer against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the yeare of the World 2554.

Observations out of the Storie of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

Ow let vsa little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundrie of the great euents, which have beene mentioned in this Storie of the life of Mofes, for (excepting Gods miracles; his promife, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things clie by the me-

that the feare which Pharao had of the increase of the Hebrewes, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the forrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the Agyptian Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and vngodly pollicies to cut off and leffen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the Hebrewes to be flaine, God (whose prouidence cannot bee resifted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of Pharao's owne Daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde. the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliverer of his oppressed Brethren, and the overthrow of Pharae; and all

the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under and burie them in the dust. The griefe which Moses conceived of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrewes in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the Agyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to difcouer the flaughter of the Agyptian, moued him to flie into Midian: the contention betweene the sheep-heards of that place, and Jethro's Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of 30 those Sisters : and in that solitarie life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre

from the presse of the world, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heards-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he first suffered him to liue many yeares, the better to know the waies and passages through which he purposed that hee should conduct his people, toward the Land

promifed : and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his Will and divine Pleasure for his returne into Agypt. The like may be said of all things else, which Moles afterward by Gods direction performed in the Storie of Ifrael before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no confequence: but that the fame is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either prefently, or in many yeares after, when the occasions are either not confidered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the I fraclites had dealing after their comming out of Ægypt; and of the men of re-nowne in other Nations, about the times of Moses and losva, with the fumme of the Historie of

How the Mations with whom the Ifraelites were to have Warre, were diners water, as it were; prepared to be their enemies.

30



N like manner if we looke to the qualitic of the Nations, with whom the Ifraelites, after their comming out of Egypt, had to doe, either in the Wilderneffe, or afterward : we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmitie: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of Ham: and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ismaelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: 40 whereas the Ifraelites still continued strangers, and separate from them : and fo partly in this respect, and

planted them partly by ancient injuries or enmitties, and partly by reason of diucrstite in Religion, selates in the Easthild of Ins. were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serue dan about Ba- for fuch purposes as God had referred them for. To make these things more mafor where they finde the Land nifeft, we must vinderstand that this part of Syris, bounded by the mountaines of Liindextue Land Movement and Move Sonne of Na- ons, the one fpringing from the fonnes of Cham, the other from Sem: but those of 50 char, and Elbas, the one ipringing from the ionnes of Charn; the other from Sem: but those of the said about a strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but is called a Bu- with none familie, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other is. See here- for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and Possessor of those Territories: by processe of time divided into severall families and names: whereof

2 It feemeth allo that Him. the Sonne of

Снар.6. 8.1. fome of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Iebusites, Amorites, Heuites, Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of Canaan, and after whom the Countrie in generall was still As for the Hebrewes which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of an other familie, and strangers in that Countrie: especially the Ifraelites, and this was fome cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them: no more then 10 the Philistims did, who descended also of Cham by Mizrain. For though Abraham himfelfe being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Iordan: yet now even they which descending from Abraham, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those partes, were alienated in affections from the Ifraclites: as holding them strangers and Exed 6.17.0.16 intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Cananites, and the rest of the iffue of Cham, with whomethey dayly contracted affinitie: than of their olde petigree from Abraham. True it is that these Nations descended of Abraham, or of his kindred, who had Deut. 1.1.0.5. lincked themselues and matched with the Cananites and others, had so farr possest 20 themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to bee aquall in strength to the bordering Cananites, if not superiour. For of Los came those two great families of the Moabites, and Amonites : of Efauthe Idumsans: of Madian the Madianites: of Ismael, the cldest sonne of Abraham came the Ismaelites, with whom are joyned as of the same nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because Esau had a grand-child of that name. yet manifest reason continceth it to have bin otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to prouoke the Edomites, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise A- Distinct, v.s. malek was curfed and endleffe warre decreed against him : but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. 2.3. Of Ismaels eldest Sonne Naboth sprung the Arabians of Exide. 17. v. 16 20 Petraa, called Nabathai. Now euen as Abraham befought God to bleffe Ismael, fo it Gin. 17. pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene Hanilath upon Tigris, and Sur which is the West part of the Defart of Arabia Petraa. Yet howfoeuer the strength of these later named nations, which descended from Abraham, were great: yet it is not valikely, but that some reason which moved them not to sayour the entrance of the Ifraelites into Canaan, was in respect of scare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these families before named, were not so vnited, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and 40 contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselues, whether they stood a-part or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preferuation, to joyne themselves together against Israel: though they did it nothing so malitiously and resolutedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumeans only denied the Hebrewes a paffage : which the Moabites durft not denie : because their Countrie lav more open; and because themselves had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the Amorites: and as for the Ammonites their Countrie lay altogether out of the way, and the firength of Sehon and og Kings of the Amorites, was interjacent; and belides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong by reafon of the mountaines which divided it from Bafan. Againe, that which moved the Num. 621, 112

Moabites in their owne reason not much to interrupt Israel, in the conquest of Sehon

the Amorite, and of og his Confederate: was that the Modbites might hope after fuch time as the Amorites were beaten by Moles, that themselves might recover againe

their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the moun-

taines of Arabia and Iordan : But as foone as Sehon was flaine, and that the King of

Gen.25.

CHAP. 6. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Moab, Balac, perceived that Moses allotted that valley to the Tribes of Gad and Ruben, he beganne to practife with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the Daughters of Midian; as aforefaid, to allure them to Idolatrie : and thus at length the Moabites by special occasion were more and more stirred up to enmitte against Ifrael. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abrahams kindred, wee may note, how in the beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted fome enmities to be as it were presages of future quarrells, which in the posteritie might bee the casier incensed, by the memorie of old grudges : and withall by some distaine from the elder in nature to the yonger. For the I/maelites being descended from the eldeft sonne of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldeft sonne of Isaac, Iacob , be- 10 ing but a second sonne, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being naturall men, might scorne to give place, much lesse to subiect themselues, to their inferiours, as they tooke it, and for a moreaggrauation the iffues of Elau Princes of Edumaa, might keep in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by Iacobs taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his

Fathers bleffings also by him : and that Jacob after reconciliation came not vnto him Gen. 27. as he promised into Seir or Idamea.

So also in the posteritic of Ismael, it might remaine as a seede or pretense of enmitie, that their fore-father was by the infligation of Sara, cast out into the Defart, with his Mother Hagar: and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell 20 to relieue them. Ismael also had an Agyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and Amalec was also an Horite by his Mother : which Horites were of the ancient Canamites. The Edumeans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For Efau tooke two Wines of that Nation : one of them was Adath, the Daughter of Elou, the Hittite, and the other Aholibamah, the grand-child of Zibeon the Heuite, Lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Elau, and called after his name Edom or Edumaa.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites. Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the 30 conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married: only a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whercof Iethro was Prieft, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and euer-liuing God.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites; mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Ifraelites.

F the Kings of the Canaanites; descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek 40 may be thought to be of a better Petigree) wee finde foure named by Moses : and one and thirtie remembred by Josua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territorie adioyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a generall consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of Cham by Canaan, as the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergesites, Heuites, &c. and so here wee understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Countrie of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promife: for God had appointed that the feuen principall Families should be rooted out; and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and 50 Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Iordan, on the East, and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrie, and in the choisest places thereof, those Canaantes which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemor Gen. 34. of the Heuites, whom Simeon and Leui flew, together with his Sonne Sichem, in reuenge of their Sifters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the Dead Sea; the same which surprised Israel, as they incamped in the Wildernesse in the edge of Edu- Nom.21.2.

The third named was Sehon King of Effebon, who before Mofes arrivall had beaten the Moshites out of the West part of Arabia Petras or Nabathes, and thrust them to ouer Arnon into the Defarts, the fame whom Mofes ouer-threw in the plaines of Monb: at which time he tooke Effebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which victoric, og was also slaine by Israel, who commanded the 16.4. c.s. North part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines Traceri or Galaad and Iordan, Num. 21.35.

who was also a King of the Amorites. The fift was Adonizedek King of the Iebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Iofua nameth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of Hebron. Piram, King of Jarmuth. Japia, King of Lachis : and

Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Amorites overthrowne in battell and hanged tofia.to. by Iofus. After this ouerthrow Iofus nameth Isbin, King of Hazor, and Tobab, King of Madon: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: aud this

Tabin feemed to have some Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, For HAZOR before-times was the head of all those Kingdomes,

After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named; who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and seete, of 70. Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes vnder his Table : who after Iuda and Simeon had vsed the same exequati- Iuda, Joseph lib. on vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a just reuenge of God: this King was car- 5.cap.2. ried to Hierulalem where he died.

The last King named is labin the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor. burnt by Iosua. For at such time as he imploied Sisara against Israel, whom hee opprest twentie yeares, after the death of Ehud, He inhabited Hazor. This Jabin, Barac Ind.a. (incouraged by Debora) ouerthrew; and his Captaine Sifara had by Jael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite, a naile driven into his head while hee flept in her Tent: Iabin 111d.4. himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

The Madianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Most softend 5.66. bites: and they held a corner of Land in Nabathea: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abrahams sonne by Cethura. Raguel surnamed Gethegleus or lethres, faith lofephus, called lethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of ludges, Exod 2.

40 the sonne of Dathan, the grand-child of Iexanis, or Ioksham, the great grand-child of Abraham by Cethura, was Priest or Prince of the Madianites by the Red Sea: whose sedien, paggas Daughter, or Neece, Moles married : and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This Iethroifhe were not the same with Hobab, must be his Father: and this Hobab had seuen Daughters. Hee guided Moses in the Wildernesse: and became one of the Ifraclites: of him descended the Kenites so called of his Father Raguels surname Jud 1. of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Iabin the second, euen now re-

At fuch time as Saul inuaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Kenites to Ifrael, gaue them warning to separate themselues : and yet the Kenites had 1.Sem.15,6. 50 strong seates, and lived in the mountaines of the Defarts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named were thefe.

lof. 1 €.

10f. 11.

IO

20

I.	Hemor the Heuite of Sichem	
2.	Arad of the South parts	
3.	Sehon of Effebon	
4.	Og.of Bafan,	
÷	Adonia edek the Tehulite K	ing of His

Hoham of Hebron Piram of Iarmuth 8. Japin of Lachis 9. Debir of Eglan 10. Jabin of Hazor

II. Johah of Modon 12. Adonibezek of Bezek and

13. Iabin the fecond King of Hazor.

Of the MADIANITES thefe. \* Eui or Euis.

Rekam or Recem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petraa fo called by the Greekes: one time Kings and by Esticap. 16. vers. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra: and so also it is called tions of the 2. Reg. 14.7. where it is also called loktheel.

Zsrflaine by Phi-Hur and webs; and the 22000, which Reba hee led against oreb them, Nama 21. Zeb Thefe foure Zebah Inft were liketime, flaine in

After the death of Barac, Indge of Ifrael, the foure last named of these Madianite the pursuite of Kings, vexed I frae! feuen yeares: till they being put to flight by Giden, two of them rie. Jud.c.7. to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and flaine by the Ephraimits, at the paffage of Iordan, 2.15. & cap. 8. as in the 6. 7. & 8. of Indges it is written at large. Afterward in the purfute of the rest Gedeon himselfe laid hands upon Zebah and Salmana, or Salmunna, and exequit- 30 ted them, being prisoners, in which expedition of Gedeon there perished 120000. of the Midianites and their Confederates. Of the Idumans, Moabites, and Ammenites, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

## 



Gril 17.39.

Ind, c.7.

F the Kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I finde few that are named, and though of the I/maelites there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to 40 the promife of God made vnto Abraham) vet the Amalekites, who to-

gether with the Midianites were numbred among them, were more renowned in Mofes time than the rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they when Saul gouerned Ifrael. For Saul purfued them from Sur vnto Hauilah, to wit, ouer agreat part of sirabia Petrea, and the Defari. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of Ifmael, were content to leave those barren Defarts of Arabia Petraa, called Shur, Paran, and Sin, to the iffue of Abraham by Cetura, that ioyned with them (for so seeme the Amalekites to have beene, and so were the Madianites: ) themselves taking possession of a better soile in Arabia the Happie, and about the Mountaines of Galaadin Arabia Petraa. For Nabajoth the eldest of those 50 twelue Princes planted that part of Arabia Petraa, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the Defart, in which Mofes wandred, afterward called 2 abathea: the same which neighboureth indea on the East side. They also peopled a Prouince in Arabia the Happie, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changed into (P).

### CHAP.6. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Kedar, the second of Ismaels Sonnes, gaue his owne name to the East part of Basan, or Batanea, which was afterward possest by Manasse, so much thereof as lay within the Mountaines Traconi, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedurens, and

Adbeel, fate downe in the Defart Arabia, neare the Mountaines which divide it from the Happie; and gaue name to the Adubens, which Ptolomie calleth Agu-

Mibsam, was the Parent of the Masamancuses, neare the Mountaine Zamath, in the fame Arabia the Happie.

The Raabens were of Millima: who iouned to the Orchens, neare the Arabian gulfe. where Ptolomie fetteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dum.eans, betweene the Adubens and Raabens: where the Citie Duneth fornetimes flood.

Of Massathe Massani, and of Hadar, or Chadar the Athrite, who bordered the Napatheans in the same Happie Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian Mountaines, where also the Citie of Thema is feated

Of letur the Itureans, or Chamathens : of whome Tohu was King in Daniels

Of Naphri the Nubeian Arabians: inhabiting Syria Zoba: ouer whome Adadezer Plin. 1.6.6.28; commanded, while David ruled Ifrael.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of I/maels sonnes, was the Ancestor of the Cadmon.eans: who were afterward called Afite: because they worshipped the fire with the Baby- Insim.

The Amalekites gaue their Kings the name of Agag, as the Agyptians the name of Pharaoh to theirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretas, as names of Honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he past the Red Sea: Exed, 17. when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyned with the Canaanites, and beate the Ifraelites neare Cades - Num.14. barne. After the Gouernement of Othoniel, they joyned them with the Moabites: after Barae with the Madianites: and inuaded Ifrael. God commanded that as soone as Ifrael had rest, they should roote out the name of the Amalekites : which Saul exequuted in part, when he wasted them from the border of £gypt, to the border of Chaldea: from Hauilah to Shur,

In Davids time they tooke Siklag in Simeon: but David followed them, and surpri- 1. Sam. 30. fed them, recouring his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after David became King, 2. Sem. 8.22; they againe vexed him, but to their owne loffe.

In Exekias time as many of them as joyned to Edumea were wasted and displanted 1.Chron.g. 40 by the children of Simeon.

### ð. IIII.

Of the instauration of civilitie in Europe about the setimes, and of PROMETHEVS and ATLAS.

Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous, aswell in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, fo did Art and Civilitie (bred and fowritten Law of the main good, to do the this time to dif-

couer a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring Asia and Iudea. For if Pelafgus befides his bodily strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine and florme; and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before lived for the most part, by Hearbs and Rootes: we may thereby judge how poore, and wretched those times were and how falfly those Nations have vaunted of that their antiquities accompanied not only with civill learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge, And it was in this age of the World, as both

Aug.1.18.c.8.de Eufebius and S. Augustine have observed, that Prometheus flourished : Quem propteres ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia Doctor suisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of Wisedome: and to Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to PROMETHEVS,

Alchylinerom. Adinuenta sapientia pertinere; To have reference to wise inventions: and Ashylus affar- 10 wints.

Met. 8. 164. 18. 16. meth, That by the fealing of Inpiters fire was meant, that the knowledge of Primetheus reached to the Starres, and other celeftiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that hee had the art fo to vie this fire, as thereby hee gaue life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom heeliued had nothing elfe worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the Hill Caucalus, his entrailes the while denoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and reft. leffe defire hee had to inucltigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of

L. Pinerex Hel. Heavenly bodies, for so it is said : Ideo altisimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno calo quam longisime altra, fignorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That hee ascended Cau- 20 casus, to the end that hee might in a cleare skie discerne a farre off the settings and rifings of the Starres : though Diodorus Siculus expound it otherwise, and others

# Of this mans knowledge Æ S CHXLVS gives this testimonic.

A.Chyl,ingrom.

Ast agebant omnia Vt fors ferebat : donec ipfe repperi Signorum obitus , ortufá, qui mortalibus Sunt villes : & multitudinem artium Hisrepperi: componere indeliteras; Matremá, Mufarum auxi ego Memoriam Perutilem cunctis . erc.

But Fortune gouern'd all their workes, till when I first found out how Starres did set and rise: A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like vse I did denise: As letters to compose in learned wise I first did teach : and first did amplifie The Mother of the Muses Memorie.

Africanus makes Prometheus farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after Ang. lib. 18.6.3. Ogyges: Porphyrius faies that hee lived at once with Inachus, who lived with Declaid. There

There lived also at once with Moles, that famous Atlas , brother to Prometheus, both being the Sonnes of Japetus, of whome though it bee faid, that they were borne before Moles daies, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more an- 50 cient date : yet the aduantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Befides thefe Sonnes of Japetus, Afchylus findes two other, to wit, Oceanus, and Hefferus, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the

### CHAP. 6. 8.4. of the Historie of the World.

euening Starre. Also besides this Atlas of Lybia or Mauritania, there were others, which bare the fame name : but of the Libyan, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those Mountaines which croffe Africa, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hea, with the Sea adioyning tooke name, which memorie Plato in Crifias bestowes on Atlas, the Sonne of Westune.

Cicero in the fifth of his Tufculan questions, affirmeth that all things written of Prometheus and Atlas, were but by those names to expresse divine knowledge. Nec verò ATLAS sustinere calum, nec PROMETHEVS affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus CE-PHEV. S cum Vxore traderetur, nifi dinina cognitio nomen corum ad errorem fabula tra-10 duxisset: Neither should ATLAS be said to beare up heaven, nor PROMETHEVS to be fastened to Caucasus, nor CEPHEV'S with his Wife to be stellified, unlesse their dinine knowledge hadraifed upon their names thefe erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometime exprest Time by Prometheus, sometime hee tooke him for Saturne; as Rheaconiux alme Prometheu. But that the Storie of Prometheus was not altogether a fiction; and that he lived about this time; the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them Eufebius and S. Augustine have not doubted. For the great judgement which Atlas had in Astronomie, faith S. Augustine, were his Lib.18.cap.8.de Daughters called by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades: Others attri- Civil. Det. bute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which drehas the sonne of 20 Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Areas Areadia in Peloponefus tooke name, and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone. Et Luna gens prior illa fuit: which is to be understood, faith 27 atalis Comes, quid defalls. before there had beene any observation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there bee that bestow the finding out thereof vpon Endymion : others (as Xenagor as) on Typhon : yet Isacius Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities gaue it Atlas of Lybia: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequalled and incomparable strength : from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is faid,

had the ground of his Philosophie.

### Of DEVEALION and PHARTON.



30

Nd in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deutslion raigned in The falie, Crotopus then ruling the Argines. This Dencation Clom. Alex from was the Sonne of Prometheus, faith Herodotus, Apollonius, Heliodus, and lib.t. Strabo. Hesiodus gane him Pandora for Mother, the rest Clymene: Homer Strabo. lib. 5.

in the fifteenth of his Odyfees makes Deucalion the Sonne of Minos: but 40 he must needes have meant some other Deucation; for else either Viviles was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Vlyffes after his returne from Troy

fained himselfe to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was sonne to this later Deucalion, the sonne of Minos : but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus served in that Warre) and this Deucalion the Sonne of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucations time happened that great inundation in Theffalie . by which in effect enery foule, in those parts, perished, but Deucation, Pyrrha his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in Thessale, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villanic, and as the impictic of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance; 50 fo did all that Nation for their foule finnes perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and crueltie of all mankinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud Vniuerfall. Only Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice, and of Religion; Of whom ouid:

No man was better, nor more just than hee: Nor any Woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that Prometheus fore-told his some Deucalion of this ouer-flowing : and aduifed him to provide for his fafetie : who hercupon prepared himfelfe a kinde of Veffell, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calls Cibotium : and others Larnax. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out 10 of the Doue, to discouer the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Storie had beene but an imitation of Noals floud deuised by the Greekes, did not August. de cinit. the times so much differ, and S. Augustine with others of the Fathers and reverent Del. 1.18. c.10. Writers approue this Storic of Deucalion. Among other his children Deucalion had these two of note, Hellen of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas, and Melantho on whom Neptune is faid to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, forenowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no leffe strange and meruallous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder Phaeton: not only in £thiopia, but in Iflria, a Region in Italie; and about Cume, and the 20 Mountaines of Vefuuius: of both which the Greekes, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

# Q. VI. of Hermes Trismegistus.

Vt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, Mercarius was the most famous, and renowned: the same which was a so focalled Trifmegistus, or Termasimus: and of the Greekes Herme.

Many there were of this name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their owner times, both S. Angufine and Lastanius sinder them.

difficult. For that Mercurie which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wreftlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that Mercurie, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certaine of the Greekes reckon fiue Mercuries. Of which two were famous in Agypt, and there worshipped; one, the Sonne of Nilus, whose name the Agyptians feared to vtter, as the lewes did their Tetragrammaton; the other, that Mercurie, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying 40 into £gypt, is faid to have delivered literature to the £gyptians, and to have given Led. Jims out them Lawes. But Diodorusaffirmeth, that Orpheus, and othersafter him, brought of Citeron Aug learning and letters out of Agypt into Greece : which Plato also confirmeth, faying; de cinit. Dai.18. That letters were not found out by that Mercurie which flew Argus, but by that ancient Mercurie, otherwise Theut; whom Philo Biblius writeth Taautus; the Agyptians Thoyth; the Alexandrians Thot; and the Greekes (as before) Hermes. And to Eagle LL.c.6.de this Tanutus, Sanconiarbo, who lived about the Warre of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But S. Augustine making two Mercuries, which were both Agyptians, calls neither of them the sonne of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slaine Argus. For he finds this Mercuric, the flaier of Argus, to be the grand-child of that 50 Atlas, which lived while Mofes was yet yong. And yet L. Vines vpon S. Augustine feemes to viderstand them to be the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the rest have remembred. But that coniccture of theirs, that any Gracian Mereurie brought letters into Agypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there bee

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any truth in prophene antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Egypt or Phanicia; and not out of Greece, nor by any Grecian into Agypt. Forthey all confesse, that Cadmus brought letters first into Bastia. either out of Agypt, or out of Phanicia; it being true, that betweene Mercurus that lived at once with Moles, and Cadmus, there were these descents cast: Cratonus King of the Argines, with whome Mofes lived, and in whose time about his tenth yeare Mofes died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus who raigned eleuen yeares; after him Danaus fiftie yeares; after him Lynceus: in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Baotia. And therefore it cannot be true.

to that any Mercurius about Moles his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Agypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Agypt, whom S. Augustine remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artabanus note, that Mafes found out Letters, and taught the vie of them to the leves; of whom the Phanicians their Neighbours received them; and the Greekes of the Phanicians by Cadmus. But this inucntion was also ascribed to Moles, for the reason before remembred a that is, because the Jewes and the Phanicians had them first from him. For every Nation gave vnto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they receited the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercurie, vpon part of whose 20 workes he Commenteth, to have beene foure descents after Moles; which hee hath

out of Virgil, who calls Atlus, that lived with Moses, the maternall grand-father of Virgillio 4. A. the first famous Mercurie, whom others, as Diodorus, call the Counsailer and Instru-Acr of that renowned Is, wife of Osris. But Ficinus giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder Mercurie instructed 1/18, Diodorus Sienlus affirmeth, and owy Trifmegili. that fuch an inscription was found on a piller erected on the Tombe of Iss. Lod.Vines vpon the fixe and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Booke of S. Magustine, De Or Santo. Ciuitate Dei, conceiueth, that this Mercurie, whose workes are extant, was not the miatins. See Eufirst which was entituled, Ter maximus, but his Nephew or grand-child. \* Sancho-160, de 144 p. R.-niaton, an ancient Phomician, who lived thortly after Moses, hath other fancies of this usus, lib.1.6.6. 30 Mercurie; affirming that he was the Scribe of Saturne, and called by the Phanicians, Vigosinib 8.c.

Tanutus; and by the Egyptians Thoot, or Thoyt. It may bee, that the many yeares 26. Aug de Cunti. which he is faid to have lived, to wit, three hundred yeares, gave occasion to some Dei. Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which haue collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophie and Dininitie, he is found more ancient than Moles : because the Inventor of the Agyptian Wifedome, wherein it is faid, that Mofes was excellently learned.

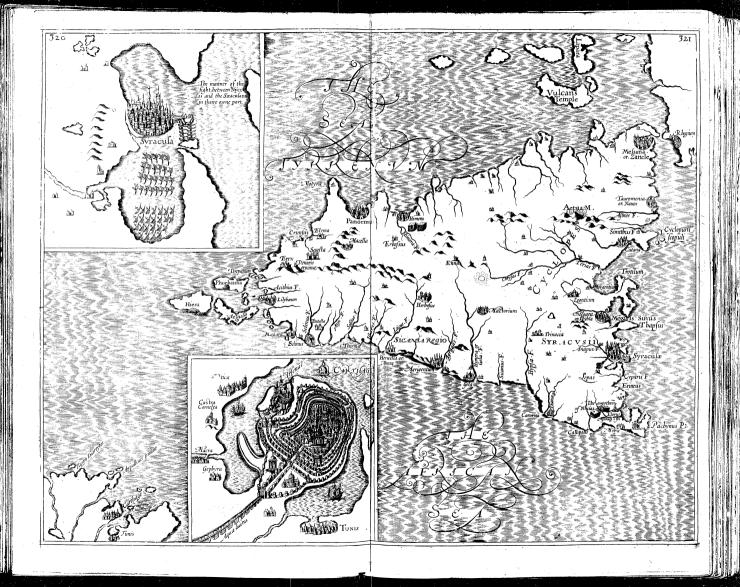
It is true, that although this Mercurie or Hermes doth in his Divinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approuing of Images, which Mo/es of all things most detested, yet who soener shall reade him with an even judg-40 ment, will rather resolue, that these workes which are now extant, were by the Greekes and Agyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and Spirit deuised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those thinges which are directly contrarie in doctrine. and in nature. For out of doubt (Moles excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ftile more reuerend and divine, vnto almightie God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two T reatifes, now among vs; the one connerted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had beene found in all things like themselues; I thinke it had not beene perilous to have 50 thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Mofes himfelfe; and that the Egy-

ptian Theologie hereafter written, was deuised by the first, and more ancient Mercu-Massas. rie, which others have thought to have beene lofeph, the fonne of laceb: whom, after the exposition of Pharaohs dreames, they called Saphanet phane, which is as much to fay, as absconditorum repertor & A finder out of hidden things. But these are ouer-ven-

turous opinions. For what this man was, it is knowne to God. Enuic and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him : of L.1.6.6.fol.4. whom, who focuer he were, Lactantius writeth in this fort. Hic feriplit libros. cr auidem multos, ad cognitionem diginarum verum pertinentes, in quibus maiestatem summi ac fingularis Dei afferit, if fdemg, nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hee hath written many Bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the maiestic of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we doe. The fame Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrarie are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Gracians, as for my felfe I am perswaded, 10 that what soeuer is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inscrted. For thus much himselfe confesseth; Deus omnum Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in iplo, & lub iplo funt. Verbum enim ex cius elle prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c. God (faith hee) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and Spirit; and all things are in him and under him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (faith Suidas) called Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus elt ; in Trinitate vnum elle Deum allerens ; Because he spake of the Trinitie, affirming that there is one God in Trinitie. Hie ruinam (faith FICINVS) pravidit 20 prife Religionis, his ortum noue fidei, his aduentum Christi, his futurum indicium resurretneref. Mercu. Etionem faculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This MERCURIE foresaw the vuine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith: and of the comming of Christ, the future indgement, the resurrection, the glorie of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will only adde his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist. and by Volateran out of SVYDAS. Hactenus fili pulsus à patria, vixi percerinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto : cumq, post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis : Nam ad illam optimam beatamá, Ciuitatem regredior: ad quam vniuersi ciues mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi nama, solus Deus est 30 Summus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hec, quam multi vitam existimant morsest potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O Sonne, being driven from my Countrie, Ihaue lived a stranger and banished man : but now I am repairing home-ward againe in Safetie. And when I shall after a few daies (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) (hall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a fweetnesse more than meruailous : in regard whereof this being which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other and that which feemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense but 40 not in wordes with SVYDAS. O calum magni Dei Sapiens opus, teg, O von patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuer sum constituit mundum, adiuro per vnigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, misereminimei; I adiure thee O heaven thou wife worke of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all thinges,

But Surdas hath his innocation in these wordes: Obtestor tecalum magni Dei sapiens opui, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum firmauit, obtestor te per unigentum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I befeech thee O heaven, wife worke of the great God, I befeech thee O voice of the Father, 50 which he bake first when he established all the World I befeech thee by the only begotten Word containing all thinges, be fauourable, be fauourable.



### ð. VII.

Of IANNES and IAMBRES, and some other that lived about those times.

Here were also in this age both Asculapius, which after his death became the God of Phylitians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Vines L. Vines in 110.0 thinkes in his Commentarie vpon Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib. 8. and Augustine, de Linit, also those two notorious Sorgerers, James and Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that euer haue beene heard of to this day; and yet

Moses himselfe doth not charge them with any familiaritie with Deuills, or ill Spirits: words indeed that feldome came out of his mouth; how ever by the Septuagint they are called Sophista or Veneficiand Incantatores, Sophists, poisoners, and Inchanters: by Hierome Sapientes & malesici, Wisemen, and cuill doers: and so by Vatablus, who also vieth the word Magi. I he Greeke it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall Magick: calling them pappares, workers by drugges. The Enoigett Geneuan, Sorcerers and Inchanters: IVNIVS Sapientes, Prassingiatores & Magi. Magitians and Wisemen here by him are taken in one sense: and Præstigiators are such as dazell mensejes, and make them feeme to fee what they fee not: as falfe colours, and 20 falle shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (religion and superstition having one face and countenance) so did the workes orkings of Mofes, and of Pharaes Sorcerers appeare in outward fliew, and to the sofcommon capacities, to bee one and the same art and gift of knowledge. uill changeth himselse into an Angell of light : and imitateth in all he can d workings of the most High. And yet on the contrarie enery worke punteth the Wisedome of most men, is not to be condemned as perforselpe or ministeric of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which uen to naturall things, are fuch as where hee also bestoweth the knowderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought which seeme altogether impossible; and about nature or art: which two tions of works of nature, and of miracle, the Cabalifts diftinguished by these anes; Opus de Beresith, & opus de mercana: the one they call Sapientiam natura : The Wisdome of nature: the other Sapientiam diminitatis; The wisedome of diminitie: the one Jacob practifed in breeding the pied Lambs in Melopotamia; the other Moles exercifed in his miracles wrought in Ægypt, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature; of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vsed to his glorie, that gaue them: affuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. Au-40 guftime noteth that from the time that Mofes left Agypt to the death of lofus, diuers other famous men liued in the world, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as Dionyfus otherwise Liber Pater, who taught the Gracians the vice of the Vine in Attica: at which time also there were instituted Musicall plaies to Apollo Delphicus : thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrennesse and scarcitic vpon that part of Greece, because they relisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did Ericthonius institute the like games to Ameria: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of oile, in memorie of her that first prest it out of the Olive. In this age also Xanthus ravished Europa: and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon,

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cules, according to Philostratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Agyptian. Manifestum fit, non Thebanum HERCVLEM, Sed Agyptium ad Gades poruenisse. & ibs finem statuisseterre (faith PHILOSTRATUS;) It is manifest that it was the Agyptian HERCVLES, and not the Theban, which transiled as farre as the streights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while Moses wandered in the Deferts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But who focuer they were, or how worthy focuer they were that liued in the daies and age of Mofes, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater thinges, whom he fauoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; neuer any 10 man more familiar and conversant with Angells; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in Ifrael. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posteritie by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuerfall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatric, and the punishment, vengeance, and cradication, which followed it.

Syracides calleth Mofes the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is bleffed. He made him (faith the fame Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the fight of Kings, shewed him his glorie, caufed him to have his voice, fanel ified him with faithfulnesse and meekenesse, and chose him 20

out of all men. He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick: bv Megastenes and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enjoved before the floud, remembred by Moses, Eslieus, Hieronymus Ægyptins, Hecataus, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Alexander the Historian, confirme. The vniuerfall floud which God reuealed vnto Mojes, Berofus, Nicolaus Damafeenus, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues, Abydenus, Estieus, and Sybilla hauc approued. Berosus also honoureth Abraham. Hecataus wrote a Booke of him. Damafeenus before cited speaketh of Abrahams passage from Damsleus into Canaan, agreeing with the bookes of Moles. Eupolemon writeth 30 the very same of Abraham, which Moses did. For beginning with the building of Babel, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he faith that Abraham, borne in the tenth generation, in the Citie called Camerina, or Vrien, excelled all men in wifedome : and by whom the Astrologie of the Chaldeans was invented. Is institia pietateg, sua (faith Eufebius out of the fame Author) sie Deo gratus fuit, vt dinino pracepto in Phanicem venerit ibid, habitauerit; For his instice and pietie he was so pleasing unto God, as by his Commandement he came into Phanicia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Siculus in his fecond Booke and fifth Chapter speaketh reverently of Moses: There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirme the bookes of Moses, as Eufebius hathgathered in the ninth of his Preparation to the Goffell, Chapter the third 40 and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some thinges in it commend this notable testimonie of Strabo, who writeth of Moses in these words. Moses enimaffirmabat, docebatá, Ægyptiosnon recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum insagines Deo tribuerunt: itemá, Afros & Gracos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò folum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod calum & mundum,& rerum omnium naturam appellamus : cuius profecto imaginem, nemo sana mentis, alicuius earum rerum, qua penes nos sunt, similem audeat ef fingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudista) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum. Moses affirmed and taught, that the Ægyptians thought amisse, which attributed unto God the Images of beafts and cattaile: Also that the Africans and Greekes greatly 50 erred in giving unto their Gods the shape of men: whereas that only is God indeede, which containeth both ws, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the world, and the nature of all thinges, who feimage, doubtleffe, no wife man will dare to fashion out unto the likeneffe of

those thinges which are amongst us: That therefore (all denising of Idollscast aside) a worthy

Temple and place of praier was to be creeted unto him, and he to be worshipped without any

Now concerning the Agyptian wisedome, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Moles, faving, That Moses was learned in all the wifedome of the Agyptians, AH. e.7.2.22 and was mightie in his workes and wordes; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Iudaus, and Eufebius Cafarienfis, and

divided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall. In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguished into Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithmetick, and Musick; the ancient Agyptians excelled all others. For Geometrie,

which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was veefull vnto them : because it confifting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus, were yearely ouerflowne and confounded; fo as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, Astronomie, the site of the Countrie being a level and spatious Plaine, free and cleare from cloudes, yeelded them delight with eafe, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied : because without it, in Geometrie and Astronomie, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But 30 of Mulick they made no other account, nor defired farther knowledge, than feemed to them sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisedome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripateticall Philosophies teaching, that Materia prima is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certaine fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceede and bee from mutations in the aire :

that the Planets have their proper foules,&c. The Divine part of this wisedome, which is called Theologie, teacheth and belee-20 ueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in Egypt; partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Countrie, where neither Winter with cold, nor Sommer with heate are offenfine; and partly through the fertilitie, that Wilm giveth in those places; That the soule is immortally and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of Osris and Iss, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not knowne; that, many of the Gods have beene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankinde, haue beene Deified

40 that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victorie, were adored for Gods: because under those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer, the Agyptian Divines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to bee concealed from the vulgar fort, were ob-

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this latter Agyptian learning into three clemstrom. I see feuerall forts, viz. Epiftolar, which is vied in writing common Epiftles; Sacerdotall, which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred; which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabeticall in ob-50 scure and figurative wordes; as for example, where it is written: The 1018 by the Hornet participateth the beautic of the Hawke; which is red thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of diuine beautie; the other fymbolicall, or by fignatures, which is three-fold, viz. Imitatine, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitatine, which defigneth things by cha-

racters, like to the thinges fignified, as by a Circle the Sunne; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it felte: Tropicall or Transferent, which applies the divers

formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to fignific the dignities, fortunes,

conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of Men. So with the Egyptian Diuines, the Image of an Hawke fignifieth God, the figure of the

Hornet lignifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird this fignifieth the Moone: by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulneffe: by a Lyon, Fortitude: by a Horfe, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudencie: by a Fifth, Hatred is to be understood: Ænygmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes; in which sense. themonstrous Image of a Lyons body having a Mans head, was graven on their

Temples and Altars, to fignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænygmaticall

and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which

liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sunne nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at

the top whereof is made an Eie, and an Eare, fignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and

Governing all things. The Soythians are thought to have beene delighted with this kinde of writing. For thereides Syrius reporteth, That when Darius fending letters, threatned thanthura, King of the Septhians, with ruine and destruction of his

Kingdome, vnlesse he would acknowledge subjection: Idanthura returned to him a

Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their aire: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their lands: were fignified to be ready to be deliuered to Darius, as their

Soueraigne Lord. But xyphoires made an other construction, viz. that the King meant, That except Darius with his Men did haiten away, as a Bird through the

aire, or creepe into holes as a Mouse, or runne into the waters which they had paf-

fed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be flaine, or being made

Captines, till his grounds. The same Historie is with little difference reported by

Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which Orontopagas, Tribune of 20 the Souldiers, interpreted to fignific, that by the Mouse, their dwellings: by the

Q. VIII.

A Briefe of the Historic of IOSVA: and of the space between e him and OTHONIEL: and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to losv A: and of the breach of

Fref the death of Mofes, and in the one and fortieth yeare of the Egrefion, in the first moneth called Nifan, or March, Issuarthe sonne of Anni, of the Tribe of Esphraim, being filled with the Spirit of wiscodome, to coke on him the Gouernment of Issua's God guing him combort, and encouraging him to passe the River of Isradar, and to possess, and divide among the Ifraelites the Land promised.

The beginning of Iosuas rule St. Augustine dates with the raigne of Amintas, the Lib 18 de sigit. eighteenth King in Affria; with Corax the fixteenth King in Sieyonia, when Danaus Di. c.11.

gouerned the Argines; and Eriethonius, Athens, Iosua imitating in all thinges his Predecessor, sent ouer Iordan certaine discouerers to view the feat and strength of Ierico, the next Citie vnto him on the other side of the River, which hee was to paffe ouer. Which discoverers being faued, and sent backe by Rahab, a Woman of ill fame, because shee kept a Tauerne or Virling house,

made Iofus know, that the Inhabitants of Ierico, and those of the Countrie about it, hearing of the approch of Israel had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the fixth day of the one and fortieth yeare after the Egreffion, Josuaremoued from Sittim in the Plaines of Most, and drew downe his 10/2 to Armie to the bankes of the River Iordan; and gave them commandement to put themselnes in order to follow the Arke of God, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and 1063.3. moued towards the River: giving them withall this forcible encouragement. That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence who is Lord of all the world, when the River of Iordan should be cut off and divided, and the waters comming from aboue should stand still in a heap; whereby those below towards the Dead fea wanting supply, they might passe over into the land of Canan with drie feet.

Healso commanded Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe of Manasse, toprepare Logi. 14. themselues (according to their Couenant made with Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deferts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Juda had performed. For these Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and the Countrie and Cities of the America, by the helpe of the refl, conquered for them: It Countreand cures of the Amornic, by the neighbor of the transconduction of them. It agreed with inflice & equalitie, that Renben, Gad, and the halfe of Manaffe should also affast their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession. On the bankes of Invan they rested themselvies from the fixth day to the ninth;

and on the tenth day of the first Moneth Nifan or March, they past ouer to the o-40 ther fide, taking with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the middest of the River : which, for a memorie of that miracle by God wrought, they fet up at Gilgal, on the East fide of the Citie of Ierico, where they incamped the first night. At which place Iofuagaue commandement; that all borne in the last fortieth yeare in the De- 10fuse. ferts should bee circumcifed, which ceremonie to that day had been omitted. Of 1665.8. the neglect whereof S. Augustine giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Aug. q.3. in Fos. Superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this sort; That the Israelites knew not the certaine Thompset 3. time of their remoning from one place to an other: Damafeen, That it was not need-quali 70. at 1 full by circumcifion to diffinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they 4-ad-3. lived by themselves and a-part from all Nations.

50 On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Ifrael celebrated the Paffeoner now the third time; first, at their leaving Egypt; secondly, at Mount Si- 765,10, mai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfeited on Man, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eate thereof.

Hirel.l.s.

Herodotus: The fourth and last part which is Morall, and Politique, doth containe especially 30 the Lawes, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus denifed; who in his Bookes or Dialogues of Pimander and Afelepius, hath written fo man thinges of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (faith Sixtus Senensis) of the Trin , and of the comming of Christ, as of the last and scarefull day of Indgement: that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Lamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Legyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menetus, affirmeth that this Mercurie was not only the Inuentor of the Agyptian Philosophie, but of all other learning, called the Wifedome of the Egyptians before remembred : and that he wrote of that 40 fubicet 36525 Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fierie Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thoufand, which because they were out of the Agyptian language converted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall Greeke, they seemed to have beene first writston Strond, ten in that tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that among the Bookes of Hermes, to wit, of the Wife lame of the Layptians, there were extant in his time 36. of Phyfick

fixe bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of Astrologie foure.

ą. VIII.

And as a Moles beganne to distribute those Regions beyond tordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which Og of Bafan, and Silven held, so did Jofua performe the reft : and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition, and distribution, was not done at once, but at three fenerall times; first, by Moles to Gad, Ruben, and the halfe Tribe of Manaffe, of the Lands ouer Iordan; Secondly, by Iofua, to the Tribe of Anda, Ephraim, and the other halfe Tribe of Manaffe, about the fifth yeare of his government : proved in the 14. of Iofua, v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at Shile, where lolus feated the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

Ie(.18.

InC14.3.

The victories of Iofua against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set 10 downe in his owne bookes, as I shall not neede to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or Reguli of the Canaanites , had not so much viderflanding, as to vnite themselves together against the Israelies; but according to the custome of those cstates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wildom and fore-fight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to them felues and to their owne defences : hoping that the fire kindled fomewhat farre off, might againg have been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so far as their owne Territories and Cities. But after fuch time as Jerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities confumed, fine of those 31. Kings (all which at length 20 perified in that warre) joyned themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonies, who had rendred themselves to Iosia. Only five (the rest looking on to see the succoffer namely the King of the lebufites, in lebus, or Hierufalem, the Kings of Hebron, Jarmoth, Lachis, and Eglon, addrest themselves for resistance; whose Armie being by Iofu: furprised and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopelesse of mercy by fubmiffion, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by Iofia drawne forth and hanged. In the profequation of which victorie hee also tooke Makkedah, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the reliefe whereof Horam King of Gezar hastened, and perished. After which Iglua possess himselfe of Eelen, Hebron, and Debir, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

Inf.10:

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings, and People made dust the rest of the Canaanités, guided by the ouer-late counfailes of necessitie, vnited themselves, to make one groffe strength and bodie of an Armie: which Jabin, King of Hazor, practifed and gathered together, being at that time of all the Canaanite Kings the most powerfull which Armie being by lofus discourred, as the same rested neare the Lake of Merom, hee vsed such diligence, as he came on them vnawares; and obtaining an absolute victorie ouer them he profequited the fame to the vitermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities: of which he burnt Hazor only, referring the rest

for Ifrael to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that Iofua shewed himselfe a skillfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he yied the stratageme of an ambush in taking of disand in that he broke the Armies of the first fine Kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon, by furprife. For he marched all night from his camp at Gilgal, and fet on them early the next day: when they suspected no enemie at hand: as hee did also at Meron, when he ouerthrew Jabin, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victoric, he affaulted the great Citie of Hazor.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the flay of the River of Jordan at the Springs, fo as the Armie of Ifrael past it with a drie foot; the fall of Ierico by the found of the Hornes; the shewers of 50 Haile-stones, which fell vpon the Amorites in their slight from Gibeon, whereby more of them perifhed, than by the fword of Ifrael: againe; the arrest of the Sunnein the firmament, whereby the day was fo much the more lengthened, as the Ifraelites had time to execute all those, which fled after the ouerthrow : a wonder

of wonders, and a worke onely proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene losus and the Gibeonites, the Lostrine of keeping Faith is to plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all englion, it admitteth no diffinction, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnesse, and horrible deceit of this latterage, called Aquinocation. For, notwithflanding that thefe Gibeontes were a people of the Heuites, expresty and by Info. 7 name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and not with landing that they were liers, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride Iolua, and the Princes of Ifrael, by faining to bee fent as Embaffato dours from a farre Countrie, in which traugile their clothes were worne; their bread mouldie, which they answed to have beene warme for newneffe when they first fet out; their barrells and bottles of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their facks rent and ragged : Yet Infine having fworne vnto them by the Lord God of Info. from the

Ifrael, hee durft not, though vrged by the murmure of the people, to lay violent 5 to the 13.

handes on them; but hee spared both their Lines, and the Cities of their inheri-

pers of the Deuill.

Now if cuer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promife made, Io/ua had it. For first, the commandement which hee received from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which hee had granted 20 them. Secondly, he might justly have put these mento the sword, and have fackt their Cities; if there bee any cuasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the Gibeonites that hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to bee a people hated of God. Hee told them; that if they lose 1. were of the Heuites, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that hee gaue faith, and to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of Israel had done in Egypt and ouer Iordan, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, 106, cq 200/14. which Ifrael made with these craftic Canaanites, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the Ifraelites accepted their tale; that is ; beleeved 30 what they had faid, and counfailed not with the month of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters; and ferued those Puppers of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whome they beleeved not. I fay therefore, that if cuer man might have ferued himfelfe by any cualion or diffinction, Jo/us might inftly haue done it. For hee needed not in this case the helpe of Aguinocation, or Mentall Reservation. For what hee sware, hee sware in good Faith; but hee fware nothing, nor made any promife at all to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtilitie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, 40 were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man; hee held them firme, and

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man; to a Societic, to a State, or to a King, and fweareth by the name of the lining Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promife in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that wee therein neglect: wee therein professe that wee searchim not, and that we fet him at nought and defie him. If hee that without Referention of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiout, doth in point 50 of Honour give the lie to the King himfelfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God; that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promifeth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom hee had sworne it, were worship-

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts

ten in the Iudges, The Canaanites had Chariots of yron. And those principall Ind. 1.0.19. Cities which flood on the Sea-fide, adioyning vnto Iuda, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Ph.liflims: as Azzah; Gath, Afdod; out of one of which Cities came Goliath, remembred in Samuel

Neither did the children of Manasse ouer Iordan expell the Gesburites, northe Maachathites: which inhabited the North parts of Bafan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the Nepthalims possessed themselves of Bethshemish: nor of Bethanah, but they 10/13.7.12. inforst those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did Asher expell the Zidonians, northofe of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzab, Heblah, Aphike, and Rehob, nor in- Ind. 17421.

10 force them to tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kuron, and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims : and among the 1616,210. children of Manasse, on the West of Iordan, the Canaanites held Bethshean, Taanach, Indiana, Dor, Ibleam, and Meggado; yea Hierusalem it selfe did the Iebusites defend aboue soure hundred yeares, euen till Dauids time.

Now losualined one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he gouerned Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which caufeth divers to coniccture diverfly of the continuance. To fephus gives him five and twentie yeares, Seder Ollam Rabbi the Author of the He-20 brew Chronologie eight and twentie: And Maffeus fixe and twentie: Maimonius cited by Massus, fourteene: Ioannes Lucidus, seuenteene: Caietanus, ten : Eusebius gi-

ueth him feuen and twentie : and fo doth S. Augustine : Melanethon, two and thirtie : Codoman, fine and twentie. But whereas there paffed 480. yeares from the delinerance of Ifrael out of Agypt, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessarie that wee allow to Iosua only eighteene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwife, which to mee feemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approued

The same necessitie of retaining precisely 480, yeares from the departure out of Agypt vnto the building of the Temple, continceth of errour, such as haue inser-20 ted yeares betweene Iofua and Othoniel, of whome Eufebius finds eight yeare, to Eufeb Pres F. which Arius Montagus adhereth; and for which hee giveth his reason in his foure many, and twentieth and last Chapters upon Iofua: Bunting reckons it nine yeare: Bucholzer and Reulner bur one, Codoman twentie, and Nicephorus no leffe than three and thirtie: whereas following the fure direction of these 480, yeares, there can be no void years found betweene Iosua and Othoniel, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed vnto Iofua by the accompt alreadic specified. The praises and acts of Iofua are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of Ecclefiafficus, where amone many other things it is faid of him. Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battells of the Lord?

40 That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, because it is said in the last Chapter ver. 26. And I os v A wrote these wordes in the booke of the law of God : which feemeth rather to have beene meant by the couenant which Iofua made with Ifrael in Sichem, where they all promifed to ferue and obay the Lord : which promise Iosus caused to be written in the booke of the Law : and of this opinion were Caietan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceine that the booke of Iosus was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled Liber Instorum: Lieut. remembred by Iofua himselfe, and others, that it was the worke of Samuel; for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion vpon these wordes of the 26, verse. And I o sy a wrote these wordes, &c. this place hath nothing in it to proue it, for when the

to people had answered I o sv A: The Lord our Godwill we ferue, and his voice will we obay, 5, last 2, 2, 2, 2, it followeth that Iofua made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

There lived at once with Iofua, Ericthonius in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speede: And

which have beene made in former times, and confirmed by publique faith. For though it were 400, yeares after 10 fun, that Saul, euen out of deuotion, flaughtered fome of those people descended of the Gikeonites : yet God who forgat not what the Predeceffours and Fore-fathers of Saul and the Ifraelites had fworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a confuming famine; and could not be appeafed, till feuen of Saules fonnes were deliuered to the Gibeonites grieged, and by

them hanged vp.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous diffinction, or by a God-mocking equinocation, to fweare one thing by the name of the lining God, and to referue in filence a contrarie intent : the life of man, the chates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Seruants to their Mafters, of Vaffalls to their Lords, of Wines to their Hulbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not onely be made vncertaine, but all the chaines, whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torne a funder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armics cannot paffe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies. it is by oath that warres take ende, which weapons cannot ende. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that fweareth by the name of God, doth affure others that his wordes are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promifed ? I am not ignorant of their poore enalions, which play 20 with the feueritie of Gods Commaundements in this kinde : But this indeede is the best answere. That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoener hath faith and the feare of God dares not doe it.

The Christians in the Holie Land when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not only loofe it againe, but were foone after beaten out of the Holie Land it felfe : by reason (faith William of Tyre, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that storie) that Almerick the fiftieth King after Godfrey brake faith with the Caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent, The Soldan Sanar; who being fodainely inuaded by Almerick drew in the Turke Syracon to their aide: whose Nephew Seladine, after he had made Agypt his owne, beate the Christians 20 out of the Hole Land; neither would the woodden Croffe (the very Croffe fay they that Christ died on) give them victoric over Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had for sworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it bee a direction from the holy Ghost, That hee that speakethlies, shall be destroied, and that the mouth which offereth them, Saieth the Soule: how much more perilous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to fweare a lie? It was Eugenius the Pope, that perfwaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungarie after his great victorie ouer Amurath the Turke, and when the faid King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to breake his faith, and to prouoke the Turke to renew the warre. 40 And though the faid King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet he lost the battaile with 20000. Christians, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Infidels, Turkes, or Christians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-daies, is rather made a matter of custome than of

conscience.

It is also very remarkcable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the Canaanites vnconquered by Ifrael, to fcourge and afflict them, by fore-feeing their Idolatrie, and as it is faid in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eies to proue them, 10f.12. Idolatrie, and as it is laid in the Scriptures, To bee Thornes in their eies to prove them, 111dg.1.0 111dg. and to teach them to make Warre. For these Citties hereafter named did not only 50 remaine in the Canaanites possession all the time of Iosua; but soone after his death, the Children of Dan were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of Index.v.14. Inda were not able to bee Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is writ-

Pfal. 5.6.

w/d.i.ii.

about the same time the fiftie Daughters of Danâus (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of Egyptus, all but Lynceus who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Iolua, Phanix and Cadmus, and neare the end of Ioluas life. Iupiter is faid to have ravilled Europathe Daughter of Phanix, (afterward married to After Liv. 8. c. 12. De rius King of Creta) and begat on her Minos, Radamanthus, and Sarvedon. But S. Augussine reports this rauishment to be committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sonnes of Inpiter. But it may be doubted whether Minos Homes, Oding was Father to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the war of Troy, and Sarpedon was in person a yong or strong man at the same Trojan warre. And so doth Neifor reckon vp in the Councell of the Greekes, The few and Perithous 10 for men of antiquitie, and of ages past: Minos being yet moreancient than any of

thefe. But hereof elfewhere.

### CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Ifrael, that were planted in the borders of Phænicia, with fundrie Stories depending wpon those places.

The Prosme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of



HE Storic of the Indges ought to follow that of Iofua. after whome the Common-wealth of the Iewes was gouerned by Kings, of which fo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall bee remembred when wee come to the description of Samaria: But because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Storie past, with that which followeth hath beene aeted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderstanding of both) to make a Geographical description 40 of those Regions: that all things therein performed

by the places knowne, may the better bee understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength, were by the Iewes obtained and what numbers it pleafed God to leave vnconquered: by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngrateful for his many graces, they at fundric times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idolls of the Heathen. Divina bonitas (faith S. AVGVSTINE) ideo maxime irafeitur in hoc faculo, ne irafeatur in futuro : & mifericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne aternamiussie inserat ultionem; The divine goodnesse is especially therefore 50 angrie in this world, that it may not be angrie in the world to come, and doth mercifully vie temporall severitie, that it may not infly bring vponus eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Storic of the beginnings, and ends of divers Kingdomes and Common-weales: and to helpe my felfe herein, I have perufed divers of the best Authors vpon this subject: among whom, because I finde fo great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because Canaan, with Palastina of the Philistims, and the Lands of Ug and Sihon Kings of Bafan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Spring it shall be necessarie, first to divide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

ded: also Padan Aram: that is, Jugum Syria, because the two Rivers goe along in it

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently to- Piol Aliastah a ken, imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea to the Red Sea; and therefore 10 were the Cappadocians, which looke into Pontus called Leuco syrians, or white Syrians. Ptol. 5. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of Calicia, which is the North border, vnto Idumeatowards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne riling, and the Mediterrin Sca Westward: itthen containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldea, Arabia the Desart, and Arabia Petres, that Region also which the Greekes call Mesopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Rivers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for fo Aram-Naharaim is expoun-

Edeffa, fometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Aurogalius, Syria taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as Calesyria which the Latines 20 call Syria Caua, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus and Anti-lybanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others were seated. Then Damaseena or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seate of the Adades, the first Kings of Syria. Adiovning to it was the Province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, 1.K.11. Choba, or Zobal: ouer which Adadezer commanded in Salomons time. Then Phae-Herod, in Polyan, micia and the people Syraphanices: and lastly Syria Palastina bordering Agypt: of Dian. 1.27. which Ptolomie maketh Iudaa alfo a part: and to that Province which Mofes calleth Ptol. Ale. 140, Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giucth the name of Syria Iudea.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promifes touching



Vt that Land which was anciently Canaus, taketh a part of Phanicia, and stretcheth from behinde Lybanus to the great Deforts between elementary to the Mid-land Sea on the West, and dumas and Legypt: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of Hermon's Galand, and Arrow towards the East the same Hills which Strabo calleth Travani or Travanita, and Ptolomie Hip-strab.lsci.

40 piis. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the Sonne of CHAM, & lineua appellata fut CANAAN; The language was also called CANAAN, faith Montanus and after Hebraa of the Hebrewes: who tooke name from Heber, the Sonne of Sale, according caleb f.62, to S. Augustine. But Arias Montanus not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of Woahs Sonnes, which past ouer Euphrates towards the West Sea. For the word Heber, faith he, is as much as transfens or transmittens, of going or passing over. And because the children of Abrahim had for a long time no certaine abiding : therefore as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called Hebrei, as it were paffengers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of Eusebius Euseb. Prep. Zlong before them both. It had also the name of Indea from Inda; and then after- name 1.7.6.3. 50 wards intituled the holy Land, because therein our Saniour Christ was borne, and buried. Now this part of Syria was againe divided into foure, namely into Edom, (otherwife Seir, or Edumea) Galilee, Samaria, and Indea. Galilee is double, the fuperior called Gentium, and the inferiour: and that Galilee and Indea are diffinguished, it is Math 2.

plaine in the Euangelists, though both of them belong to Phanicia,

Now Zibn.4.

Now besides these Prounces of Phanicia, and Palassina (both which the River of torday boundeth; fauing that Phanicia stretcheth a little more Easterly towards Damafeus) that part also to the East of Iordan, and within the Mountaines of Hermon Gilead and Arnon, otherwife Traconi, fell to the possession of halfe Manasse, Gad, and Ruben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan alfo: aswell because anciently poffest by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Ifraelites, which Eaftermost parts are againe divided into Bafan or Batanea, into Gilead. Moab, Alidian, Ammon, and the Territories of the Machati, Geffuri, Argobe, Hus. . They are knowne to the later Colmographers by the name of Arabia in generall; and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria, Batanea, Oc. of which I will speake in their pro- 10

But where Moles describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genelis, he maketh no mention of the later Proninces, which fell to Manalle, Gad, and Ruben, for thefe be his wordes. Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commest to Gerar untill Azzah (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text. And as thou goeff unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboum, even unto Lasha: by which wordes Moses setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in Deuteronomie it scemeth to be farre more large. For it is therein written : All the places whereon the foale of your feet shall treade shalbe yours : your coast shalbee from the wildernesse, and 20 from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermoft Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former : only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wilderneffe for Gerar and Azzah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perah be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer Arabia Petrea, and the Defert as farre as the border of Babylon: which the Ifraelites neuer poffeft: nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive that by the Riner Perah, was meant Iordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Iosva: Behold I have divided onto you by lot thefe Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes : from Iordan with all the Nations that I have destroit 20 ed, euch unto the great Sea Westward.

And though it bee true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the holy Vadian. Epitom. Land: yetas Vadianus well noteth, if Perah in the former place bee taken for Euphratrium terre par- tes, then was it but per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Affyria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not posselfing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein and elsewhere to subject them vnto those Idolatrous Na- 40 tions, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also served and obased. And fure the promife by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the la-Deut. 11. v.21. fling enjoying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were above the earth, was tied to those conditions both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent: which the Ifraelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect: who know that all forts of comforts from the mercifull goodneffe of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be eartended. than while we perseuer in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleuenth of Deuteronomie, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition iouned to the prosperitie of Ifrael. For therein it is written: Therefore shall yee 50 keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that yee may be strong, and goe in , and possesse the Land , whether yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your daies in the Landwhich the Lord (ware unto your Fathers, ere.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and

the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were about the earth. For if ree keepe Deal. 11. diligently, faith he, all thefe commandements, which I command you to doe, that is to love the Lord your God, ere, then will the Lord cast out all thefe Nations before you, and vec shall possesse great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, though it bee manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements and their falling away from the worthip of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolattie of the Heathen, the conditionall promifes of God were absolutely voide, as depending upon obedience unperformed : yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melanthon : For, faith he, oftendit promissionem pracipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; He sheweth that his chiese pro-

to mile is not of actual Kingdome. To which agrees that answere, which S. Hierome made to a certaine Heretique in his Epiftle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierom that he ouerthrew the reputation of the Jewes Storie, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, and ad illam duntaxat viuentium terram que in calis est; (that is) Only to that Land of the living which is in Heaven. Quoniam tota Iudaorum Regio adeò angusta sit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40, es in his etiam regiones loca vrbes es oppida funt plurima, nunquam à tudieis occupata, led tantum divina pollicitatione promissa: Because the whole Countrie of the lewes is so narrow in compasse that it scarce bath 160, miles inlength, and 40, miles in breadth, and in thefe are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Townes, which the

20 lowes never poffest, but were only granted by divine promife. In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon E/ay touching the bleffings promifed vnto Hierusalem: where he hath these wordes. De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquamin Palastina Region Canana petendam: que totius Provincie deterrima est : & saxosis montibus asperatur . & penuriam patitur litis : itavt calellibus vtatur pluuijs, & raritatem fontium ciflernarum extructione Soletur : Sed in Dei manibus ad quam dicitur festinauerunt structores tui; From whence faith he, we learne, that Hierufalem is not to be fought in that Region of Palastina, which is the worlt of the whole Prouince, and ragged with craggie Mountaines : and suffereth the penurie of thirst : fo as it preserveth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building Cefternes, but this Hierufalem is in Gods handes, to which it is faid, Thy builders have hafte-

30 ned, fo farre S. Hierome, where also to preuent mistaking, hee thus expoundeth himfelfe. Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terra Iudea, vt Hareticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historia veritatem : qua fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis, sed vt decutiam supercilium Iud.corum: qui Synagoga angustias latitudini Ecclesia praserunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum viuisicantem : ostendant terram promillionis laste & mellemanantem; Neither (faith he) fay I this to differace the land of Iudea (as the Hereticall [yeophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of (pirituall under standing, but to beate downe the pride of the Iewes: which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther then the breadth of the Church : for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them show the Land of

40 promise, flowing with milke and honnie.

By this it may also be gathered, how socuer it be vnlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11.24. had his truth in the literall fense, that Euphrates or Perath; which is made the East bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet neuerthe effethat Hieroms opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perath were not to be underftood for Euphrates: and that the promise it selfe was never so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephtalim, and Zabulan, held the Northermost part, and were feated in Phanicia, I will beginne with these three, taking Aber for the first: of which Tribe yet before 52 I focake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the

other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diners fancies of Translators, are dinersly expressed, so that to the viskilfull they may feeme divers, when they are one and the same : the reason of this diversitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions

Zat.Itia.

of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers confonants, otherwise than the latter thinke fit.

### S. III. THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

### The bounds of the Tribe of Afher.

He Asherites descended of Asher the Sonne of Iacob by Zelpha, the hand-maide of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41 500. and odde persons, all men aboue twentie yeares of age, and able to beare armes at the time, when they were multered by Moles at Mount Smai : all which number perishing in the Delarts, 20

there remained of their iffues, belides women and children, 53 400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phanicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libaniu, vnto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Sea-coast; containing thirrie English miles or thereabout; and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though Antoninus makes it fomewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oile, and Wheate, belides the Ballamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities : according to that Prophecie, A s s ER pinguis panis : concerning Affer , his bread shall be fat : And hee shall give pleasures for a

### †. II. of Zidon.

He first Citic scated on the North border of the Territorie of Asser, was Zidon, which Tofus calleth the great Zidon : both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and Q. Curtius make Agenor the founder thereof: and Institute deriues the name from the abundance of Fifh found on those shores: whereof it hath been cal-Gen, 10. 10feph. led Zidona. But that it was farre more ancient Mofes, 10fua, and 10fephus witneffe, 40 the fame being founded by Zidon the eldeft of Canaans Sonnes; and fo ftrong it was in Iofuas time, as neither did himfelfe attempt it, neither could the Afferites, or any of their Successors master it: but it continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, euen vnto the comming of Christ, a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Eld. 23. Hir. 47 Prophets Efry, Hieremie, Ezekiel, and Zacharie, it was often afflicted both by the ene-

E306.28. @ 32. mies fword, and by the peltilence. Zidon is feated on the very wash of the Phanician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of Berythus, and the River Leontis: and to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat: which flandeth betweene it and Tyre, 50

the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, Zidon and Tyre, Paleft. Seiz. f. : is fourteene thouland paces, faith Seiglerus: but Vadianus makes it two hundred fur-Wadim. Phon. longs, and so doth Weißinburie in his description of the holy Land, and both from Strabo: which two hundred furlongs make fine and twentic miles. This difference

CHAP. 7. S.3. †. 2. of the Historie of the World.

of distance as well between these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer difficult to deuise any new scale to the Map and description of the boly Land.

What Kings it had till Agenors time there is no memorie: The Storie which Zeno the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and loft. It feemeth to bee more ancient than Tyre: which was also built by the Zidonians. For as Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, neglecteth the memoric of Strab, Life. Tire: because it was but a member of Zidon, and a Citic subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with Zidon for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and firong: From Zidon had Salamon and Zo-

10 robabel, their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone; for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all fores of learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts and Trades: the Prophet Zacharic calling them the wife Zaclonians. The Zachg.v.a. Citie was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-fide, flanding upon an unaccetible Rocke, and compaffed by the Sca, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of Agypt, which the Templers guarded. It also fent many other Colonies besides that of Tyre, into places remote: as vnto Thebes, and Sephyra, Cities of Bastia in Grees, Herad.1s.

Tyre, into places remote: as vited 1 news, and sepapa, these or new in the research Strabo and Plinie give the Zidonians the invention of \* Glaffe, which they yield to \* triceness make of those fands which are taken out of the River Belus, falling into the Alegh, that even in terran Sea, neare Ptolomais or Acon : and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter well ted elast of those cleare Glasses which they make at Murana: of which S. Hierome and Plmie. making which ZI DON infiguis artifex vitri: ZIDON vitrarys efficinis Nobilis; ZIDON a fameus between the control of the cont Glaffe-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glaffe-houses.

fle-maker, or a stulyau worser in charge-mouse.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reft of the Canamites) worthippers of k as much as the control of the Canamites of the Bad and Affaroth: which Idolls though common to the other of the iffue of Canaan quanto, reades (as Pinedagathers out of 1.Sam. 31.10 and Indg. 10.6.) yet especially and peculiar-formation from ly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares 1. Kings 11. 5. in the florent, because rie of Solomons Idolatrie: where Afterothis called the God of the Zidonians and I. the Founces 30 Reg. 16.33 in the florie of schub, the chiefe worthipper of Bad, where it is find that were bit the he marrying teached the Daughter of the King of the Zielonian, worthipped their ret, either far, aal. Diners Baals and diners Aftarolls in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it the woung of appeares by the plurall names of Baalm and Aftaroll, 1. Sam. 12. 10. and elfewhere the cellens by for euen the name Aftaroth, as I am informed by askilfull Hebritian, is plurall: the water, or for o. fingular being Afloreth: whence Ind. 2.13, the Septuagint reade is Argonn reading pairs the needline They worshipped the Aflorites. The occasion of this their multiplying of their Ready. Seed others that and Aftereths, may be discribly understood: either in respect of the discribite of the take them too

and species, may be discriby violentood: enter in respect of the discribed on the formes of the Images, or of the worthip in discribing the respect of the flories depending the respect of vpon them: which (as fables yfe to be) were doubt leffe in divers Cities divers. An- hot bath, 40 gustine quast. 16 in Judg. thinks Bad and Astarte to be Jupiter and Juno. For the Car- The forme of thaginians (which were Tyrians) call Juno by some fuch name as Affarte. Tullie, lib. 3. Afforth (or Ade Nat. Deorum, making divers Goddesses of the name of Venus, expounds the fourth to have been to be Affarte: whom he makes to be borne of Tyrus and Syria, and to have beene a there, for the wife of Adonis: as alfo Macrob. 2. Saturn.cap. 21. faics that Adonis was with great Deary 13. the veneration commonly worthipped of the Affyrians; and Hierome vpon Ezek. 8 44 rall number finotes that Thanmuz (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to be waile) is goined thereps the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may feeme that in the worship of and this may Aflarte, or Venus, they did bewaile her hufband Adonis : as also the Gracians, did in sufficient on their fongs of A D O N Is. Mourne for A DONIS the faire, dead is A DONIS the faire, that Albate was

their longs of A Donis. Commercial ADONIS Integere, acra B. A DONIS Integere. Jane 1 for the forme of her mourning for Thanmuz, to be the mourning for Oficis in the facrifices of ifis: whose husband ingemourning for Thammaz, to be the mourning for Opin in the lactifies of the with the life Historian loffe of her hulband Ofris, was as famous in the Agyptian Idolatrie, as with the was a famous in the Agyptian Idolatrie, as with the was a famous. Gracians, Venus loffe of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, de His mairs garden de & Osiride; that Ofiris with the Agyptians is called Annua: which word may Nowing

Tor. 11 Bell.

Sacr.14. Viriac.c.27.

feeme to be the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But how soeuer these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatrie: yet they were more apt to receine the Doctrine and Gospell of Christ after his Ascension, than the Jewes : who had beene taught by Moles, and the Prophets fo many yeares, whereof our Sauiour Math. 11. v.20. in Matthew and Luke. Weebe to thee Cherazin, Go. for if the great workes which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus, and Zidon, they had repented long agone, Oc. but I (ay unto you it shall bee caser for Tyrus, and Zidon, at the day of sudgement than for

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of Tyre, But in the yeare of our Redemption 636, it fell into the handes of the Sa- 10 racens : and continued in their possession till Baldwinus the first, then King of Hiersfalem, in the yeare 1111. by the helpe of the Danes and Normaies, who came with a fleete to vilit the holy Land, and tooke Port at Joppa, it was againe recourred, the commandement thereof being given to Euflace Gremer, a Noble man of that Countrie. And againe in the yeare 1250 it was reedified and strengthned by Lodowicke the French King: while hee fourt foure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Niger Postellar. Lastly, in the yeare 1289, it was reconquered by the Saracens : and is now in possesfion of the Turke, and bath the name of Zai.

t. III.

.20

Of Sarepta, with a briefe Historie of Tyre in the same coast.

S Arepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next Citie Southward from Zidon, betweene it and the Riuor called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a Citie very famous for the excellent Wine growing neare it : of which Sidonius.

> Vinamihi non funt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, Quan. Sareptano palmite milla bibas.

I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine, Nor any for thy drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This Citic had also a Biftop of the Diocesse of Tyre : after it came to the Saracens

and Turkes, as the reft : and is now called Saphet, faith Poftellus.

Not farre from Sarepta was fituate that fometime famous Citie of Tyre, whose fleets of thips commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the Mediterran Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the Tyrians erected Vtica, Leptis, and Carthage in Affrica, of which VIRGIL. Vrbs antiqua fuit Tyry te- 40 nuere Coloni Carthago, And Carthage was therefore called Punica quasi Phanicum; a Colonic of the Phanicians. In Spaine they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italie, Nola: Mercelin laz. in Afia the leffe, Dromos Achillis, which Citie the Scholiaft of Apollonius placeth neare the River Phyllis, in Bishynia.

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Tzor : and fo it is written in Jofus the 19. taking name from the fituation : because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end: Gelling, 1.4.6.6. the Latines, as it feemes, knew it by the name of Sarra: for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, offrum Sarranum, by which name Junenall and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it you a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being ftill knowne by the name of the ancient Tyre : and because it was a Colonie of the 50 Zidenians, the Prophet Elay calleth it the Daughter of Ziden: which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berefiss by affinitic of name makes Thiras the Sonne of Japhet to bee the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient ( for fo much the Prophet Efay also witnesseth, Is not this your glorious Citiewhose antiquitie is of ancient

daies:) yet, that Thiras the sonne of Japhes set himselfe in the bosome of the Canasnites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region : I fee nothing to perfivade

CHAP. 7. S. 3. + . 3. of the Historie of the World.

But that new Tyre in after-times for enowned, feemeth to beethe worke of Age- Julian, L. 18, nor: and of this opinion was Curtius : and tolephus, and Eulebius make this Citie el- Curt Lader than Salomons Temple 240. yeares : Cearenus 361. who also addeth that Tyrus Fulib in cron. the Wife of Agenor gaue it her name: but of Agenor I will speake more at large in cape. the storic of their Kings.

For strength and for the commoditie of the harbour, and the better to receive 10 Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700, pages from the continent: and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the middelt of the Sea, as Exclusion fome reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence hee calleth it ver/3. fituate at the entrie of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the Mart of the Efai.23.3. people for many iles: and Es ax a Mart of the Nations: and fo Proude, Wealthie, and Magnificent was this Citie, as the Prophet Esay calleth the Merchants thereof 27.8. Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the world.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture : especially in the making and dving of Purple, and Scarlot cloth: which, faith Inlins Pollux, was first found out by Hercules Dogge, who palling along it the Sea-coaft, and eating of the Fish Con20 chilis or Purpura: the haire of his lips became of that colour. It worthipped the fame Idolls that Zidon did: fauing that Hercules became their Patron in after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a crowne of gold, and other gifts, defiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that hee had vowed a facrifice to Hercules, the Defender of their Citie: and the Ancester of the Mucdonians Kings : and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hercules his Temple was in the Mountaine of old Tire: where he might performe that ceremonie; but this availed not. For Alexander was not so superfittious, as ambitious, hee defired to enter the Towne, which being denied, hee as one whome no perill could feare, nor labour wearie, gathered together as many 30 ships as he could; and brought from Libanus so great a number of Cedars, and so

many waightie Stones, from the old Citie of Tyre adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materialls were often walht away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he neuer refted, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Hand : and having once approched their Walls, hee over-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent mouing Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the fword that relifted, after which he caused 2000, more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequation vpon cold bloud hee performed (as some Authors affirme) vpon the iffues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their

40 Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselues. This victorie of Alexander over the Tyrians, Infephus remembreth: infephusualides. and how Sanaballet revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000. Soul- Livie 8. diers: who was the last Satrapa or Prouinciall Gouernour, which Darius seated in Samaria : the fame who having married his Daughter to Manaffe, brother to laddus the high Priest of Hierufalem, obtained of A'exander that a Temple might bee built on the Mountaines Garizimouer Samaria: that the forces of the Jewes being divided. Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his sonne-in-law Manasse, whom the terres oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while Alexander belieged Debell Ger. 1.13

50 G. e., Sanaballai, whom Gul. Tyrius calleth Sanabula, died.

Long before this defolation of Tyre, by the crueltie of Alexander, it was attempted by admiraffer the Affrian King: when the growing pride of the Affrians, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of Swia, became envious of the beautie, riches, and power of that Citie. He belieged it both on the Land-fide,

Vergil I.

Cap.225

and with three-score ships of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any vichualls nor any supply of men might enterit: but the Tyrians with twelve faile scattered that fleete, and tooke 500. prisoners of the Asyrians: notwithstanding, the togh datable, Apprian continued his resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants fine yeares, but with ill fuccesse. And this siege Menander Ephesius, cited by Josephus, made re-Eleman An.
1.501 Typinale port of in his Chronicles, as hee found the Storic among the Annalls of the Tyria.s
1.501 Spinale port of in his Chronicles, as hee found the Storic among the Annalls of the Tyrias
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1.501 Spinale port of in his Chronicles, as hee found the Storic among the Annalls of the Tyrias uses And the fame fixe and twentie yeares. Soone after this repulse of Salmahaslar, and about 200, yeares before the victoric of Alexander, Nabuchodonofor at fuch time as he destroiced Hierusalem with 10 the Temple, came before this Citie: who indeed gaue to Alexander the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For Nabuchodonosor had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawfey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against Nabuchodonofor, for many yeares, the Tyrians defended themselues: for folong did thefe Babylanians continue before it, As enery head was made bald, and enery floulder made bare, faith Ezekiel, who with the Prophet Elay had manifeftly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeares siege or more, the Tyrians despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number 20 of thips, abandoned their Citie, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained; and with their wines, children, and portable riches failed thence into Cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: fo as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to fatisfie fo many labours and perills, or any person vpon whom to avenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make Nabuchodonosor victorious ouer the Agyptians: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Armie. Whereupon Saint Hierome noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable 30 worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happineffe referued for his Sernants and Saints: yet fuch is the boundleffe goodneffe of God, as he often repaieth them with

many worldly gifts and temporall bleffings. Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofors against Tyre, prophane Historians have Lofephant, live, not been filent. For both Diocles, and Philoftratus (as Infephus citeth them) the one in his fecond Booke, the other in his Phanician Histories remember it.

of Tree repaired and recovered it felfe againe: and continued in great glorie about 300. yeares, euen to the comming of our Saniour Christ: and after him flourished in the Christian Faith neare 600. yeares : the Archbishop whereof gaue place to none 40 but to the Patriarke of Hiernfalem only: who within his owne Diocesse had fourteen Gully, bell fise. great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely Caipha, otherwise Porphivia, Acon or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cafarca Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthofia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus (or Tortofa) and Maracles. But in the yeare 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of Phonicia and Palestina, subjected to the cruell and faithleffe Saracen. Under the burthen and yoke of whose tyrannie it

After these two great Vassations by the Kings of Babylon and Wacedon: this Citie

fuffered with the other Palafline Cities 488. yeares. In the yeare 1112, it was attempted by Baldwine King of Hierufalem; but in vaine : yet in the yeare 1124 by Guaremonde, Patriarke of Hierusalem, Vicegerent to Baldwine the second, with the allistance of the Venetians, and their seete of Gallies, 50 it was againe recoursed, and subjected to the Kings of Hiernfalem, and so it remained

> Finally, in the yeare 1189. Saladine having first taken Hierusalem, removed his whole Armie and fate downe before Tyre: drawing his fleete of ships and Gallies

from Alexandria into the port, this cittle as then onely remaining in the Christian

CHAP. 7. S.2. +. 4. of the Historie of the World.

The citizens finding themselues reduced into great famine, and many other miferies, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and fall ying out refoluedly you his armie, flew fo great numbers of them, and followed their victorie with fuch furie, as that the Saracens for faking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great diforder and dishonour. Two yeares after which victorie the bodie of that famous Fredericke Barbaroffa (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies ouer a Riuer vnfoordable 10 perished by the weight of his armor therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedrall church of Tyre, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of Origen, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares before therein buried; but in the yeare 1280, the Saracensagaine attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth Subject to the Turks.

### t. IIII. Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third Cittle along the coast of the Sea, which the Afferites could not obtaine, on the fouth bound of Affer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after Hierome, though other good Authors affirme that it tooke name from Acon the brother of Ptolomie, Pliny calleth it Ace: and otherwise the Colonie of Claudius, Plinibs care It had also the name of Coth or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactings.

But lastly, it was inticled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Agyptian Ptolomies: which cittle alfo as it is 1. Mac; 11. an other of the Ptolomies infideliously wre- Ptolomeus Phifted from his fonne in law Alexander, which called himfelfe the fonne of Antiochus lanter. Epiphanes: the fame Alexander having married Cleopatra daughter of the faid Ptolomie not long before. Therein also was Ionathan Maccabaus treacherously surprized

30 and flaine as it is 1. Mace. 12.48. by the perfidiousnesses of Tryphon, whom soone af- 1. Maceab. 1.10 rer Antiochus purfued as it is in the Storic enfuing : and by like reason about the firme time was the aforefaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrius one of the fonnes of Antiochus the great with whom Ptolomicioyned, ouerthrown and treacheroufly murthered by Zabeliel the Arabian: to whom he fled for fuccour: and his head prefented ynto his father in law Ptolomie: who enjoyed not the glory of his vi-Storic and treason about three dayes, for God strucke him by death.

For the beautie and strength of this Citie, this Alexander made it his regall scate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the Port for safetie and capacitie not inferiour to anie other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from Hic-40 rufalem some source and thirtie miles : source miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre Antoni- Aut. 16th nus maketh it two and thirtie Italian miles. In the middeft of the Citie there was a Tower of great strength sometime the Temple of Bel-zebub: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the toppe whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, Herold. like vnto that called Pharus in Egypt : to give comfort in the night to those ships, which came neere and fought that part. It had in it a Bilhops feate, of the Dioceffe of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the yere 636. (a fatall yere to the Chri-(lians in those parts ) it was forced and taken by Haomarus the Saracen. In the yeare i 104. it was regained by Baldwine the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of Genoa to G.Tyr. bell. Ger.

50 whom a third of the reuenew was given in recompense. Againe, in the yeare of Honold like 1. our Lord God, one thousand one hundred foure score and seauen Saladine King of bell seer sing. Ægypt, and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the yeare of Christ, one thousand one of the 2 cap 2. hundred ninetic and one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of Fraunce it was repossessed and redeliuered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeare 1291. it

1.Macc. 11, 18;

was by the furie of the Saracens belieged with an Armie of 150000. entred, fackt, and vtterly demolished: though in some fort afterward reedified, and it is now

### t. V. of the Castle of St. GEORGE.

L Iue miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of S. George seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of S. Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his owne beliefe: Orthoplace & yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others : it was strange that the Order full Chap.9.5.1. of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Successiours Roially haue continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcitie of Saints in those daies, as that the English were driven to make such an erection vppon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by Adrichomius in his defeription of Affer, to have beene in the fields of Libanus : betweene the River Adonis, and Zidon his owne wordes are thefe. Hoe loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur. non longe à Beryto, memorant inelytum Christi Militem D. Georgivm, Regis filiam 20 ab immanisimo Dracone asseruâsse : eam q, mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius res memoriam Ecclefia postmodum fuit edificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not farre from Berytus, men fay that the famous Knight of Christ Saint GEORGE, didrescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon : and having killed the beast, delinered the Virgin to her Parent. In memorie of which deede a Church was after built there: Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authors he citeth Lodonicus Roman, Patric. Nauigationum, l. 1. c. 3. and Bridenbach Itin. 5. The Valley under this Castle sometime called Affer, was afterward called the Valley of S. George. If this authoritie fuffice not, we may rather make the Storie allegoricall, figuring the victorie of Christ, than accept of George the Arrian Bilhop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

### t. V I.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

Etweene Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the Sea coast, was the strong Citie of Acziba. D or Achazib, which S. Hierome calleth Achziph, and tofephus Ecdippos, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it selfe against the Afferites. Belforrest findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence

The twelue scarchers of the Land which Moses sent from Cadesbarne, trauailed Hieron, de Locis as farre to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Affer, which Rechob, as alfo Berothe which by Ezekiel cap. 47. v. 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged 10 Bergins within by Locate voy. 4).

10 Bergins within by Locate voy. 4).

10 Bergins within by Locate voy. 4).

10 Bergins within by Locate voy. 4). Plasts e. 19. Samuel the 8. cap. and 8. verfe, and cap. 10. v.6. and it defended it felfe against the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This aphek it was, whose Wall falling downe, slew seven and twentie thousand of Benhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had beene slaughtered by the Is raelites, under the conduct of Ahab. Here Iunius finds that the Philistrus incamped 2. Kinga. 20, 29. a little before the battaile at Gilbon, though in his Note vpon the first of Samuel, the 50 g. and I. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue beene in Iuda. Of which Iof. 15. and 53. and in the second of Kings 13.17. hee reades, Fortiter, for, in Aphele. Where others convert it, Percutiens Syres in

CHAP. 7. S. 2. +. 7. of the Historie of the World.

The next place along it the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schanger, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it, when hee believed Tire: and fet it on a point of Land which extendeth it felfe into the Sea, betweene decile and Tyre : which Castle Baldwine the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeare of Christ 1157. when he vndertooke the recourse of Tire.

Not much aboue a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull spring of water, which Salamon remembreth, called the Well of lining waters: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about Twe are made fruitfull by large pipes hence drawne : but the same Spring, which hath not aboue a bow-shot of ground to tra-

10 uaile till it recouer the Sea, driueth fixe great Mills in that short passage, faith nine Brothard.

Within the Land, and to the East of Acciba, and Sandalium, standeth Hofa: and 10/12.10. beyond it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the Citic of Achfaph, or Axab, or after St. Hierome Acifap, a Citie of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by Iolua, at the waters of Merom.

†. VII.

of Thoron, Gifcula, and some other places.

Arther into the Land towards tordan, was feated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the Eafter-most Hills of Tyre, in the yeare 1 107. thereby to restraine the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleafant. From this Callle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Storie of the Warres for the recourre of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobilitie. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humphrey of Thoron, Conflable to Baldwine the third, King of Hierufalem, lieth buried: There were fine Castles besides this within the Territorie of Affer: whereof foure are seated all-

20 most of equal distance from each other; to wit, Castrum Lamberti, Montfort, India (or Saron) Castrum Regium, and Belfort: The first neare the Sea under the Hills of Saron: the next three, to wit, Indin , Montfort , and Regium , fland more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and Fellow ship of the Teutonici, or Dutch Knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens posses the best part of the vpper Galilee) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Acon. The first Fortresse was for beautie and strength called Belfort, scated in the high ground vpon the River Naar, neare the Citic Rama: of which in this Tribe Iof. 19.29 for which the Vulgar reades Horma: making the article a part of the word, and millaking the vowells: from the fiege of this Calle of Hand, I.s., c. 4.

28 defort, the great Saladine King of Syria and & Egypt, was by the Chriftians Armicrained and the Company of the Christians

To the East of Belfort, is the strong Citie of Alab (or Achlab) which S. Hieromo, calleth Chalab, one of those that defended themselves against Assert, as Roob (or Rechob I not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gakala (which Herod, furnamed the Alcalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territoric of Chabol, Quad Syrorum lingua diffi- to est antigar cere fignificat (faith Weißenburg) fo called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with \$ 15.10. those twentic Cities, seated hereabout, which Salomon presented vnto him in recompence of those prouisions fent him for the building of the Temple. Others thinke

50 this Chabol or Cabul, containing a circuit of those twentic Cities given to Hiram, to tun evant is have beene without the compaffe of the holy Land: though bordering After on the 1.842 9.11. North fide: as it is faid, 1. Reg. 9. 11. that they were in Regionelimitis: that is, in limite Regionis, in the border of the Countrie: for it was not lawfull, fay they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: how socuer, that af-

Matth. 15

13.cap.8.

Afix.Tab.4.

Plin.l.g.

ter Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Ifraelites, it appeares 2. Chron, 2.52m.10.6. 8.14. And it feemes they were conquered by David from the Syri Rechobai, whose

Citie Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts. Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Gifeala, and Gadara; of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Jordan; Gifcala was made famous by John the Sonne of Loui, who from a meane effate gathering together four hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee : at fuch time as the Romanes attempted the conquest of Indea: by whose practise Infephus, who then commanded in the upper Galilee, was greatly indangered; whereof himfelfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This tohn betraying in all hee could 10 the Citic of Gifeala (whereof he was natiue) to the Roman State: and finding a refistance in the Citie, gaue opportunitie, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it : who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground : but being by Infephus authoritie rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to Titus by composi-

tion. They finde also the Cities of Cana Major, and \* Cades: (or Cedessa) of the first was that Syro-phanician, whose Daughter Christ delinered of the euill Spirit. Neare Marc. 7. Marcabat. 73 the other, they fay, it was that Ionathas Machabaus ouer-threw the Armie of De-

There are belides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of Aller, divers others: a Of which as on the South border, and neare the Sea, Melfall or Miffreall: within the Land a Be- 20 fara, b Bethdagen, and Bethemee, standing on the South border betweene After and Zabulon: on the North fide joyning to Syro-phanicia, is the Citie of Hethalon, or Chethwhich tef 1927 lon, the vtmost of the holy Land that way; under which towards the Sea is Chali, and then e Enoch supposed to bee built by Cain, and named of his Sonne Enoch, but Left phrant. blin. without probabilitie, as I have formerly proved: there are others also besides these as Ammon or Chammon, of which Iof. 19.28 where also weer eade of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelee, and Beton: the Cities of Alcath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Milheal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Afferites given to the Leuites. Ofothers held by the Canzanites, mention is made, Judg. 1.30. to which out of Jofua wee may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no storie dependeth; and therefore I 20 will not pefter the description with them.

### †. VIII. .

Of the Rivers and Mountaines of Aber.

THe rivers to the north of Affer, are Adonis, afterward Canis, to which Ziegler joy-neth Lyews, Ptolome, Leonis: both which fall into the Scancare Beryus: which River of Leontis, Montanus drawes neare vnto Zidon: finding his head notwithstanding, where Ptolomie doth, betweene Zidon and Tyre. It hath also a River called 40 fons hortorum Libani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus : for which he also citeth Plinie; and the first of Machabees the 11. Chap, but neither of those authorities proue Eleutherus to be in Asser: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of Aradus: not farre from Balanea, witneffe Ptolomie; and therefore Pine-Poll Ostholism tus calleth it Valania, and Postellus Velana: which River boundeth Phanicia on the & Eleuberum North fide: to which Straboalfo agreeth: but this principall River of Affer, Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Schrot out of the mouth and Papers of Peter d The word Laiestan (which Laiestan in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) biguous, either calleth the maine River Fons hortorum Libani: and one of the streames which runfor a Valley or neth into it from the North fide, Near, and an other from the South-west Chabul: 50 for a River but this word Ghe of the Citie adioyning of the fame name: for Eleuthers it cannot be. There is also an this word one is alway a Val- other River described by Adrichome, named Jepthael, which I finde in no other Auley, as in Gehin thor, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of Iofua, but the word & Ghe which is added there to Jepthael, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley

### CHAP. 7. S.z. +. 8. of the Hiltorie of the World.

the Vulgar, the Genera, and Arias Montanus turne it. There is also found in Affect 10/10 lib. 2. Be 2. the River of Belus, remembred by tolephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidies, Indias. faith \* Plinie : out of the fands of this River are made the best Glasse, which some . Ls. crain time the Zidonians practifed : and now the Venetians at Murana, Arias Montanias 10/10.00.00 makes Belus to be a branch of Chedumim, which it cannot be: for Belus is knowne to the chem, of which flow from out the Lake Cendenia, as all Cosmographers both Ancient and Moderne, name many you and the later Trauailers into those parts witnesse. It is true that the River of Chi-derstand in o-Toutaketh water from Chedumim: but not in that fallion which Montanus hath described it: neither doth it finde the Sea at Ptolomais Acon, according to Montanus: running by Pebut farther to the South betweene Caiphas and Sicaminum, witnesse Ziegler, Adricho-tas of Arabia, falleth into the mius, and Schrot.

Belides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of & divide th A. liuing waters adiovning to Tyre : and a Maferephot, or after S. Hierome, Maferephot- promifed Land maim, whose Well filled by the floud of the Scaadioyning, (they say) the Inhabi- whereabour tants by feething the water make falt thereof, as at Nantwich.

The Mountaines which bound Affer on the North, are those of Anti-libanus, which citic Inwhich with Libanus bound Calefyria : two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea mins takeths biof Phanicia, and Syria, extend themselves farre into the Land Eastward : fourchun-place of logue dreth stadia or furlongs, according to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the Valley but howsoever 20 of Calelyria: which those Mountaines inclose: but Plinie gives them 1500. furlongs whether this Shichor, 10(13.3 in length from the West (where they beginne at Theipsophon, or Det facies, neare be a River or a Tripolis) to the Mountaines of Arabia beyond Damascus: where Anti-libanus turneth that this name towards the South. These ledges where they beginne to part Traconitis and Basan, is found, both from the Defart Arabia, are called Hermon: which Mofes also nameth Sion, the Pha- in the North nicians Syrion, and the Amorites Sanir, neither is this any one Mountaine a-part; but bould of the a continuation of Hills: which running further Southerly, is in the Scriptures called 19.26, and in Galaad or Gilead: the same being still a part of Libanus, as the Prophet Hieremie pro-neth: Galaad tu mihi caput Libani: noting that this Galaad is the highest of all those a See the mar-Hills of Libanus. Strabo knowes them by the name of Traconite: and Ptolomie by Hip ginal Note a 30 pus. Arias Montanus calleth these Mountaines bordering After, Libanus, for Anti-li-cond Section banus, contrarie to all other Cosmographers, but hee giveth no reason for his opi- of this Para-

ion.

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops, because according to Ta-Plindib 5, 620: citus, the highest of them are couered with snow all the Sommer, the Hebrew word Deuter. 4. v. 48. Libanon (faith Weißenburg) fignifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of Pin. Asic. Tab. a. the Frankincense which those trees yeeld : because MBaywros is also the Greeke word Suctor.

Niger out of Aphrodifeus affirmeth, that on Libanus, there falleth a kinde of honie Wis passon dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard fugar, which the Inhabitants call 40 Sacchar, from whence came the Latine word Saccarum.

The Rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour Regions are, Chrylorrhoas, Jordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of Asser, are those Hills aboue Tyre; and the Hills of Saren, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with Libanus: for from Nebe, or the Mountaine of Abarim, in Ruben, Moles beheld Libanus three-score miles distant.

the border. 1.5am 6.18.

2.Sam.20.

1.King 15.

# S. IIII. THE TRIBE OF NETHTALIM.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,

He next Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering Alber, was the vpper Galilee : the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the Sonne of Jacob by Billa, the hand-maide of Rachel: who while they abode in Agypt, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able to beare armes, numbred a: Mount Sinas : all which leaving their bodies in the Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Sonnes 45400. belides Infants, Women, and Children, under twentie yeares of age. The Land of Nephtalim tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of Iordan, and the Hills of Libarus adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of Galilee, bounded on the West 20 by Alber, and on the East and South-east by Jordan.

On the North-side of Libanus, and adiopning to this Territorie of Nephtalim, did facilly cas. On the North-Inde of Livanis, and acroming to the Amerites (or Emorites) also inhabite, in which Tract and winder Libanus, was the Ecclesis. Miles of Heliopolis: which the heighth of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from oreiang, capy, the Sunne, the better part of the day. Poffelius calls it Balbee; NIGER, Marbech; and nmerar. 10sephin Plurib. Leonolavius, Beallebeca.

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two great Cities in Agypt: the first called On by the Hebrewes, and the Chaldean Paraphraft, otherwise Bethfemes, or after the most. Volat. 11. f.243 Latines, Solis oppidum, or Domus Solis , The Citic of the Sunne : into which, faith Vlpian, Allo a third Senerus the Roman Emperour fent a Colonie: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach: 30 in spheaim call and of this name Stephanus also findeth a Citic in Thrace, and Glycas in Phryeia.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to Nephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chalfourth in Raw cis, of whom the Region towards Pulmyrem hath the name of Chalcidica, ouer which be called dot. ben canced April 19 A

Abila alfogaue name to the Region adioyning, of which Lyfanius the Sonne of Hered the elder, became Tetrarch or Governour: whereof Ptolonne gave it the additiurrana, and cas it feems) in the on of Lysany, and called it Abila Lysany. Volaterran names it Aphila, of which hee fame Tribe of notes that one Diogenes a famous Sophifter was natine, who by Volaterran is intituled Rewen, of an which in that Aphileus not Abileus. After that this Citie of Abila or Aphila, had received the Chriwhich follows than Paith, Prifeillinus became Bifhop thereof: flaine afterward by our British Maxi- 40 to which also mus at Treuer. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought wee may acous , to be the same) it is to be remembred that in the Tribe of a Manasse, ioyning vpon the Name as the bounds of the Tribe of Nephralim, there is an other Citie of the fame name, fafome thinke of a Chie, other using that it is written with an (E) for an (1) and called Abela, remembred in the 20. wife called Beth Chapter of the fecond of Samuel. The fame tefephus calls Abelmachea, and Hierome from the Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel for diffinction fake it is written, Abel Beth-Mahaca Phillips, or (for belike it was the Towne of Malaca, the Wife of Macir, the Sonne of Manage, accordingtoo- the Father of Gilead) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-Maijm. This Citic Ioab befiethere great flone in ged: because Seba the sonne of Bielri, who rebelled against David, fled thereinto for fuccour : but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast Seba 50 his head ouer the wall, Joab retired his Armie. The same Citic was afterward tatofesto ant. 1.7 ken by the King of Damafeus, Benadad: and after a while by Teglatphalafar.

The word Abel may bee expounded, either to fignific bewailing, or a plaine ground, and therefore no meruaile, that many Townes (with some addition for diflinction fake) were thus called: for even of bewailing many places tooke name, as Bochim, Indg. 2. 4. and so doubtleffe \* Abel-Mifraim, Gen. 50. 11. and yet Innius in his \* And Abel note vpon Num. 33.49. thinkes that Abel-Sittim, was so called, rather by reason of Magnum. the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Landof Moab) and so perhaps Abel-Meholah 1864, 314 6 14 in the Tribe of Ephraim: the Towne of Elifba the Prophet; also Abel-Vinearum of the 873 19-15. Ammonites, whither lephta purfued them.

Of Harar

I N this Tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous Citie of Iabin, in Ioluas time called A-I for (or after the Chaldean Paraphraft, Hafzor) by Iofephus Afora, by Iunius \* Chatzor: • Of two owhich Laiestan names Hefron: the Regall Citie and Metropolis of Canaan: seated in ther Cities of the West part of Nephtalim, towards Asher. In this Citie was that great Rendenous, this name in lads, Seechaa, and affembly of those foure and twentie Kings against Josua: who being all ouer- 9, 8, 1, 6, a throwne, flaine, and feattered, this their powerfull Citie was by Iofua taken and fourth in Benburnt to dust. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a se- which follows: cond King Iabin, 137. yeares after the death of this first Iabin, inuaded the Israelites: in this place of 20 and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatrie, he preuailed against them, and a fifth in this held them in a miscrable scruitude twentie yeares: till Debora the Prophetesse ouer-talim, called threw Sifera, Iabins Licutenant, and his Armie, neare the mountaine Tabor. This How: Chading Citie Salomon restored at such time as he also reedified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of A we reade, Jos. gypt, with a Megido, Bethoron, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell wee may adde into the handes of Teglatphalasar, King of the Assyrians. It is now, saith Adrichomius, in the recomposition called Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. There is an other Ci- North East of called Antiopas it was one of the principan Gines of Decapois. I letter all others are tie of this name in the Territorie of Bentamin, seated on the confines of Assall, callocan, Et at. led the new Hazor, b faith Hierome.

far-Susima, of which 1. Chron. 4.31. which also is called chatfar-Susa, and shaffar-Gadda: and laftly, Chatfar Shaleb, an o.her 20 Citie of Simeon. fol. 19.3. a King. 19. b Hieron.loc. Hebr.l.E. Out of Nebem. 11.33. as it feemes,

> t. III. Of Cafaria Philippi.

THere was also on the border, and within the Territoric of Nephtalim, that renowned Citie of Lais, or Laifeh, as Junius writes it, or Lefchen; which Citie the 100, 18.27. children of Dan (being straightned in their Territorie under Iuda) inuaded and ma- 10/19-47. fired and gaue it the name of their owne Parent Dan; and by that name it is written 40 in Gen. the fourteenth, at which place Abraham furprifed Chedorlaomer and his confederates : and followed his victorie as farre as Sobah, formerly remembred in the diuision of Syria, otherwise called Sophena. And after the possession of the Danites, it had the joynt name of Leschem Dan. Weißenburg writes it Lacis, the Geneva Laily. IOSEPHVS, Dana; BENIAMIN, Balina; BREITENBACH, Belena: but the now Inde. 18. Inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day : witnesse Neubrigensis, Trius, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monke, and Poffellus: who also taketh this Citie to bee the fame, which in Atthew the 17. v. 39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan, for which Chap. 8.10. the Greeke Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Marke, speaking of the same ftoric, Dalmanutha. At flich time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it fee-50 meth that it was either a free Citie, of the alliance and confederacie of the Zidonians, or elfe fubicet vnto the Kings thereof: for it is written in the eight centh of Indees: And there was none to helpe, because Lais was farre from Zidon : and they had no businesse versus. withother men, for it was about thirtie English miles from the Mediterran sea, and from Zidon.

Pin. 45. c. 15.

the name of Pancas, from a Fountaine adjoyning fo called : and therefore Ptolomie Heg. Lt. 035. calls it C. afaria Pania. Hegefippus calls it Parnium, faith Weiffenburg: but he had read it in a corrupt copie: for in Hegelippus fet out by Badius, it is written Paneum without an (R); and at fuch time as Philip the fonne of the elder Herod, brother to Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, became Gouernour of Traconitis, fometime Balan, this Citie was hu him amplified and fortified; and both to give memorie to his owne name, and to . bfanother flatter Tiberius C.efar, he called it \* C.efaria Philippi : and fo it became the Metropolis. and head Citie of Traconitis: and one of the first Cities of Decapolis. And being by farea galledes. Agrippa in the fucceeding age greatly adorned : by him in honour of Nero, it was cal-See hereaster led Neronia, or Neroniada. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the in the former part of Manaffe memoric of his impletic: fo in S. Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their for-Of Diserfaces mer Panens, and forecalled it, with the Territoric adioyning by the ancient name. five Septemis in Of this Citie was that Woman whom Chriss healed of a bloudie iffue, by touching the homme of his Garment with a conflant Faith ; who afterward as fhee was a woman of great wealth and abilitie, being mindfull of Gods goodnesse, and no lesse Full, bill Seel, gratefull for the same, as Eufebius and Nicephorus report, caused two Statues to bee cast in pure Copper : the one representing Christ, as neare as it could be moulded : the

In after-times when these Regions became subject to the State of Rome, it had

ceine their was Turke.

call in pure Copper: the one repretenting Corpe, an inorthogonal control and holding vp her handes towards other made like her felfe, kneeling at his feete, and holding vp her handes towards. hun. These shee mounted upon two great Bases or Pedestalls of the same Mettall, 20 which thee placed by a Fountaine neare her owne house; both which (faith Eusebius) remained in their first perfection, euen to his owne time : which himselfe had . Infighter in feene, who lived in the Raigne of Constantine the Great. But in the yeare after Christ the Books of 363, that Monster Iulian Apostata, cansed that worthie Monument to be cast downe the or 19 War and defaced: fetting vp the like of his owne in the fame place: which Image of his Philip the Te- was with fire from heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts, funtracked challe in a swatth the front nearen broken into inters the field, body, and other parts, fun-fine a summar dered and feattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The into a tournain called phiala, truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sozomenus Salaminius, in his fifth booke diffant 120.fla- and twentieth chapter. dia North-east from Cefaria, This Citie built by the Danites was neare the joyning together of those two Ri- 20

which Chaffe uers which arife from the fprings of Ior and Dan, the two apparent Fountaines of being carried Iordan: in a foile exceeding fruitfull, and pleafant, for as it is written Ineg. 18. It is a was call yo a place which eloth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this Citie, gaine at Parill it was that S. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was or Dan, where-by it is conic. answered, The es PETRVS & Super hane Petram, &c. After this Citic received the Gured that the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune 6:0 Spring of with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the Saracens, and Christians: under this Fountaine Fulch the fourth King of Hierusalem, and after the death of Godfry of Bullion, the King called Phills, of Damsfens wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them agains it was trom whence recovered. Laftly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world subjected to the 40

### t. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, Capharnaum is not the least: fo Mong the remarkable choese within this 1 hos, or part of the honour of Christ's prefence three yeares : who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which hee first Preached and taught the Doctrine of our faluation; according to that notable pro- 50 phecie of Efay 9. The people that walked in darkeneffe have feene a great light : they that dwelt in the Land of the Shadow of death, upon them hath the light Shined.

Capharnaum was feated on Iordan, even where it entreth into the Sea of Galilee: in an excellent and rich foile : of whose destruction Christ himselfe prophecied in

### CHAP. 7. S.4. +. 4. of the Historie of the World.

these wordes. And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt bee brought downe to Hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that Citie : for it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee, And although there were fome markes of this Cities magnificence in S. Hieromes time, as himfelfe confesseth: it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that have since, and long lince seene it, as Brochard, Breidenbeeh, and Saliniae affirme, that it then confifted but of fixe poore Fifther-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called Decapolitana or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Marke, and Luke, also remembred; Matthe. 10 but I finde no agreement among the Cofmographers, what proper limits it had: and hanks. fo Plinie himselfe consesset : for Marius Niger speaking from others, bounds it on Niger, comment. the North by the mountaine Casius in Casiotis and endeth it to the South at Egypt asia, 503. and Arabia; by which description it imbraceth Phanicia, a part of Calefyria, all Pa-Lestina, and Indea.

Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he num- Plinie 3.6.18. breth foure of them to be fituated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three Damaseus, Opotos, Raphana, then Philadelphia (which was first called Amana, faith Stephanus, or Opotos a Citie as I ghesse Amona rather because it was the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, knowne standing in the Valley of Coby the name of Rabbah, before Pto. Philadelphus gaue it this later and new name.) Valley of Co-Then Seythopolis fometime Nysa, built (as is faid) by Bacchus, in memorie of his by Christinhaus

Nurse, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of Bethsan, for the sixth he Plantes, fetteth Gadara (not that Gadara in Calefyria, which was also called Antioch and Seleucia: but it is Gadara in Bafan, which Plinie in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, neare the River of Hieromaix. This River Ortelius takes to bee the River Jaboc : which boundeth Gad and Manasse ouer Iordan: but he mistaketh it: for Hieromaix falleth into the Sea of Galilee, betweene Hippos and Gerafa, whereas Jaboc entreth the same Sea betweene Ephron and Phanuell. For the seuenth he nameth \* Hippos or \* Plinic hash Hippion, a Citic fo called of a Colonie of Horsemen there garrifond by Herod, on the Hippon Dion, ior East side of the Galilean Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of Atanasse oner 10r- ran reads His-20 dan. For the eighth Pella, which is also called Butis, and Berenice, scated in the South pidon, Ortalia

border of the Region ouer Iordan called Persa. For the ninth Gelafa, which Iofephus takes them ter takes to be Gerafa: and Gerafa is found in Caelefyria by Infephus, Hegefippus and Stephanus : but by Ptolomie (whom I rather follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Plinie nameth Canatha, and so doth Suctonius, and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Ganala, but Hegelippus rightly Camala, a Citic in the Region of Basan over Iordan, so called, because those two Hillson which it is seated, have the shape of a Cammell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniac, which make them to bee thefe; Cafaria Philippi, and Afor, before remembred, Cedes Nephtalim, Sephet, Corazin, Capharnaum,

40 Bethfaida, Jotapata, Tiberias, and Seythopolis, or Bethfan. For all other Authors difagree herein and giue no reason for their opinion. One place of the Euangelisi Saint Matthew makes it manifelt, that this Region called Decapolitana, was all that Track betweene Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. For thus it is written: And he departed againe mate, from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis: fo that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the North, by the Phanician Sea, betweene Zidon and Ptolomais on the West: by the Hills of ·Gelbo and Beth fan on the South: and by the Mountaines Tracones, otherwife Hermon, Sanir, and Galaad, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the holy Land: and from the North to the South, neare the same distance which may be

50 each way fortie English miles.

of Hamath.

The Sutus. B Vt to looke backe againe towards Libanus, there is feated nearethe foote therereads it, whereas also for farther diffunction there is adthe ten Tribes, the other Chamath being in Syria Soba.

grat write it Am in the Hierome Emails, lofephus Amath, 10/44.6.19.0 35; adioyning taketh name: the fame which Iofephus Champath cas v. 2. Champath Down the first of Chon. calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis: a Jacobus Zeigler. 6.76 Chammon. 2 Kings 14.8. Chamath Umde, 28 lunius Huraet. Hurae Regio tenet korealia tribus Nepthali, per reads it, whereas also for farther diffinction there is added (in 1911) to note that it was of old belonging to montem Libanum vsq. Trachones. The Countrie of 10 Inda, though feated in Ifiail, that is in the Kingdome of Hurga, faith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of Nephthali, along the Mount Libanus to Trachones. But herein following Strabo, who calls

Trachonitis Itures, he militakes the feate of this Region : and fo doth Mercator, For indeed were trur.ea (which Hege/ippus calls Per.ea, and G.Tyrius, Baccar) the fame with Traconitis, yet Traconitis it felfe is farre more to the East than Hammath in Nephtalim : for Traconitis lieth betweene Cafaria Philippi, and the Mountaines Trachones: which the Hebrewes call Gilead and this Hammath or Chammath is feated under Cafaria, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding Emath or Hamath the great in Calefyria, beyond the Mountaines Trachones, 29

ther one or other of thefe is either Antiuchia or Spiphania, howbeit that the lame Citie which Iofua 19.35 is called it may bee Bathered partly because the other Hamath 1. Chros \$ . 2. tor diffinction is called chamath I fubs , as this math tude, as wee have noted 2, Reg. 24. Secondly, because Num 34.8. and also Expert 47 10. (Lameth in the as they are named to lie in order on the North fide of Athey Nephth dim, and Manuffes : and in like manner those Berotha, Sibraim, Tfedad, Chauran, Chatfar-benan. c Of

b So Hierome which b Hierome vpon Amos calls Antiochia, with Hammath or Hamath the leffer in ment in Anns c. 6, v. 2, where there is mention of Phanicia, and Nephtalim, which hee calleth Epipha-Hamath the great, as it feemes, for diffraction from the nia; for this Hammath, or in our translation Hamath the in Merkhal st., though Matt. Researdus reieting

Hierans, rather follow the opinion of Zeigler about men.

(and not that which is commonly called Emath, tioned, as indeede it can not easily bee indiffied, that ci Which 2. Chron. 8.3. is set farre from the North border of Canaan in Syria Soba) is remembred in Num-Chammath, and placed in Nighthaline, was also called the bers 34. v. 8. and Numbers 13. v. 22. and in Exchiel math (whence the word Hammath and Emathwere framed) 42.16. In the first of which places is bouldered by Land of promife, these being the wordes : From (as it may feeme by 10(21.32.) was chanath Dor, and that Mount Hor you shall point (that is, direct or draw a 30 line ) untill it come to Hamath: In the fecond place, came Nam 34.0. and also expert 97 to (Learthin the North field of the holy Land, ryloged cone or the West thus, So they went to paid for whole and the Land from corner to be that Character [figs. for in the line which the West thus, So they went to paid for an other than 1 to the Character [figs. for in the line which the West through the Most though which begins at the great Thom in Exercise 1.0. and 1.0 mount make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make Mofisto name neuer a place Entward a. Then in EZEKIEL. The West part also shall be the long all the breadth of the holy Land, vntill we come to great Sea from the border till a man come over against Hermon (in to they expound Mount Hor, Nam. 3.4.7.) and beyond Homon Fallward in this North fide, they make Hamath: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the him to name ducers Townes, first chamath, then I fedad, West border from the Southermost part of the hothen Ziphon, and lafty Chiffer human, a thing most ve-likely feeing that had little or nothing Hastward byyoud Hermon. Therefore wee must needes expound Hor Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to to be one of the Hills neare Sidon, and fo thole Townes, the Sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon: which is 40 c the Northwest corner of the holy Land. Now in Exclusivity, (between themselve and form order, that this Hamath or Hammath, which Woles also made the confine of the holy Land, is that of Nephwhich 10/19 35. d Which Ribbb, or Krebbb, in 10/19, made the confine of the holy Land, is that of Neph-zd, is placed in after towards Zidon, in the confiner of thalim, both the reference which it hath to the west Sea, and the Citic of 4 Rehob adioyning proue it:

the other Hamath or Emath (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which Ifrael ever had possession of) is that Emath, which is also called Itur.ea, witnesse e Stella and Laiestan: and not that in Neph-Still and Peter talim, where f Ionathus Macchabeus attended the Armie of Demetrius, who fled from their Tables of him, and removed by night.

the holy Land. For though Traconic be comprehended within Itures (and therefore it is faid to f lofeth, and be finitima Galilea Gentium) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines Traconis, and fo it firetcheth into the plaines of the Territorie of Itur.ea: whence Philip the brother of Herode was Tetrarch or Prelident both of Itures and Traconitis : both which

are ouer Iordan towards the East. But Chamath in Nephralim, is on the welt fige of \* That is don't Iordan towards the Mediterran fea.

The Countrie Iturea was fo called of Jethur one of the fonnes of Ifmse', it is plan same of the ced in the bounds of Calefyria and Arabia \*the defart.

The people of Iturai were valiant and warrelike men and excellent. Archers 1 Of hed in the Ita-

Ituraos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Company and a company of the company Of Eugh the Ituraans bowes were made.

bThis Citic Chamath or Hamath in Nephtalim feemes to have been as auncient as whom the asthe other in Ituras, both built by Amatheus the eleventh fonne of Canaan. Whether built and Can in the time of David, this, or the other had Tohn for King, it is not certaine; for Hit Miles made war math or Emath beyond the Mountaines, and Hammath in Alephtalim were both try thy politic neighbours to Damafeus: of whose subjustion Tohurcioyced, because the states of in the time of whom the Damafeenicame to help, was his enemie. This Tohu fearing the firength their foreast, as and proferritio of Danid, hearing of his approach towards his territoric, bought his thers had done peacewith many rich prefents, and with many ancient veffells of golde, filter and inthetiment

But it feemeth that Datid in fuch great fuccesse would not have had peace with dataletites, che. Tobus the had bin King of any place in Nephtalim, and therefore it is probable that when the counhe ruled in Tloba: which Citie Salomon after his Fathers death made himselfe Ma- try is placed at ster of, as a part of the lands (\*in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by the East of Gi-God to the children of Ifrael.

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and chan- promife exges both of name and fortune, being as it hath beene faid possessed and charter profit Dietal. 7. piphanes, it was called Epiphania.

While Saint Hierome lived, it remained a Citic well peopled, knowne to the Sy-one of the 20 rians by the name Amathe, and to the Greekes by Epiphania.

burn mee in place of the t-

Entron. de Lacis

t. V I.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.

Nthe border of Hamath or Emathrowards fordan Randeth the Citie Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountaine Daphnis: which falleth into the lake of Merco. Hereunto was Zedekias brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of tericine 40 and deliuered to Nabuchodonofor: who to be avenged of Zealekia's infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his prefence: and to the end that this miferable spectacle might bee the last that our hee should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, hee commaunded both his eyes prefently to be thrust out: and binding him in yron chaines, hee was led a flaue to Babylon, in which effate he ended his life. Of which feldome-exampled ca- Hieron. 32-34. lamitie, though not in expresse words, Hieremie the Prophet fore-told him in Hiern- Esch 12. falem not long before: But Ezekiel thus directly, speaking in the person of God, will a Or Ked th, bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldwans, yet shall hee not see it, though hee shall die 19/14 37 & 13

There are belides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in Aephte b 1. strong 6.72. lim, as that which is called a Gedes: there are two other of the same name, one in b/- 20 is called fathar, an other in Iuda, of which 10f.15.23. and therefore to diffinguish it, it is Killian. knowne by the addition of e Nephralim, as Judg. 4. It is feated on a high hill, whence Kedibin 6 di Iof. 20.7. Kedesh in Galilaa in monte Nephtali: Iosephus calles it Cedesis, and in Saint Hie- least. Chios. 176

H h

Inf 12.22.

(which is as

much as domes

which lofs.13.

19. b Mark.3.

Matb.10.

Math. 5 6.7.

c Iof. 19.33.

cat 8 21 8.

In/18.25.

Agroth Hicron

Ind 4-Lyrun

Alt t.

romes time it was called Cidiffus, Belforelt greatly miltakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the Defart of Pharan

After the King thereof among other of the Canaanites perished by the hand of Io-2.Reg. 15.19.
() Secin Ben. Ina, it was made a Citic of refuge, and given to the Leuites. Herein was Baree borne. () Secon Ben. I who ouerthrew the Armie of the second Labin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was fometime possest by Teglatphalassar, when hee wasted all Wephtalim: afterward by Other Cities of the Romanes, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the Saracens and Turkes, and by them it

From Cedes some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth Sephet, o-15. where to the therwife Zephet, which was also one of the ten Decapolitan Cities: a place exceeding tribes ouercam frong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortreffe of the Christians, and afterward of the S. racens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritimate neare it. Touching Rama of Nephralim, feated North-ward near Sephet: this is to be noted: that there are () diners places of 21.16. 5 1.52.6 1.52.6 this name in Palassime, all situate on Hills: and therefore called Rama (Rama Hebrais 29.18. A third excelfum; Rama with the Hebrewes is high.) Also that for this Rama Iof. 19.36. they reade Arana, making the Article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of Kind 9, which divers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence cafting away the afpiration, they reade Arama. From Sephet towards the West they place \* Bethfemes, of which Iof. 19. written His.

Bemes, which 38. which defended it selfe against Nephralim Ind. 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On is as much as the other fide of Sephet towards the East was Bethanath, who also kept their Citie from the Nephtalinus.

Adioyning to which flandeth Carthan a or Kiriathaijm a Citie of the Leuites, not by comparing farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of Capharnaum arise, called Mons of the places, Infant 32 and 1 Christi: a place by our Sauiour often frequented: as also then when calling his Diobron. 6.76.4- (ciples together, he made choise of twelve, which he called and ordained to bee his dricheminsboth heere and elle- Apoflles or Messengers : of which place or the acts therein done, there is often men-

wher deceived tion in the b Enangelists. Adioyning to these are Magdalel, a place of strength e and Mafaloth, of which we by the double reade that it was forced by Bacchides in the time of the d Macchabees: also (according though I denie to Adrichomius ) one of the two Berothaes of Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of this name in this Tribe, one neare Chamath in the North border, of which Ezek. ther Kiriz-Ibai- 47.6. an other (vpon a weake coniccture out of Iosep.ant.l. v.c.2.) he therfore placeth in this tract neare the waters of Merom; because the Kings that ioyned with Iabin against lossa, which incamped at the waters of Merom, los. 11. 7. are by losephus faid to have incamped at the Citie Berotha in Galilee, not farre from Cedefa Superior, which is also in Galilee : all which may be true of that Berotha of which Ezek. feeing it is in that Galilee which is called the upper Galilee or Galilee of the Gentils. The fame 40 Adrichomous placeth the Region of Berim neare Abela (of which Abela or Abel-beth Mahacah we have spoken already) this he doth vpon a conjecture touching the place 2. Sam, 20.14. where some reade Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim : but the better reading is, commes Berim, that is, with all the Berai : for Shebah being of Benia-Brothai vasci- min (in which Tribe also there is a Citic called Berotha or Beeroth) drew the men of uitatum Hada- that Citicafter him.

To the North of Beroths of Nephtalim standeth Sebarim vinder Libanus . remembred by Ezek. 47. and Arofeth gentium, neare the waters of Merom or Samachonitis, the Citie of Silara Lieutenant of the Armie of the second Tabin : from whence not farre off towards the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a strong Citie: besides many 50 others whereof I finde no particular storie of importance : as Ser in Iofuac. 19.2.35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their fenced Cities : whence they make two Cities, Affedim and Ser. Then Adama which they call Edama: also Hion which they call Ahion, of which in the bookes of Kings. Then the strong Citie of

Cinnereth after called Gennezareth, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of Genne-Marc. 6-13. zareth, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of Tiberias. In the body of the Line, 5.1. Land they place Galgala to the South border: of which \* Mace. 1 9.2. alfo diverso. \* This place thers named 10f. 19. as Venca or Chnkkok: Horem & Azanoth-tabor (which they place of the Maccab. towards the East parts) and out of the same place of Iosua: Iirzon, Lakkum Iepnaell, eda or Oigatin Heleb, and a Receath, which two last they place neare Cafaria Philippi: To these they are thinks, but adde out of Iosua; Nekeb, and Adami: for which two Junius readeth Fossa Adamsi, vaderfood of making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of Adamath, as it seems; or at least Galgatin Benia. the cultodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of mile or in Ala.

of the Historie of the World.

10 Num. 24.10. they adde Sephana which 1. Sam. 20.21. feemes to bee called Sipmoth. a This Recease As for Tichon and Helon whereof the former they fetch out of Ezek 47.16 and the or Region, Inlatter out of Iofua. 19.33. it may appeare by Innius his Translation, that neither are it is the laune to be taken for Cities: for the former hereadeth Mediani, and for the latter Querce- with Kanthan tum. The Citic of Prephthalim which they make the native place of Tobie, and Naaf-being make of fon neare vnto it, they fetch out of the Valgar Translation Tob ,7.7. but in the Greeke the other by Text there is no figne, neither of the one nor of the other.

which Karthan we haue noted already that it is also called Kirin-ibaijm. b In the place 1.Reg 4. is, which also they bring to proue that there was a Citie called Nepthalim, as it is euident by the following Venics: the Tribe of Nepthalim is meant and not any Citie of that name.

## THE TRIBE OF ZABYLON.



CHAP. 7. 8.5.

F Zabulon or Zebulon an other of the sonnes of Jacob by Leasthere were mustered at Mount Smai 57400, able men, belides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred \* Josia, 12,222. the holy Land of their iffues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of Canaan from After to the River Chifon: Southward and it is the condition.

and from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterran, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border After, are Sicaminum on the Sea Tribe of After, fhore, of which Iofeph. A.st. 12.c. 19. Debbsfet of \* which Iof. 19.11. Ieconam or Iokne- 10 21.2. Walkaham (whose King was a slaine by tofus, anothe Citie was given to the Letites) and of Casain Ga-Gaba after called the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisond by Herode, liter, Ofsimon Then the Citie which beareth the riame of Zabulon, or the Citie of men, exceeding it may be done for Asancient and magnificent, b burnt to the ground by Cestius, Lieutenant of the Roman gelas Casanias Armie. Adrichomius makes it the birth-Citie of Elon Judge of Ifrael, because he is reads alath. to Armie. Astronomics makes it the outer-convenience of a pract, because the state of a state of the state of th

To the East of this Citie of Zabulon's Catethy of which 10/19.44 on the border of Luc. 6. is hee After : and beyond it the leffer & Cana of Galilee, where Christ converted water into Wine, the natiue Citie of Nathaniel, and as it is thought of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it Zelotes. begin the Mountaines of Zabulon and then the Citic of Cethron (in Ziegler, Ghiltron) & The Hebren which defended it felfe against Zabulon. Then Bor fabe which standeth in the par- for which the tition of the upper and neather Galiles, fortified by Josephus against the Romans. Not Vulgar hath farre from hence standeth Shimron of Neron vyhose King was slaine by Iosia.

Then Damna or Dimna a Citic of the Leuter then Was or rather Meha, of which expounded 10.19.13. Then Dothur or Dathain, where tolerth found his brethren feeding their que grat, laflocks: the same wherein Eliseus belieged by the sprikes strooke them all blinde. with the word

Beyond it towards the East they imagine a Amithur or Amathur then Remmon of going before the Legites. The last of the Cities on the North border of Zabulon is Berbfaida, one it, and reades of the ten Cities of Decapolis, lituate on the Galillan Sea, and watered by the springs town un. of Capharnaum, the nature Citicoff the Apolites, Revery andrew; and Philip. Herein Mathe 11. Christ did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous then the Con- Luc. 4-10. tharmins.

pharnams, and others, received the fame curse of threatned miseries, as Woe be unto

Alongit the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Bethfaida, was the Grong Calile of Magdalum, the habitation of Marie Magdalen, not long fince

\* The names America.

Cones tened a conclusion in the Reman Warre: but in the end after a long flege furprifed by Velpajian: who or ha, thrigh flaughtered many thousands of the Citizens: and held 1200; prisoners, whereof was a reduce to ephiss the Historian was one.

Countrie.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that \*Sea and the Lake of Genezareth within 10 bor subject Zabulon was that of Tiberias, from whence afterward the Galilean Sea also changed 3, and they name, and was called the Sea of the Citie Tiberias; fo named in honour of Tiberius adde ciraculo Cafar, it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, and the greatest and last of the lower Galilee. From hence our Sautour called Mathew from the toll or cultom-bouse, to be an Apostle, and neare vnto it raised the daughter of Jairus from death: it was built (as 10/ephus reports) by Herod the Tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in the beginning of the raigne of Tiberius Cefar: in the most fruitfull part of Galilee; but in a ground full of sepulchres: Quim instanoftras leges (faith hee) ! lettem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Whereas by our law he should be fenen daies held as uncleane who inhabited in fuch a place : by which wordes and by the 20 whole place of iefephias it appeares, that this Tiberias is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old Cinnereth, which was feated not in Zabulon but in Nepthalim.

Neare viito this Tiberius at Emans there were bot baths, where Velpalian the Emperour encamped against Tiberius: More into the Land toward the South-west is Beshulis, feated on a very high Hill, and of great firength, famous by the ftorie of Holofernes and Indiah, fuch as it is. Nedre which standeth Bethleem of Zabulon and ad-Interior to face in owning vnto it, Capharath fortified by Infephus against the Romanes : and Impharanex-106phs. bell 24, ceeding strong place afterward forced by Titus: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie flew 15000. of the Citizens: and carried away about 2000, prisoners.

On the South fide are the Cities of Cartha of the Lenites, and Gabara, of which to- 20

tierade Kflato fephus in his owne life, then lafte according to Adrichomius (of which lof. 19:12.) for

This is a win- he thinks that it is not that Lipha of which we spake but now out of Losephas. Indeala as think you at think won.

"John 19". Of which 16/19-15. Herame calls it Islela: winder it Westward Legio, (afterward a winner of the Bilhops feate) and the Citie Belma in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred 6.77. it is cal Judith 7.2. otherwife Chelma. Between Legio and Nazeret is the Citie Saffa or Saffra, Tolum, de Mon. the birth-Citic of Zebedeus, Alphaus, James, and John: Then Sephoris, or Sephora, ac-Limitice,4.020 cording to lofephus: Sephorum according to Brochard : which afterward, faith Hegefippus and Hierome, was called Diocefaria; the Citie of loachim and Anna, the Parents Tolephanta8.3; of the Virgin Marie, it was walled by Herod the Tetrarch and by him, as tolephus fpeakes, made the head and defence of Galilee; in an other place he faith Whim Ga- 40 lilearum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias. This Sepphoris greatly vexed Vestastian cre hee wanne it. Herod Antipas when he made it the Regall feate of the neather Galilee, and fo rounded it with a ftrong wall, called it Autocratorida, which is as much to fay as Imperiall, faith Josephus: and it is now but a Castle called Zaphet.

To the South west of this Scopports or Discolaria was that bleffed place of Nazarch, the Citic of Aurie the Mother of Christ in which hee himselfe was conceiwedgit flandeth betweene Mount Tabor, and the Mediterran Sea. In this Citie hee aborte chiefly foure and twentie yeares, and was therefore called a Nazarite, as the Christians afterward were for many yearesi It was creded into an Archbishoprick in the following age. Neare vato it are the Cities Buria (afterward well defended 50 against the Turker) and Nahalal of which Inf. 19. 15. and Ind. 1. 30. where it is called Nahalol, and Jof. 21,133 where it is a Citie of the Leuites, neare the Sea: adioyning to the River of Chifon is Sairid, noted in Iofua for the vttermost of Zahulon, colubbin in a our

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of Iotapata: fortified by Iosephus

a fumptuous Chappell. The chiefe River of Zabulon is Chifon, which rifing out of Tabor runneth with one freame Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and with an other freame Weilward into the great Sea. This River of Chilon where it rifeth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called Chedumim or Cadumim: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to bee 10 the fame which Ptolomie calleth Chorfeus: though others diftinguish them: and fet

most renowned, by the Apparition of Moses and Elias: and by the Transfiguration

of Christ in the presence of Peter, James, and John: vnto whome Moses and Estas ap-

peared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Empreperition bunic

Chorfeus by Cafaria Palastine. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: and the third is a branch of a river riling out of the Fountaines of Capharnaum, which falleth also into the same Sca, and neare Magdalum: which Torrent they call Dotham, from the Sectavities name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to Bethsaida, and so ioyning with Mappeiner. Jordanis paraus, which runneth from the Valley of Jephthael which Jofuareckneth in 106 19.14 the bounds of Zabulon, it endeth in the Sea of Galilee.

### S. VI. THE TRIBE OF FSACHAR.



He next adioyning Territoric to Zabulon, to the South and Southwest, was I fachar, who inhabited a part of the neather Galilee, within Jordan: of whom there were increased in Egypt, as appeared by their musters at Mount Sinsi 54400. able and warlike men, who leating their bodies with the reit in the Defats, there entred the Holie

20 Land, 64300.

The first Citic of this Tribe neare the Sea of Galilee, was Tarichea, distant from Tarichesia Sate Tiberias eight English mile, or somewhat more, a Citie wherein the Jewes (by the ton. practife of a certaine mutinous vpflart, John the sonne of Leui) tooke armes against Josephus the Historian, then Gouernour of both Galilees. This Citie was first taken ON Castus, and 2000. Jewes carried thence captine; and afterward with great difficuftic by Velpajan: who entred it by the Sea lide; having first beaten the leaves in a fight vpon the Lake or Sea of Galilee: he put to the fword all forts of people, and orall ages: fauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuers of bloud running through enery street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Cission, of the Leuites, and then Hachar, re- 10/21,20 Esta numbred in the first of Kings, c.4. v.17. then Abes or Ebets, lof. 19. 20. and Remeth on, which of which tof. 19.21. otherwise Ramoth. 1. Chron. 6.73. Or larmuth, tof. 21.29. this alfo was a Citic of the Lenites, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of Gilboe take beginning: and range themselves to the Mediterran Sea, and towards the West as tossa.te. faire as the Citie of lezraell, betweene which and Ramoth, are the Cities of Bethpheles, 1. Sam. 4.1. or Bethpasses, according to Ziegler, and Enadda, or Hen-chadda: neare which Saul slew 1.8391. himselfe : vnder those Aphee or Aphees, which Adrichemius placeth in Ifachar : be- In the latter tweerie which and Suna, he faith, that the Philistims incamped against Israel, and afterward against Saul: a Land thirstie of bloud, for herein also, faith hee, the Syrians phis in Afric. with two and thirtie Reguli affifting Benhadad incountered Achab: and were ouer- according to throwne and flaughtered: to whom the King of Ifrael made a most memorable anthe find he plant fwere, when Benhadad vaunted before the victorie: which was, Tell, Benhadad vaunted before the victorie: Let not bim that girdeth his harneis boast himselse, as he that putteihit off: meaning that our of losis. 

the fields, as they fay, adjoying to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious Sprian vtterly broken and discomforted by Achab: and 1 20000, footmen of the Aramites or Syrians flaine; before which ouerthrow the feruants and Counfailors of Benhadad 1. Kings, 20,23. (in derition of the God of Ifrael) told him, That the Gods of Ifrael were Gods of the Mountaines; and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines they (hould ouer-come

Vnder Aphee towards the Sea they fet the Citie of Efdrelon, in the plaines of Ga-Tudith, 1.8. 6 lilee, called also the great field of Eferelon, and Maggedo: in the border whereof are the ruines of Aphee to be seene, faith Brochard, and Breidenbach. After these are the Cities of Cafaloth, of which 1. Macchab. 9.2. Anem or Hen-Gannim of the Leuites, and Seetima or Shahatima, the West border of Isachar, of which 101.19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of Pilgrimes: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, fometime the store-house and Magaline of the Christians, and built by the Earle of S.Giles or Tolonfe.

From the Castle of Pilgrimes the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount Carmell, not farre from the River Chilon: where Elijah affembled all the Prophets, and Priests of Bral, and praied King Achab and the people affembled, to make triall whether the God of Ifrael, or the Idoll of Bul, were to be worthipped, by laying a facrifice without fire on the Altar: which done the Priefts of Bast praied, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while Elijah in derifion told them that their God was either in purluite of his enemies not at leifure, or perchance a-fleepe, &c. but at the praier of Elijah his fire kindled not with standing that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon; by which miracle the people incenfed, flew all those Idolaters on the bankes of Chilon adjoyning.

At the foote of this Mountaine to the North standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphus the high Prieft. It is also knowne by the name of Porsina and Porphyria, fometime a Suffragane Bishops scate. Returning agains from the Sea coast towards Tiberius by the bankes of Chifon, there are found the Citie of Hapharaim or Aphraim, and the Cafiles of Mefra, and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then 20 Naim on the River Chifon: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof Christ raised from death the widdowes only sonne.

Then Seon or Shion named Iofua 19. betweene the two Hills of Hermon, in Ifachar: beyond it standeth Endar, famous by reason of the Inchauntresse that undertooke to raife up the body of Samuel at the infligation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith named 10 (c.19. v.19.20. Then Dabarath as it is named, Iof . 21.28. or Dobratha, as it is named, 1. Chron. 6.72. This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer Chison) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the Le-

1.Macc.5-23. Ø 9.1.

Next to Daberath is Arbela fituate, neare the Caues of those two Theeues which 40 \* Called Cam- fo greatly molested Galilee in Herodes time. It 10 yneth on one fide to the Mountaine pus stagnus. and Harbathe nueth it felfe from Beth/an or Scythopolis, the East border of Ifachar, even to the Mediterran Sea - two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of Gilboe on the South, and by Hermon, and the River Chifon on the North. In these \* plaines Gedeon overthrew the Madianites, and herein, they thinke, Saul fought against the Philiftims: Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

§. VII. 50

## S. VII.

### THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.



He next Tribe which joyneth it felfe to Ifachar towards the South, is the halfe of Manalle, on the West side of Iordan, Manalles was the first begotten of Joseph, the eleventh some of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the Daughter of Putiphar, Prieft and Prince of Heliovoan Agyptian, the Laugust of Amyron, the grand-children of is: which Manufes with his brother Ephrain, the grand-children of Jacob, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of Jacob, and made up the

20 number of the twelue Patriarks.

Of Manasse there were increased in Agypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinai, 22200. able men: all which being confumed in the Defarts, there entred of their usues 52700 bearing armes. The Territorie which fell to this one halfeof Manaffe, was bounded by Jordan on the East, and Dora vpon the Mediterran Sea on the West, Ie zael on the North, and Machinata is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was Bethsan, sometime Nyla, faith Plinie, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of plin, lib. 5, c.18, the same name, which Solinus confirmes. Afterward when the Soythians inuaded 1fin the leffe, and pierst into the South, to the vetermost of Calefria, they built this 20 Citie a-new, and very magnificent and it had thereupon the name of Seythopolis, or

the Citie of Scythians given it by the Greekes.

These barbarous Northren people, constrained the Iewes to fight against their owne Nation and kindred, by whose handes when they had obtained victorie, they themselves set on the Jewes which served them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the vtmost towards the South of Calesyria: and Strabo ioynes it to Galilee, It is scated betweene lordan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad montes acrabitena, faith Ziegler. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of iefrael neare Jordan : after that Jordan streightneth it selfe againe into a River : leaving the Sea or Lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding, Montanus describes it faire to the West, and towards the Medi-

40 terran Sea neare Endor, contrarie to Stella, Laieftan, Adrichome, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of Decapolis: but the children of examalle could not expell the Inhabitants thereof; and therefore called it Sane an enimie, or Bech-lan, the house of an enimie.

Ouer the walls of this Beth/an the Philissims hung the bodie of Saul, and his sonnes, Jude 1, 10,170 flaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian Religion flourished in those parts, an de Bell fact. Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbered by Tyrius, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward thanslated to Nazareth. The later trausilers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken our among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillers and other peeces of excellent 50 marble, which witneffe the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and defolate Village.

From Both an keeping the way by Jordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Salem which Citie the ancient Rabbines, faith Hierome, doe not finde to bee the fame Hieron in Loift. with Hierufalem: there being in the time of Hierome and fince, a towne of that name, Lection.

neare Scythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture Gen. 13.18. doe not confirme, where the Fulgar readeth transfuita, in Salem orbem Sichemorum ( for which others reade, venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, making the word Shelem not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place Iolin 3.13. where it is faid, that John was Baptizing in Anon neare Saleim, may fomewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not valikely that this Saleim of which S. John speaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of Beniamin, 1. Sam. 9.4. This word Innius maketh to be the Plurall of Shuhal: of which we reade, 1.Sam. 13.17. for as for that which is added out of Cant. 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had been eas much as a Woman of this Saleim, neare Lnon, it hath no probabilitie.

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they finde Bezeeh the Citie of Adombezec, lofephus calls it Bala: here it was that Saul affembled the ftrength of Ifplace Ind. 1.3. rael, and Inda, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue Inbest Gilead, ahave beene in grainth Wash the Ammonite: who would give them no other conditions of peace than Inde. to fuffer their right cies to be thrust out. Neare Bezech is the Citie of Bethbera or rather Beth-bara of which Indg. 7.2 4. in the Storie of Gedeon: and then Ephra or Hophra wherein Gesleon inhabited: in the border whereof flood an Altar confecrated to Bial: which he pulled downe and defaced; and neare it that stone, on which Abimilee the Bastard flew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish crueltie, practifed by the Turke to this day; and not farre hence, betweene the Village of Afophon and Iordan, Ptolo- 20

Islands In Inches Lashurus ouerthrew Alexander King of the Ienes : and flaughtered as Islands numbreth them 3000. but according to Timagenes 50000. after which victorie, as Ptolomie past by the Villages of the Jewes; hee flew all their women : and caused the yong children to bee fod ingreat caldrons, that the rest of the Ienes might thereby thinke that the Agyptians were growne to be men-eaters, and strike them with the Towards the West and on the border of Isachar, they place the Cities of \* Aner

Lusius upon t. of the Leuites, and Abel-Mehola, which Junius, Jud. 7.22. placeth in Ephraim, it was Cinco. 6. 70. makes to be the habitation of Helifaus the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1. Reg. 4.12. fame with ra which were given in charge to Baana by Salomon, to whose charge also Tahanas be- 30 bin cof which longed, a place of great firength, which at the first relisted losses, though their King

of Abraham,

G17.14.13.

1. Kmg 14.

rome names it was afterward hanged, and their Citie given to the Leuites. In the body of this Territoric of Manaffe, but somewhat nearer Iordan, than to the Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Therft, whose King was one of those that Jolna flew : which the Kings of Israel vsed for their Regall seate : till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of Ieroboam went to Achia to enquire of her fonnes health: who knowing her, though fhee were difguifed, told her

of her fonnes death. The fecond was Thebes neare Samaria, of which name there are both in Agypt, and Greece, of great fame: in the affault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the 40 Citizens retired, the Ballard Abimilee was wounded by a waightie stone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who despairing of his recourse, commanded his Page to flay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others fet this Citie in Ephraim neare Sichem or Neapolis.

Ind.9 v. 54.

The third is Acrabata, of which the Territoric adioyning is called Acrabatena Hier Mac. 1.05 (one of the Ten Toparchies or Governments in Indea) for which Hierome 1. Macc. 5. reades Arabathena : but in the Greeke it is Acrabatine : Il'dore calls it Agrabat. This Citic had one of the largest Territories of all Palastine belonging to the Governour thereof. Jasephus remembreth it often, as in his fecond Booke of the Jewes Warres, 6. 11.25.28. and elfe where.

The difference betweene a Tetrarchie and a Toparchie, was, that the first was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a Citie with some leffer Territorie adiovning, and a Tetrarchis the same with Profes in Latine, and Profident in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome; and thereof fo called. Plinie nameth scuenteene Tetrarchies in Syria: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of Ireland to this day, Lemster, Vister, Connath, and Mounster.

To the South-west of Aerabata they place the Cities of Balaam or Billiam, and Gethremmon of the Leuites : but Junius out of Iof. 21.25 and 1. Chron. 6.70. gathers that these two are but one and that libleham 101, 16, 11, is an other name of the same

Then is tefrael a Regall Citie, fet at the foot of the Mountaines of Gilbee towards the South-west: herein Iezabel by a false accusation caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end thee might possessed his Vineyard adjoyning to the Citie, which Naboth reto fused to fell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram also was cast unburied into the same field : for which his Mother Iezabel King 2: 640. 2.

Toward the Sea from Infrael is the Citie which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as Abaziah King of Iuda fled from Iehu, when hee had flaine Ioram, hee was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound hee died at Mageddo adioyning. The 2. K 13. 9. 27. Scripture calls this Citie of Gaber, Gur.

Then Adadremmen, neare vnto which the good King Iofics was flaine by Neche, King of Agypt, in a Warre vnaduifedly vndertaken. For Weeho marched towards Afyria against the King thereof: by the commandement of God: whome tolias 20 thought to relift in his paffage. It was afterward called Maximianopolis.

A neighbour Citie to Adadremmon was Maggeddo, often remembred in the Scri- tudy of ptures: whose King was flaine among the rest by Josua: yet they defended their Ci- 10/114,12, 17. tic for a long time against Manasse. The River vehich passeth by the Towne, may perhaps bee the same vyhich Ptolomie calleth Chorseus: and not that of vyhich wee haue fooken in Zabulon. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holie Land delineate no such River. Moore only fets it downe in his Geographie of the twelue Tribes: but the River which passeth by Maggeddo hee understandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. Laiestan and Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place: agreable to this Scripture in 30 the fifth of Indges: Then fought the Kings of Cansanin Tansac by the waters of Magged-do. But these Authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name then the Torrent fo called.

But seeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanieia, euen to Sebafteor Samaria; and Straba farre beyond it on the Sea-coaft: And tofephus calls strab. 1.16. Cafaria Palastina a Citie of Phanicia, yea Laurentius Corninus extendeth Phanicia as 10/cp 1.15.2.13. farre as G.124: feeing also Ptolomie fets downe Chorfeus for the partition of Phanicia State. and Iudea: this River running East and West paralell with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the Civie, which it watereth, is the same which Ptolomie in his fourth Table of Asia calleth Chorsess. The 40 later trauailers of the holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

## Of Cafaria Palastine, and some other Townes.

From Miggeddo toward the Weft, and neare the Mediterran Sea, was that glo-rious Citic of Cafaria Palaffina: first, the Tower of Straton: the same which Plinie calls Apollonia: though Ptolomic fets Apollonia elsewhere, and toward Egypt, betweene this Citie and loppe, to which Velpalian gaue the name of Flaura Colonia. It so was by Herod rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceede all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which hee reared within the Walls, of cut and polithe marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater; from whence he might looke o--uer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay and the wind blowing

blowing from the Sea the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and Anchors. This worke hee performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kinde hath not been found in any Kingdome, nor in any age; which because the Materialls were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe. I have added to sephus owne vvordes 1660.1.15. c.13. of this worke: which are thefe. Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portius circumduxit, quantum putares magna classirecipienda sufficere: & in viginti vlnarum profundum, pragrandia faxa demifit : quorum pleraq, pedum quinquagintalongitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali : fuerunt quadam etiam maiora, minoraalia; To mend this inconvenience of place (faith Ioser Hvs) he compast in a Bay 10 wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great flones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fiftie foote long, eighteene foote broade, and nine foote thicke : some bigger, and some leffer. To this he added an arme or cawsie of two hundred foote long, to breake the waves: the reft he firength ned with a flone wall, with divers thately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent hee called Drulin, after the name of Drufus, the fonne in law of Cofar: in whose honour hee intituled the Citie it selfe, C.esaria of Palastine: all which he performed in twelve yeares time.

L.14.6.12. bell. an Archbifhopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, faith Tyrius. St. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eufebius, Acacins, Enzorus, and Gelafius to haue 20 beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was Cornelius the Centurion baptized by S. Peter: and herein dwelt Philip the Apoflle : S. Paul was herein two yeares prisoner, under the Prelident Falix, vnto the time and gouernment of Porcius Fellus: by whom making his appeale, he was fent to Cafar. Here when Herod Agrippalwas paffing on to celebrate the Quinquennalia, taking delight to bee called a God by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, faith Iofephus.

It was the first of the Easterne Cities that received a Bishop: afterward crecked into

To the North of Cafaria standeth Dora, or Naphoth Dor, as some reade Iof. 1.2. fo called (faith Adrichomius) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was flaine by Iofua. But Innius for in Naphoth Dor, reades in tractibus Dor: and fo the Vulgar, in regionibus Dor : although 1, Reg. 4.11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth 30 omnis Nephath Dor: The Septuagint in the place of Josus call it Nepheth-Dor, and in the other of the Kings Nepha-Dor: but the true name by other places (as Iof. 12.23. Inde. 1. 27.) may feeme to bee Der. It was a firing and powerfull Citie: and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or Sitarchies, which Salomon erected. Junius vpon Maccab. 15.11. placeth it betweene the Hill Carmel and the mouth of the River Cherfeus: for fo fome name the River Chorfeus, of which we have spo-Into this Citie, for the Brength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochus the fonne of

Demetrius: where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with 120000.foot-men Maga, 13, 15, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that received 200 talents for the ran-40 fome of Jonathan Macchabaus (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then flew him: and after him flew his owne Mafter, vfurping for a while the Kingdome of Syria. It had also a Bishop's seate of the Diocesse of Cafaria.

From Cafaria towards the South, they place the Cities of Capharnaum, Gabe, and Gulton, de Bell. Galgal: for belides that Capharnaum famous in the Euangelists they find in these parts Just Ato. c. 6. neare the West Sea, an other of the same name. Of Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis. The famous Galgal or Gilgal, was in Beniamin : but this Gilgal, they fay, it was whose King was flaine by Jolua.

Then Antipatris fo called of Herode, in honour of his Father : but in the time of Mass. 17. val. the Macchabees it was called Caphar salama: in the fields whereof Indas Macchabaus 50 ouerthrew a part of the Armie of Nicanor, Lieutenant to Demetrius: an armie drawn into Indea by attraiterous Iem, called Alcimus: who contended for the Priest hood, first under Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this was S. Paul carried prisoner from Hierusalem, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the

Jewes. In after-times the Armie of Godfrey of Bulion attempted it in vaine : yet was it taken by Baldwine. It was honoured in those daies with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called Affar, faith Brochard. Neare vnto this Citie the Prophet Ionas was three daies preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from Antipatris and Cafaria, flandeth Warbata, whereof the Territorie taketh name : which Ceftius the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the temes which dwelt at Cafaria fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of Moles. Neare vnto it is the Mountaine of Abdia, the Steward of King Achab: wherein he hidde an hundreth Prophets, and fed them, after which hee himfelfe is faid to 10 haue obtained from God the Spirit of prophecie alfo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phanicia.

The bounds and thiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome : and of the invention of Letters afcribed



Снар. 8. С.1.

ECAVSE these five Tribes, of Affer, Nephtalim, Zabulon, Iffachar, and the halfe of Manaffe, poifeft the better part of that ancient Kingdome of Phanicia, to wit. of so much as lay to the South part of Anti-libanus: I have therefore gathered a Briefe of those Kinges which have governed therein : at least so many of them as time (which denoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest have perished, it is not strange: feeing so many volumes of excellent learning in fo long a race and revolution, & in fo many changes of Estates and Conquests of Heathen Princes, have

beene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vicertaine: 40 but all Cosmographers doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of Syria, which is called Cafio is, ends: most of them bounding it by Orthofia, to the North of Tripolis. Ptolomie makes it a little larger, as reaching from Tto.4. Tho fee the River Eleutherns, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of Aradus, Igmewhat to the North of orthosia, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the Mediterran sca, as farre as the River of Chorfeus, which feemes to bee that which the Iewes call the Plindles, care. Torrent or River of Maggeddo. Plinie extends it farther and comprehends Joppe within it: Corninus and Budaus, Ioppe and Gaza. Phanicia apud priscos appellata (faith BVD AEVS) que nunc Palastina Syria dicitur : It was called Phanicia of old (faith hee) which now is called Palastina of Syria.

50 Strabo comprehends in this Countrie of Phanicia; all the Sea fide of Indaa, and strab.l.16. Palaftina, even vnto Pelufum, the first Port of Egypt. On the contrarie Diodorus Bude. de afil 4. Sieulus, foldeth it vp in Calefyria, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of Ptolomies description, who was seldome deceived in his owneart. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the

llands) to wit, Aradus, Orthofia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblas, Borytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomuss (or Acon) Dora, and Cafaria Palaflina: and by reafon of the many ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eafterne world: and they were abfolute Kings of the Mediterran Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first fonne of Cansan and the people then subject to that familie were called Zidonians: the same state continuing each wrote Josha stime. For till then it is probable that there was but one king of all that region; afterward called Phanicia: which Procepts also confirment in his second Booke of Vandall Warres. But in processe of time the Citie of Type adiopyning became the more magnificent; yet according to the Pro- to

phet it was but a Daughter of Zidon, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of Mofes, and while lofus yet gouerned Ifred, Agenor an Agyptism of Thebas, or a Phomician bred in Agypt, came thence with his fonnes Canims, Ph. sins, Cyrus, and Chiss, (fay Cederane and Caritas) and built and posses the Cities of Tyre and Zidon to wit, the new Tyrus, and brought into Phomics (fo called after the name of his fecond Sonne) the Vet of the Iters: which also Cadenas in his purfaire after his fifter Europa taught the Gregins. For Tannus King of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had flollen her thence of which the Poest educified the fable on Inpires transformation into a Bull, by whome that fleath was also supposed to be made. Pampenus Salmus makes Behas the first King of Phomicus: and findes Cadmus 20 his successive: whom he calleth his grand-child: and it Gerneth that Belus was the Father of Agenor, and not Neptune: because the successions of Dido held that name alwaies in reucerone, making it a pair of their owne as Afarnbad, Hamibad: which memorie Prigid also concleth in the Ceres:

Hic Regina grauem gemmis aurog, popofeit Impleuteg, moro pateram: quam BELVs & & omnes ABELO foliti.

The Queene anone commands the waightie bowle (Waightie with pretious stones and malfiegoid)
To flow with wine. This Belvs used of old,
And all of Belvs Line.

Whether this Belus were Father or Grand-father to Agenar, the matter is not great. But it feemeth to me by comparing of times, that Belus was Ancestor to the Phanitians, and preceded Agenar. For were Belus, or night Belus, the Conco Thepanical Concording to Euclidean State of Epaphus, or were he the Sonne of Telegonus, according to Euclidean systems agreed that Cereops then ruled in Attica: and in the end of Co-corps time, I also 3. Anguline, Mose left LeEgypt: Agenar successful thing at once 40 with 161s. Now that Agenar returned about the fame time into the Territorie of Euclion, I cannot doubt: neither doe! I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of Phanitia, in honour of his Sonne. But in fleede of the building of Tyire, and Zidon, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as Semiramis and Nabuchadonofor were of Buthlon.

For beeit true that Agenor was of the fame Nation, and brought vp in Agenor where he learnt the vice of letters (Agenor lourishing in all kind of learning in Moses time) or were he by Nation and Agenor set is it very likely that either he came to sauch his owne Territorie: or otherwise to defend the coast of Canasa, from the Istancia: who were by Moses led ont of Agenor to the great losse and distinction of the Nation: and by Jossaconducted ower tordam, to conquer and possess from the Agenor and the Nation: and by Jossaconducted ower tordam, to conquer and possess from the Moses which they received by the hand of God, in the R ed sea, and by the ten plaques cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could

not hinder the Hebrever from Inuading Canaan by Land: which also they knew had fo many powerfull Nations to defend it: the Defarts inter-jacent, and the firing Bedantes, (Nabutes, Emortes, and Ammonives their borderers: yet exgypt having fuch Vessells, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vsc: did not in all probabilities negled: to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist Agenor with such forces, as they had to force, and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philissims which held the shores of Canaan, next adioyning wnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the courfe of the florie, those Cities of Phanicia, which 10 Agenor was faid to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended againft no fua, and againft the Tribes after him, as Idah, spo, ro, ry rys, by Isfue allele the floring Gir. c. 19, v. 29, tic, Acthe afterward Ptolomuis, Aczib and Dor) were all that Phanicia had in those

daics.

That the Kings of Pharticia were mightic, especially by Sea, it appeareth, first by their defence against Israel: secondly by this; that Dauid and Salomon could not mafter them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their cliase, though they were then but Neguli, defended it selfe 13, yeares against a King of Kings, Nabubolomos and that Alexander the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed variefistable) speint more time in the recoverie of Tyre, than an in the conquest of all the Cities in Asia.

Other opinions there are, as that of Berofus out of Infephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyres the sonne of Infest. And for the Region it selfs, though Calliffhens derive it ab abuse dest Tyrura, and the Greekes from the word Phonos, of slaughter, because the Phonicians slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfs I take it that Phonix the sonne of Agenor gaue it that name. But that either Agenor, it is relicused in Phonicians of Catherns is Sonne in Greece, were the Innentors of Letters; it is relicused.

lous; and therefore the dispute vnnecessarie,

The £thopians affirme that Allas, Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Herenles, Prometheus, Cadmus, and others, had from them the firft light of all thole Arts, Sciences, and 30 civill Policies, which they afterward profet, and taught or thers: and that Pythogova, himfelfe was influeded by the Libyans: to wit, from the South and Superior £g:ptass: from whom thole which inhabited nearer the out-let of Allas, as they lay, borrowed their Divinities and Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then babarous, received Giulitie. Againe, the Phanicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the £g:ptians: at all; neither doe they allow that Aeenor and his sonnes were Afficians: whence Lucan.

Phænices primi (fame si creditur) ausi Mansuram rudibus vocem signare siguris. Lucan. 1.5.3:

Phænicians first (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Charactersdar'd our wordes to graue.

And that Cadmus was the some of Agener, and was a Phomician, and not an Egyptian, it appearesh by that answere made by Zeno: when he in a kinde of reproch was called a stranger and a Phomician:

Si patria est Phænix quid tum? nam C AD M V S & ipse Phænix: cui debet Gracia docta libros.

benez-Dipsof.

Out

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If a Phonician borne I am, what then? CADMYS was fo to whom Greece owes The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phanicians were very ancient : and from the Records and Chronicles of Tyre, Iolephus the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly. that the great Zamolxis flourished among them : when Atlas lived in Mauritania: Nilus and Vulcan in Ægypt: and Ochus in Phanicia. Yea, some of the French doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient Gaules taught the Greekes the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our Bardes and Druids are as ancient as those Gaules, and that they fent their sonnes hither to bee by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for hee lived at fuch time as learning and arts flourished most, both in Ægypt, and Affria, and he himfelfe was brought vp in all the learning of the A. gyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is that letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age. and before the generall floud : either by Seth, or Enos, or by whom elfe God knowes: from whom all wisedome and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other: as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in Mexico, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those Hieroglyphicks, anciently 20 vsed by the Agyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie: and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations. Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, erc. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

Vt what soeuer remaineth of the florie and Kings of Phanicia (the 20 bookes of Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas, and others of that Nation. being no where found) the fame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Iofephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Iofua, to whome fucceeded Phanix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as Aradus, tooke the name of Phanicia: what Kings succeeded Phanix it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Gracians belieged Troy, Phasis gouerned Phanicia.

In Hieremies time and while Iehoiakim ruled in Iuda, the Tyrians had a King a-part: for Hieremie speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, cre. as of seucrall

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he inuaded Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phanicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded as some Writers affirme, Xerxes fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phoenicians were Tributaries to the Persian : for being broken into Reguli, and pettie Kings in Hieremies time, they were subjected by Nabuchodonofor; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, Hieremie prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramneslus: remembred by D. Siculus in his 14. Booke.

Strate, his fucceffor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of 50 his dependancie vpon Darius, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the Gracians. But divers Kings, of whomethere is no memorie, came betweene Tennes and Strato. For there were confumed 130. yeares and somewhat more betweene Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander

CHAP. 8. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

esteemed the more vnworthic of restitution, because (saith Curtius) hee rather sub- L. A. mitted himfelfe by the infligation of his Subjects (who forefaw their ytter ruine by relistance) than that hee had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strate. Athenaus out of Theopompus reporteth, that hee was a man of ill Athen, 122, 12 liuing : and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women dancers, and fingers: whom he to this end chiefly inuited, and affembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, hee might recover them for his owne vie and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one

10 Strate King of these coasts, S. Hierome and others make mention: who having heard Hieron, L. cons: that the Persians were neare him with an Armie too waightie for his strength, and louin. finding that hee was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the £giptians; hee determining to kill himfelfe, but fainting in the exequation, his wife being present wrested the sword out of his hand and flew him: which done shee also therewith pierced her owne bodie, and died.

After Alexander was possest of Zidon, and the other Strato driven thence, Hee gaue the Kingdome to Hephaftion, to dispose of: who having received great entertainement of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein; but this Citizen no 20 leffe vertuous than rich, defired Hephaftion that this Honour might bee inferred on fome one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings; and prefented vnto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus, I v s T I N E Abdolomius, and Plutarch Alynomus: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne handes working in his Garden, fetting hearbs, and rootes, for his reliefe and fustenance: though otherwise a wife man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turnes subjected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of Affer.

30 The Kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuels time, it doth not appeare: 10fephus the Historian, as is faid, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles : and out of Josephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus, there may be gathered a descent of some twentie Kings of the Tyrians, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephelius, doe in no fort agree in the times of their raignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Iofephus and Theophilus remember: whom Theophilus calls Abemalus: the same perchance that the sonne of Sirach mentioneth in his fourtie and fixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. 49 David (faith Enfebius out of Eupolemus constrained this Suron to pay him Tribute, of Prep. Enangle. whom also David complaineth Pfal. 83.

Hiram fucceeded Suron, whom Infephus calls Irom, and Theophilus fometime Hieromenus, sometime Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras Chiram. He entred into a league with Danid, and fenthim Cedars with Masons, and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in Hieru(alem: after he had beaten thence the Jebusties. The same was hee that fo greatly affifted Salemen: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materialls towards the railing of the Temple, and with great fummes of money, but alfo he joyned with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: and furnished Salomon with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent

Nauigators : and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this Hiram there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in to fephus in his Antiquities the 7 and 8. 2.50m.5.00 chap. 2. & 3. in Theophilus his 3<sup>d</sup> booke, in Tatianus his Oration against the Greekes: and 2. Sama. 5. in Zonar as Tome the fifft. This Prince feemed to be very mightie and magnificent, t. choon . he despised the 20. townes which Salomon offered him: he defended himselfe against 2. Chron. 2. 8.9.

C.17.v.z.

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that victorious King David: and gaue his Daughter in marriage to Salomon, called the Zidonian: for whose lake he was contented to worship Afteroth, the Idoll of the 1,10002-11. Physicisas Hiram lived 52, yeares.

Baleaflartus whom Theoph. Antiochenus, calleth Bazorus, fucceeded Hiram, King of Theeh. 17. yeares.

Tyre and Ziden, and raigned 7. yeares according to Iofephus.

, Ab lattartus the eldelt fonne of Baleasfartus, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. yeares according to to lofephus: but after Theophilus he raigned 12. yeare, and lived 54. who being flaine by the foure fonnes of his owne Nurce, the eldeft of them held the Kingdome 12. yeares.

Allarius brother to Abdastarius, recoucred the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and 10

raigned 12. yeares.

Allarianus, or Atharimus, after Theophilus, a third brother tollowed Aftartus, and

Infort \$4. ruled o, yeares, and lined in all 54. Theoph. 58.

Phelles the fourth sonne of Baleastartus, and brother to the three former Kings,

flow Allarimus: and raigned 8. Moneths: lived 50, yeares.

tibebalus (or Inthobalus, in Theophilus) fonne to the third brother Aftarimus, who was the chiefe Prieft of the Goddeffe Aftarta, which was a dignitie next vnto the King reuenged the death of his father, and flaughtered his Vncle Phelles: and raigned 32, yeares, the same which in the first of Kings cap. 16, is called Ethbaal, whose

Infestb.32. Daughter leastel, Achab married. Theophaz.

Bulezor or Bazor the fonne of Ithobalus or Ethbaal, brother to Iezabel, succeeded his r.Kinr.16.0.31 Father, and raigned 6. yeares, and lived in all 45. Infer h.6. yeares Theoph.16.

Attimus fucceeded Badezor, and raigned but 9. yeares, (faith Iosephus) he had Inferb 9. Theo:b.:9.

two fonnes Pygmalion and Barca, and two Daughters Elifa and Anna.

Promalion raigned after Mettimus his Father 40. yeares, and lived 56: In the 7. veire of whose raigne, Elifa failed into Affrica, and built Carthago, 142, yeares and 8. Moneths, after the Temple of Salomon: which by our accompt was 289. yeares after Troy taken, and 143. before Rome : and therefore that fiction by Virgil of Aneus and Dido must be farre out of square. For Pygmalion couctous of Sicheus his riches, who had married his fifter Elifa, flew him traiteroufly as he accompanied him 20 in hunting : or if we beleeue Justine and Virgil, at the Altar : whereupon Elifa fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into Affrica as aforesaid: whom when Promission prepared to purfue, he was by his Mothers teares, and by threates from the Oracle arrefted. Burea accompanied his lifter, and affifted her, in the erection of Carthage : and from him sprang that noble Familie of the Barce in Affrica, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great Hannibal. Seruius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of her man-like acts, others from Iedidis, a furname of Salomon.

Eluleus fucceeded Pygmilion, and raigned 36. yeares: the fame that ouerthrew the fleete of Salmanssfar, in the Port of Tyre: notwithstanding which hee continued his 40 fiege before it on the Land fide fine yeares, but in vaine.

After Eluleus, Ethobales gouerned the Tyrians, who vaunted himfelfe to be as wife as Daniel: and that he knew all secrets (faith Ezekiel) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter : out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was flaine in that long fiege of Nabuchodonofor : who ferrounded and attempted Tyre 13

venres together, ere he preuniled.

B.t.d followed Ethobales, and raigned 10. yeares a tributarie, perchance, to Nabuchodenofor: for after his death it was gouerned by divers Indges, fucceeding each other: First, by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the Priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who held it among them fome 7. yeares, and odde Moneths: after whom Balatorus com- 50 manded therein as a King for one yeare: after him Merbalus fent from Babylon 4. yeares: after him Irom fent thence also, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whose raigne Cyrus beganne to gouerne Perfix. d. III.

of Bozivs his conceit that the Edumeans inhabiting along the Red Sea. were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phanicia the knowledge of the true

ð. III.

F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of discrs other Nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a Tract at large, intituled derumis Gentium. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Ci-ties, yea in all thinges vnder Heauen, haue proceeded from his ordi-

nance who only is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said Bozius, inforcing herehence, that the prosperitie and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of their imbracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his affertion, supposeth the Tyrians to have beene Edumaans, descended from E/au, Jacobs brother: first, it can hardly be beleeued that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient gloric, was in any fort truly denout and religious. But to this end (besides the proofe which the

20 Scriptures give of Hirams good affection when Salomon built the Temple) he brings Box, dervise, many coniecturall arguments: whereof the strongest is their pettigree and descent: Gem. 1.5.6.7. it being likely in his opinion that the posteritie of Esau received from him by Tradition the Religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Edumeans, he endenours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painefully strained from some affinitie of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight : partly by authoritic. For Strabo, Herodotus, Plinie, and others witnesse, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of Phanicia. Confidering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the Edu-

30 means: as Elah and Estiongaber, or under the Amalekites, who descended of Amalec the Nephew of Efan, whole chiefe Citie was Madian, fo called of Madian the fonne of Abraham by Cethura, whose posteritie did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of Ifrael. Hereunto hee addes that Cadmus and his Companions brought not into Greece the worthip of Affartis, the Idoll of the Sidomians. That the Parents of Thales and Pherecydes being Phenicians, themselves differed much in their Philosophie from the Idolatrous customes of the Greekes. That in Teman, a Towne of the Edumsans, was an Vniuersitie, wherein as may appeare by Eliphas the Temanite, who disputed with lob, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bozius, who labouring to proue one Paradoxe by an other, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumeans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his People: neither is it true that they were Edumeans at all. In what Religion Elau brought vp his children it is no where found written, but that himfelfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posteritie were Idolaters, is directly proued in the fine and twentieth Chapter of the second booke of Chronicles. That the Edomites were perpetuall enemics to the House of Israel, sauconly when Davidand some of his race, Kings of Inda held them in subjection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant of Dauids unfriendly behaviour 50 amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene Tyrus and Mount Seir, that Hiram held fuch good

correspondence with Danid : cuen then when load slew all the Males of Edom : neither was it for their denotion to God, and good affection to Ifrael, that the Edomites were so illintreated. It seemeth that the pietie and ancient wisedome of Eliphaz the

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Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumaans punished, for being such as David in his owne daies found them. Although indeede the Citie of Teman whence Eliphaz came to reason with lob, is not that in Edumaa, but an other of the same name. lying East from the Sea of Galilee, and adioyning to Hus, the Countrie of 10b: and to Such the Citie of Bildad the Suhite, as both fuch Chorographers who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For lob is faid to have exceeded in riches; and Salomon in wifedome, all the people of the Eaft; not the inhabitants of Mount Seir, which lay due South from Palastina. True it is that Eliphase the fonne of Elau had a fonne called Teman: but that Fathers were wont in those daies to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And Ismael also had a 10 fonne called Thema: of whom it is not valike that Theman in the East had the name: for as much as in the feuenth Chapter of the booke of Judges the Ostalianites , Amalekites, and all they of the East are called Ismaelnes. And he that well considers how great and flrong a Nation Amales was, which durftgine battaile to the Hoft of Ifrael, wherein were 60000s. able men, will hardly beleeue that fuch a people were defcended from one of Esau his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all Edom have beene : if one Tribe of them, yea one Familie of a Tribe had beene so great? furely Mount Seir and all the Regions adioyning could not have held them. But wee no where finde that Edom had to doe with Amalec: or affifted the Amalekites: when Saul went to roote them out. For Amalee is no 20 where in Scripture named as a Tribe of Edom but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the Ismaelites. The like may be faid of Midian, that the Founder thereof being Sonne to Abraham by Cethura, doubtleffe was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the Scignierie of the Red Sca-coaft, which Bozius imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the Edomites in after-times held some places as Elan and Estongaber on the Red Sea shore, yet in Moses time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moles himselfe saith that Israel did compasse all the borders of Edom: within which limits had Midian stood, Moles must needs have knowne it: because he had sojourned long in that Countrie: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into Egypt.

But coniceturall Arguments, how probable focuer, are needleffe in formanife ft a cafe. For in the 83, 19 Jal. Edom, Amade, and 71 yes, are named as altitinet Nations: yea the Tyrian and Sidomatus being one people, as all good Authors flow, and Bezius himfelfe confessed, when the second and their Landsgiuen to the children of After 10 (2.9) because they were careful of the transgiuen to the children of After 10 (2.9) because they were cuer Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Canaca, not Colens to Ifrad, nor professor of the same Religion. For though Itham said, Blessed God that hath sent King David a wise Same, we cannot inferre that he was of Dauds Religion. The Turke hath said as much of Christian Princes, his confederates. Certained it is that the Sidomians then worthipped Assaub; and drew Sae 40 Januari also to the same Idolatrie.

Whereas Hiram aided Salomon in building the Temple, heed id it for his owne endes, receiving therefore of Salomon great provision of Corne, and Oile, and the offer of twentie Townes or Villages in Galilee. And if wee rightly consider thinges, it will appear that Hiram, in all points, dealt Merchant-like with Salomon, Hee allowed him Timber, with which Libams was, and yet is ouer-pefered; being otherwise apt to yeld filkes: as the Andarine filkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oile, which hee wanted, hee gaue that which he could well spare to salomon. Also gold for Land: wherein Salomon was the wifer: who haning got the gold firft, gaue to Hann the world Villages that hee yo had: with which the Trian west ill pleased. But it was a necessarie policie which inforced Triu to hold league with Israel. For Danidhad subdued Monh, Annoon, Edom, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, cuen to Euphrate: through which Countries the Triums were wont to carrie and recarrie their Wares on Cammells,

to their fleetes on the Red Sea: and backe againe to Tyrus: fo that Sulomon being Lord of all the Countries, through which they were to paffe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But the Ifractites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their aductures. Yet Salomon as Lord of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the Philifitms, might haue greatly distressed the Tyrians, and perhaps haue brought them euen into subjection. Which Hiram knowing was glad (and no menually) that Salomon rather meant as a man of peace to imploy his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore hee wilto lingly aided him, and fent him cunning workemen, to increase his delight in goodly

buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between Salomon and Hiram, are no strong Arguments of pictic in the Tyriam: So those other proofs which Bezint stamesnegatively yoop natical rexamples, are very weake. For what the Religion of Cadmin was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me that hauing more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitions, he would fainch and purchased duine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many mission tunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. Thales and Phereoples are but single examples. Eurry faluage Nation hath some whose wisedome excellent him.

20 Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wifedome of these men expersion any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of Greece: whome being newly come thirther, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that Cadoms and Thales being Tyrians, are not knowne to have taught Idolatrie, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That Carthage, Yitas, Leptis, Cadix, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which, I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the Tyrians; who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were solikewise.

This their Idolatrie from \*\*slamons\*\* timeo - wards is acknowledged by \*\*nosins\*, 30 who would have vs think them to have beene formerly a firange kinde of denour \*\*Edomites\*\*. In which fancie he is fo peremptorie, that he filleth men of contrait copinion, impies politics, as if it were impictie to thinke that God (who cuen among the Heathen, which have not knowne his name, doth falour Vertue and hare Vice) hath often rewarded morall honeftie, with temporall happineffe. Doubtleffe this doctrine of \*\*Bozins\*\*, would better haue agreed with \*\*hidam the \*\*Doffins\*\*, would better haue agreed with hidam the \*\*Doffins\*\*, would better hidam the \*\*Doffins\*\*, would better hidam the \*\*Doffins\*\*, would better hidam the \*\*D

40 great battailes did the Romanes winne, in which they vowed not either a Temple to fome new God, or fome new Honour to once'd their old Gods? year, what one Nation flaue only that of the Ienes, was flubdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertaine in their Citie? Only the true God; which was the Godof the Ienes, they reiected, upbraiding the Ienes with him, as if he were vnworthie of the Romanes Majetlie: shall we hereupon inforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which Heathen writers vied against the Confilius in the Primitive Charles That such Idolatrie had caloed the Citie of Rome to flourills, and that the decay of those abhominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true R eligion. Such is the blinde zeale of Bozius, 50 who writing against those whom he fall stremes imposs, gives freneght to such as

50 who writing againft thofe whom he fallly termes impious gives frength to fuch as are impious indeed. But fuch indifferent in svalually found among men of his hamour: who having once either foolifhly imbraced the dreames of others: or vainely faithioned in their owne braines any frange Chimera's of Divinitie, condemneall fuch in the pride of their zeale, as Atheifs and Infidely, that are not transported with

the like intemperate ignorance. Great pittie it is that fuch madde Dogges are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him fecretly by the malicious vertue of an Hypocrite.

### CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of EPHRAIM, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was EPHRAIM.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of



AVING now past ouer Phanicia, we come to the next Territorie adiovning: which is that of Ephraim: fomtime taken per excellentiam for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Ephraim was the fecond fonne of tofeph, whose iffues when they left Egypt were in number 45000. all which dying in the Lefarts (10/ua excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children, growne to bee able men 3 2 500. who fate 30 downe on the West side of Iordan, betweene Manaffe, and Beniamin : who bounded Ephraim by the North and South; as Iordan, and the Otedi-

terran Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citic which Ephraim had was Samaria : the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Ifrael: built by Amris or Homri King thereof: and feated on the top of the Mountaine Somron, which ouer-lookethall the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coaft. It was afterward called Sebafte, or Augusta, inhonour of August. Cafar. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures : and magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brochard observeth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which Bro- 40 chard found greater than those of Hierufalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it flood vpright : for to this day there are found great flore of goodly marble pillers, with other hewen and carned stone in great abundance, among the

It was beaten to the ground by the Sonnes of Hyreanus the high Priest: restored and built by the first Herod the sonne of Antipater : who to flatter Cafar called it Seballe. Herein were the Prophets Helifaus, and Abdias buried and fo was John Baptiff. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Gracian Monkes.

Neare Samaria towards the South, is the Hill of Bethell, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine Ieroboam creefted one of his golden Calues, to bee 50 worshipped: with which he seduced the Ifraelites.

In light of this Mountaine of Bethel, was that ancient Citie of Siehem; after the re-Subar. 10h. 4.5. Stauration called Neapolis, now Pelofa, and Napolafa: It was destroied by Simeon and interesting. In the state of the rapidly and the state of their Sifter Dina: and after that by Abineles CHAP.9. S.I. of the Historie of the World. cuened with the foile. Ieroboam raifed it vo againe; and the Damafeens a third time

Vnder Sichem towards the Sea standeth Pharaton or Pirhathon on the Mountaine Indg. 12:15. Ameleo, the Citie of Abelon Judge of Ifrael. And under it Bethoron of the Leuites, 2 King 13. built as it is faid by Sara, the Daughter of Ephraim. Neare to this Citie Indas Macchabaus ouerthrew Seron and Lylius , Lieutenants to Antiochus. This Citie had Satomon formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene Bethoron and the Sea, standeth Samir of which Iof. 10. And Seron whose King was flaine by Iofua: it is also mentioned Acts 9.25. and of this Saron the 10/6,12.18,

10 Valley taketh name, which beginning at Cafaria Palastina extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as Joppe, faith Adrichome. Though indeede the name Sarona is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region: for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene Casaria and Joppe, but that also betweene the Mountaine Tabor and the Sea of Galilee : for fo S. Hierome vpon the five and thirtieth Chapter of E(ay interprets the word Saron: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon Abdia, reade Saron for Affaron: vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neare Lidda: which Liddain his time was called Diaffolis, or the Citie of Lipiter, one of the Toparchies of Indea, the fifth in dignitie (or the third after Plinie) where Saint PETER (non sua sed Christi virtute) cured Aneas. Niger calls all that Region from Attack 20 Anti-libanus to Joppe Sarona. This Joppe was burnt to the ground by the Romanes, Luc. 23. those Rauens and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of Afre, joi, 503, 14

other Princes Kingdomes: who with no other respect led than to amplifie their

owne glorie, troubled the whole world; and themselves, after murthering one an other, became a prev to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

In Diofpolis (faith Will, of Tyre) was S. George beheaded, and buried : in whose ho- Of this S. Genour and memorie Institution the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer of the Torology the Church to bee built ouer about in this his Tombe, these be Tyrius his wordes: Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, second Booke. & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Éleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam que est Diospolis, c.7.0.3.1.5. vlier coregii Martyris GEORGII v faue hodie Sepulchrum oftenditur, peruenerunt cius

30 Ecclesiam quum ad honorem einschem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, AVGYSTVS IVSTINIANVS multo studio & deuotione prompta adificari praceperat, &c. They having left (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and loppe, passing ouer the great open plaine of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis:
There the sumptuous Tombe of the samous Murtyr St. GEORGE is at this day shewed: whole Church, when the Godly and Orthodoxe Prince of the Romans, High and Mightie IVSTINIAN had commanded to bee built, with great earnest nesse and present denotion, re. Thus farre Tyrius, by whose testimonie we may coniccture, that this S. George was not that Arrian Bilhop of Alexandria; but rather some better Christian: for this of Alexandria was flaine there in an vprore of the people, and his affectaft into

40 the Sea. as Ammianus Marcellinus reports. And yet also it may be, that this Georgits was a better Christian, than hee is commonly thought; for his wordes of the Temple of GENIVS, How long shall this Sepulcher stand? occasioned the vorore of the people against him: as fearing least hee would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also Marcellinus reports : who though hee say that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth that his affecs with the affecs of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, least if their Reliques had beene gathered vp, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part I rather thinke that it was not this Georgius, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but

50 rather an other, whom Trius, about cited, witneffeth to have beene buried at Lidds or Diofpolis. The fame also is confirmed by Vitriac. S. Hierome affirmes that it salig Tom. 6.c.4 was sometime called Tigrida, and while the Christians inhabited the holy Land, it had a Bifhop Suffragan.

Neare to Lidda or Diospolis, standeth Ramatha of the Leuites, or Aramathia : after-

ward Rama, and Ramula, the native Citie of Infeph, which buried the body of Christ. See in the There are many places which beare this name of Rama: one they fet in the Tribeof Tribe of Busia- Inda neare Theeina in the way of Hebron: an other in Nephtalim, not farre from Sephet: min, cap 12.5.1, a third in Zabulon, which, they fay, adioyneth to Sephoris: a fourth, which they make the same with Silo : and a fifth which is this Rama in the Hills of Ephraim, called

Sam.1.c.35.0.5 Rama-Sophim, where Samuel lived : and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are Helon, or Aialon of the Lenites, of Ant. 13,21. de which I Chron.6. Apollonia, of which Iofephus in his Antiquities, and in the Warre Ball, Ind. 1.6. of the Jewes. Also Balfalifa (for which Junius 2. Reg. 4. 42 reades planities Shalifia) they place hereabout in this Tribe of Ephraim : but Junius vpon 1. Sam. 9. where we 10 reade of the Land of Shalifba, findeth it in Beniamin.

On the other fide of the Mountaines of Ephraim standeth Gofna, one of the Tonarchies or Cities of gouernment, the second in dignitie, of which the Countrie about it

nath Chares.

Then Thamnath-fara, or according to the Hebrew Thimnath-Serach: one also of the ten Teparchies or Prasidencies of Indaa, which they call Themnitica: a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of Ephraim : on the North of the Hill called Gaas: which Citie and Territorie Ifrael gaue vnto their Leader Iofua: who also amplified it with buildings, neare which hee was buried. His Sepulcher remained in

Hieren, in loca S. Hieromes time, and ouer it the Sunne ingrauen, in memorie of that greatest of won- 20 ders, which God wrought in Io/na's time.

In the places adioyning standeth Adarfa or Adafa: where Indas Macchabam with Msteat 17.40. 3000. Jewes overthrew the Armie of Nicanor, Lieutenant of Syria: neare to Gafer or Gezer which Iolua tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the Leuites. It was afterward taken by Pharao of Agypt: the people all flaine, and the Citie razed: Salomon

To the East of this place is the Frontier Citic of Iefleti, of which Iof. 16. 2. otherwife Pelethi, whence Dauid had part of his Pretorian Souldiers, vnder the charge of Bengia. Then that high and famous Mountaine and Citie of Silo, whereon the Arke of God was kept fo many yeares, till the Philistims got it.

Maccabir.9.

To this they ioyne the Citie of Machinas or Michinas : in which Ionathas Macchaheus inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from Samaria towardes Hierusalem: and is now called

Then the Village of Naioth where Saul prophecied and neare it Ephron, one of those Cities which Abijah recovered from Ierohoam : after the great overthrow giuen him. Then Kibt faim of the Leuites, of which Iofue 21.22. which Iunius thinkes to be the same with lokmeham, of which 1. Chron. 6.28. As for Absalason, which they finde hereabout, Junius reads it the Plaine of Chatzor: and finds it in the Tribe of Iuda : as Iof. 15. we reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe : one neare Kedofh 40 2.22, and the other the fame as Chetzron 2.25, toward Iordan.

In this Tribe also they finde the Citie of Mello: whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the Sichimites in making the Bastard Abimelee King : adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, Salomon raifed a tribute vpon the people. But it Ind. 9.0.6.020 feemes that Mello or Millo is a common name of a firong Fortor Cittadell: and fo In-1. Rez. 16. 27. mius for domus Millo, reades incolemunitionis; and for Salomo edificabat Millo, he reades Vatablus ex. edificabat munitionem, and so the Septuagint reade vin dager in that place. And withpounds Mille in out doubt the Mille which Salemen built, cannot be that of Sichem, but an other in

cum publicum Hierusalem.

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim are Taphuach, whose King was slaine by 50 necessariam cıpibus terofoly-Iofua: and Ianoach or Ianoah spoiled by Teglatphalasser: Pekah then gouerning Ifrael: mitanis atque with divers others, but of no great fame, Maelites. 2 King.15.29.

The Mountaines of Ephraim Sometime Signific the greatest part of the Land of the Sonnes of Tofeph, on the West of Tordan: severall parts whereof are the Hill of

CHAP.9. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Samron or Samaria, 1. Reg. 16.24.\* the Hill of Gahas Judg. 2.9. the Hill of Tsalmon or . Also the Hill Salmon Ind. 9.48. the Hills of the Region of Tfuphor Tfophim Ind. 9.5. where Ravid of Flowibis Tfophim stood, which was the Citie of Samuel.

The great plentie of fruitfull Vines vpon the fides of these Mountaines, was the the foo of the occasion that Iacob in the Spirit of prophecie Genes. 49. 22. compared Iosephs two 10d was build branches, Ephraim & Manaffe, to the branches of a fruitfull vine planted by the Well the two tops of fide, and spreading her a Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegorie also Hils, Gargins Ezekele. 2.2. in his Lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head her the bloom of the state of the st was Ephraim) profequutes: as also in his Lamentation for Inda, hee followeth the o-where the cur-10 thet Allegorie of Jacob Gen. 49.9. comparing Juda to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the read to the the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both people, o

fides of lordan, they finde the Castle called Dok: which they make to bee the same when Destire ildes of torain, they made the Came camed Dok: which they make to bee the name with Dagon, of which Iofeph. 1. Bell. Ind. c. 2. in which Castle as it is 1. Maccab. 16. Ptolomie most traiterously, at a banquet, slew Simon Muchabaus his Father-in- that hard in

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembred in the feelt the word fecond of samuel. 1.23 v. 30. where though fumins reade finding ex ran sulfines Galactic first the Vulgar and Fatablus reade finding of the River of Gass. Also in this Tribe by the most very the very the very the most very the most very the very the very the very the very the very the very think very the ver they place the Riuer of Carib, by which the Prophet Elias abode during the great plainty to Fig. 20 droughth: where he was b fed by the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried which in the vp he trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where hee was relie- Helorin phase urd by the poore Widdow of Zarepta, whose dead Sonne he required, and increased are called her pittance of Meale and Oile: whereby shee fushained her life.

elfewhere one b 1.R.g. 17. 3.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from I EROBOAM to

F the first Kings of Ifrael, I omit in this place to speake: and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of Juda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Iuda and Beniamin, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings was Ieroboam, the sonne of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, who being a man of ftrength and courage was by Salomon made ouer-feer of the buildings of the Millo or Munition in Hierufalem, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of Ephraim and Manasse: and so many of them as wrought in those workes. During which time as hee went from Hierusalem, hee incountred the Prophet Ahijah: who made him know that he was by God destinied to

40 be King of Ifrael: and to command ten of the twelue Tribes. After this fearing that those thinges might come to Salomons knowledge, hee fled into Egypt to Shifhak, whom Eusebius calleth Osechores, whose Daughter he married : the Predecessour of which Shilhak (if not the same) did likewise entertaine Adad the Idumaan, when hee was carried yong into Letot from the furie of David, and his Captaine loab : which Adad, the King of Agypt married to his Wines fifter Taphnes : viing both him and Ieroboam as instruments to shake the Kingdome of Indaa: that himselfe might the eafilier fpoile it, as he did : for in the fifth yeare of Rehoboam, Shifhack fackt the Citic LREGIST of Hierusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Salomon, and all the spolles which David tooke from Adadezer of Soba, with the presents of Tohu, King of

50 Hamath, which were of an ineftimable value, with a

This Ieroboam after the death of Salomon became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the Ifraelites, and from a meane man exalted to that flate; yet preferring the pollicies of the world before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to Hierusan

len to doe their viuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) hee crested two golden Calues, one in Dan, and an other in Bethel, for the people to Ambule von worthin (an imitation of the Explain Apis, faith S. Ambule, or take properties of Arons the Chapter Calle in Invel further hee made election of his Priests out of the basest and valearthe Epifle to ned people. This King made his chiefe feate and Pallace at Sichem: He despised the warning of the Iudaan Prophet, whome Iofephus calleth Adon; and Glycas Ioel: His hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatrie, and hardened upon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, Abijal makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posteritie.

1. King, 11, 12. He was afterward overthrowne by Abia King of Iuda, and died after hee had go- 10

1.King.16.

1.King.15.

uerned two and twentie yeares: whom Nadab his sonne succeeded : who in the second yeare of his raigne, together with all the race of Ieroboam was flaine, and rooted out by Baasha, who raigned in his stead : so Madab lined King but two

Brafts the fonne of Ahijah, the third King after the partition, made Warre with AlaKing of Inda: hee feated himselfe in Therfa: and fortified Rama against Inda, to refraine their excursions. Hereupon Asa entertained Benhadad of Damaseus against him, who inuaded Nephtalim, and destroied many places therein: the meane while Afa carried away the Materialls, with which Baafba intended to fortific Rama; but being an Idolater hee was threatned by Iehu the Prophet, that it should befall his 20 \* Note: 1.6-16 race, as it did to Jeroboam: which afterward came to passe: He ruled source and twen-

tie yeares and died. To B14/ba fucceded Ela his fonne, who at a feast at his Palace of Therfa, was in his cups flaine by Zambris after he had raigned two yeares; and in him the prophecic of Jehu was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the name of a King seuen daies; But Ambris in reuenge of the Kings Murther, fet vpon Zambris, or Zimri: and inclosed him

in Thersa, and forst him to burne himselfe.

Ambris or Homri succeeded Ela, and transferred the Regall seate from Thersa to Samaria: which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This Ambris was also 30 an Idolater, no leffe impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to Tabremmon, King of Syria: the Father of Benadad according to Eufebius, Nicephorus, and Zonaras: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceine : seeing Benadad the Sonne of Tabreman was inuited by Ask King of Inda, to assaid King of Israel, the Father of Elawho forewent Ambris. This Ambris raigned twelue yeares, fixe in Therfig, and fixe in Samaria, and left two children, Achab and Athalia.

### ð. III.

Of ACHAB and his Successors, with the captimitie of the ten Tribes.

CHAB or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not only vp-held the Idolatrie of Ieroboam, borrowed of the Agyptians : but hee married lezabel the Zidonian : and as Ieroboam followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did Achab of his Zidonian and creeted an Altar and a Groue to Baal in Samaria. He suffered lexabel to kill the Prophets of the most

high God. GoD fent famine on the Land of Ifrael. Achab met Elias: Elias prepailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets; and afterward fli- 50

Benadad, not long after, belieged Samaria: and taken by Achab was by him let at libertie : for which the Prophet (whom Glyens calleth Michaus) reproueth him : afterward he caused Naloth by a false accusation to bee stoned. Then ioyning with

### CHAP.9. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

10 (aphat in the warre for the recoverie of Ramoth, hee was flaine as Micheas had tore-

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, Ochozias, Ioram, and Iois: besides feuentic other fonnes by fundry wines and Concubines.

Ochozasas succeeded his father Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience: hee Beelle bub was bruifed himselfe by a fall : and sent for counsaile to Beel-zebub the God of Acharon, the same with Eliab the Prophet meeteth the meffenger on the way: and misliking that Ochozias Belias and Planta in Saint Pla fought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in the spon life. Ifrael? Ochozias fendeth two Captaines, and with each fiftie fouldiers to bring Eli- 2-Kings t.

ah vnto him, both which with their Attendants were confumed with fire. The third Captaine befought mercie at Eliahs hands, and hee spared him, and went with him to the king: anowing it to the king that he must then die, which came to

passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

Joram the brother of Ochozias by Jezabel, succeeded: He allured Josaphat kitig of Inda, and the king of Edom to affifthim against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. theepe. The three kings wanted water, for themselues and their horses, in the Desarts. The Prophet Elista causeth the ditches to flowe. The a. King. 5. Mashites are ouerthrowne: their king flieth to Kirharafeth: and beeing belieged. according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walles as a Sacrifice, whereat

20 the three kings moued with compassion returned and left Moab, wasting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, understand the Text to speake of the sonne of the king of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner, by the Moabites, and that the king of Moab shewed him ore the walls, threatning vnleffe the fiege were dissolued, that he would offer him in facrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of Edom befought those of Juda and Israel to breake off the siege for the safetie of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, and that Moab according to his former threatning had burnt the king of Edoms fonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discerne it, the king of Edom being by this fad spectacle inraged, for sooke the partie of the other 20 kings; for want of whose affishance the siege was broken vp.

After this the king of Aram fent to Ioram, to heale Naaman the Captaine of his Armie of the leprousie. The answere of Joram was; Am I God to kill, and to gine life, that hee doth fend to heale a man from his leprousie? adding, that the Aramite fought but matter of quarrell against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the king to fend Waaman to him : promifing that hee should know that there was a Prophet in Israel, and so Waaman was healed by washing himselfe seven times in Iordan. E. lisha refused the gifts of Naman. But his seruant Gehazi accepted a part therof: from whence the fellers of spirituall gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are Simonians a.Kjeg. 1.5

of Simon Magus.

Afterward Benhadad king of Aram or Damaseus, having heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of Ifrael what socuer the Aramite consulted in his secretest councell, fent a troupe of horse to take Elisha: all whom Elisha stroke blinde, and brought them captines into Samaria, Joram them asking leane of the Prophet to flay them, Eifha forbade him to harme them : but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their owne Prince in fafetie.

The king of Aram notwithstanding these benefits did againe attempt Samaria; and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. Isram imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a noise of Charriots and armor to found in the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the fiege, an act

50 of great admiration as the same is written in the second of Kings. After this, when 2.King. 7. Azael obtained the kingdome of Syria by the death of his Mafter, Ioram entring vpon his frontire tooke Ramoth Gilead: in which warre he received divers wounds: and returned to Iefrael to be cured . But whileft hee lay there, Iehn (who commanding the armie of ioram in Gilead, was annoynted king by one of the children of the Prophets

Pac.86.

Prophets fent by Elifha ) furprized and flew both him and all that belonged vnto

him, rooting out the whole potteritie of Abab.

Lebu who raigned after Leberams, deltroyed not onely the race of his foregoers, but also their Religion; for which hee received a promife from God, That his feede should occupie the Throne wno the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the idolative of Lerobeams, for which hee was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein he was beatten by Hazaed the Aramite, who spoided all the Countries to the East of Iordan: in which warre he was flaine faith Cedrems: whereof the Scriptures are silent. Leberation of 28, vecres.

Institute of the state of the s

After lowthaz loss his fonne gouerned Ifrael: who when hee repaired to Elifas the Prophet as he lay in his death-bed, the Prophet promided him three victories of the Armanies: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and Elifas couered the kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward Damus [ens.] and then shoot an arrow thence out. He againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who finote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should have finiteen since or like times: and then hee 20 should have had so many victories ower the Aramites in three battells, and recovered the Cities and Territorie from Benhadad the sonne of Arael, which his father Daeloss had lost. He also overthrew Amazis king of Inda, who prounked him to make the war: whereupon hee entred Hierufalem, and facked it with the Temple. This Joss raigned sixteenen yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet Elissa exchanged this list for a better.

Irrabosan the third from 10hm, followed 10ss his father, an Idolater as his predeceffor: but her recoursed all the reft of the lands belonging to 1/frad, from Hamath which is never Libanus, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and fortie yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of tehu, staine by Shallam his vasfiall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned fix moneths. Shallam held the kingdome but one moneth, being flaughtered by Menslewn of the Gadies.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of Shallum, yfed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This Menahem being intuaded by Phul, bought his peace with tenne thousand talents of siluer, which he exacted by a Tribute of siftie sheels from euery man of wealth in Ifrael. Menahem gouerned twentie yeeres.

Pekahiah or Phaseis, or after Zonarus Phasefia, fuceceded, and after hee had ruled two yetrees, hee was flaine by Phaseor Fekah the Commaunder of his armie, who 40 raigned in his place. In this Pekah time Phasefar or Tiglat-Phylaffar inuaded the kingdome of Ifrael, and wanne lion, Abel-Bethmasea, kmoach, Kedelh, Haffor, and Giral, etad, with all the Cities of Gaillee, carrying them captines into Affria. Haffor, and Giral, lead, with go fluidea againth Pekah and Rezin, the lath of the Adades. For Achas being walfed by Pekah of Ifrael and by Rezin of Damafeus, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the Affrian, who first fuppressed the Monarchie of Syria and Damafeus: and then of Ifrael: and this inuiting of the great Affrian, was the viterruine of both States, of Ifrael and of Indea. Pekah raigned the Monarchie of Syria and Damafeus:

Then Hofbea or Ofes, who flew Peksh, became the vaffall of Salmanaflar: but ho-50 ping to flake off the Affrian yoake, he fought aide from So, or Sua, or Sebieuk king of Egypt: which be affected to the Affrian, hee cast him into prison, be fieged Samaria, and mastred it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into Xinine in Affria, and into Rages in Media, and into other Esterne Regions, and there dispersed them:

and re-planted Samaria with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the Cniba (inhabiting about Cathaa Riuer in Perfa, or rather in Arabia Deferta) and with the people Ca-Pills, tanibounding youn Syria, and with those of Sepharinaiy (a people of Sepharin Me-Pills, fiptamia youn Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacherio vaunteth) also with those of Asa: which were of the ancient Anina who inhabited the Land of the Phillims in Abrahams time, dwelling facie we not Gaza: whom the Caphirims rooted out: and at this time they were of Arabia the Defart, called Hina: willing to returne to their ancient factes. To these he added those of Chamabou Turaa, the ancient enemies of the Ifractice, and sometime the Valfalls of the Adads of Damafau: which so often affoliated them. And thus did this Affrica adults himselfe better than the Romans

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.9. S.2.

did. For after Titus and Vessalian had wasted the Cities of Indaa, and Hienfalem, the carried the people away captine: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thinne Carrisons, which soone decaied: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who neuer could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happed in the yeare of the world 3292. the fixth yeare of Exekia King of Inda: and the ninth of Hosea the last King of Israel.

## A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

	111111111111111111111111111111111111111	ř.	Ieroboam,	Raigned	22.	Yeares.		
	di Sabata e	2.	Nadab,	randi Tooli	2.	Yeares.	2.1	100
	14997		Baafha,		24 .	Venree		
		4.	Ela,	challer .	30.	Yeares.		
	A	5.	Zambris,		7.	Daies.		
-	arte alladi i	6.	Omri,		íi.	Yeares.		
	1000	7.	Achaby	33.4	22.	Yeares.		
	and the state of		Ochozias,		2.	Yeares.		
	mi gazorii.	0.	Ioram.	18.21	12.	Yeares.		
		10.	Iehu,	alia ji a	28.	Yeares.	ato.	
	Landard State		Josehaz,			Yeares.		
			Tous,			Ycares.		
			Ieroboam,			Yeares.		
	est take per	140	Zacharias:		Ž	Monethe		
			Shallum		٠.	Monerh		
		16	( Menahem		in.	Yeares.		
40	y iku yib	2 -	Pakahiah			Yeares.		
	Tarenda S.	.6	Phone			Yeares.		
	13.0	10	traca,					
	****	19.	mojea;			Yeares, abor		
	d in above	i	Name of			writers differ		
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## Снар. Х.

Of the memorable places of DAN, SIMEON, IVDA, RVBEN, GAD, and the other halfe of MANASSE.

of Dan, where of loppe, Gath, Accord, Azonu, and all other Towner.



Ow following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that De portion of Land alligned to the Tribe of Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last : of which familie there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62 700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the 20 Defarts; there entired the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400 bearing armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea coast was Joppe, or Japho, as in the 12. of losua : one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because

it was the Port of Hierufalem. From hence Ionas imbarked himselfe when hee fled from the service of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this Citie received many changes: and while Iudas Macchabaus governed the Ierres, the Syrians that were Garrisond in Ioppe, having their fleet in the Port, inuited 200 principall Citizens abourd them, and cast them all into the Sea; which Indas revenged by 30 firing their fleet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the fword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by Cestius the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of Christ 1250. Lodonick the French King gaue it new Wallsand Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Laffa. There are certaine Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastned with chaines: and from thence delinered from the Sea-Monster by Persens. This fable (for so I take L3.1.15, de bel. it) is confirmed by Josephus, Solinus, and Plinie. Marcus Scaurus during his office of Ind. Solin. C. 47. Ædilefhip, the wed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. Hicrome vpon Jon.ts speakes of it indifferently.

The next vnto Joppe was Jamnig, where Indas Macchabeus burnt the rest of the Sy- 49 rian fleet : the fire and flame whereof was feene at Hierufalem 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bilhops feate, faith will of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this

time that fuch a-place there was. After Jamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, Somtime Anthedon, Saith Volaterran. And

fo Montanus feemes to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philiflim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Folaterran gives neither reason nor authoritie for his opinion; for Ptolomic fets Anthedon farre to the South of Joppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philiflims: and about fixteene miles from Ioppo; where S. Hierome in his time found a great Village of the fame name. It was fometime the Habitation and 50 Seminarie of the Anakims: strong and Giant-like-men, whom Iosua could not expell, nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Ifraelites, till Danids time: who flew Goliath, as his Captaines did diuers others not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto Goliath. Robosm

CHAP. 10. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Roboam the Sonne of Salomon rebuilt Geth: Ozias the sonne of Amazis destroice it againe. It was also laid wast by Azael King of Syria. Fulke the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that will.of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Ibijlin, I much doubt: the cr- Late 18. rour growing by taking Gath for Anthedon.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Beth semes or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adioyning to this Citie(as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loofe by the Philifims: and the Bethfemites prefuming to looke therein, there were flaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordi-

to nance of God. After which flaughter and the great lamentation of the people; it was called the great \* Abel, faith S. Hierome. Benedictus Theologus finds three other . Or rather Cities of this name; one in a Nepthalim: an other in Iuda: and an other in Ilathar, not the citie is Hierome finds a fifth in Beniamin.

Keeping the Sea-coast the strong Citic of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one the field, 1900 Receing the Science at the thought of the Philiftims, S. Hierome makes it the fame which flone of the fluc Satrapies, or Gouernments of the Philiftims, S. Hierome makes it the fame which flone of the fluc Satrapies, or Gouernments of the Philiftims. with Calaria Palassima. Plinie confounds it with Apollonia: It was one of those that the Philippins set the Aire, defended it selfe against the Danites and Indeans. It worshipped Beel-zebub the God the change beof Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that Ahaziah King of Ifrael fent to enquire ingestife from of his health: whose Messengers Eliah meeting by the way caused them to returne, which fignifiof his health: whole Menengers Eummeeting by the way camed them to returne, when highle 20 with a forrowfull answere to their Mafter. This Citie is remembred in many places the a flowe to Age which fig.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This ning,

Azotu or Aflod wisalfo an habitation of the Anakims, whome tofus beinged to describe they, though he once possess their Citic. Herein shood a sumptious Temple dedicated to the Idoll Dagon: the same idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfs. \*\*Language 1. \*\*Lang after the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple; and in the Red by Pfamfecond fall it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neare it was that famous d Inclus Mar these of Phance. chabaus staine by Bacchides and Alcimus, the Lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterward it Nece for 19. was taken by tonathas : and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that whence leaving 30 fled into the Temple of Dagon were with their Idoll therein confumed with fire: 35.9 to fleeds

neare which also he ouerthrew Apollonius. neare which also neuerthrew Appendix.

Gabinius the Romane rebuilt. It had a Bilhops feate while Christianitie flour wit, the greatified in those parts. But in S. Hieromes time it was yet a faire Village. And this tell part has

was the last of the Sca-Townes within the Tribe of Dan,

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from Azotus, and beyond the & 1. Sam. 5.4. Fountaine of Ethiopia, wherein Philip the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are Tforah, d Macci.c. or Sarara, and Elihaol, and between them Castra Danis neare Hebron: though this 10(19.41). place where Samplon was borne, may feeme by the wordes Ind. 18. 12. to bee in ball 15. 50 the Tribe of Indah, as the other also were bordering Townes between Dan and 18.0.2. 40 Inda.

After these within the bounds of Iuda, but belonging to the Danites, they finde Gedor, or as it is 1. Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cendebaus the Lieutenant of Antiochus fortified against the Iewes, and neare which himselfe was by the Macchabees ouer- 1.2816.15.16.

Then Modin the Natiue Citie of the Macchabees and wherein they were buried. on whose Sepulcher the seuen Marble Pillars; which were erected of that heigh as they ferued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their first setting vp, as Brochard and Breidenbach witnesse:

There are besides these the Citie of Cariathiarim, that is, the Citie of the woods: Alias Cariathe 50 scated in the border of Iuda, Beniamin, and Dan, wherein the Arke of God remained bad and Bad, twentie yeares in the house of Aminadab: till such time as David carried it thence to or Baulphorofin Hierusalem: Of this place (as they say) was Zacharias the sonne of Barachias, or le- Sam.6.2. hoida, who was flaine betweene the Temple and the Altar : also Vrias whom Joachim 2. (firon. 24, 22, King of Hierusalem flaughtered as we finde in Ieremie. Many other places which ferances.

Plin. 1.5.c.9.

a Office 12.

De Bell face.

Braid.

they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon prefumption than warrant, I omit: 2. Macc. 12.13. as that of Calfins taken with great flaughter by Indas Machaheus: and Lachis, whose King was flaine by Iofua, in which also Amazias was flaine: The fame which Senacherib tooke, Ezeehias raigning in Iuda. 2.Reg.t 4.19.

Ofother Cities belonging to this Tribe, fee in Iofua c. 19. from the Verle 41. where also it is added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families : and therefore that they inuaded Lesbern, and inhabited it : which Citie after amplified by Philip the brother of Herod Antipas, was called Cafarea Philippi, as before, and made the Metropolis of Iturea , and Trachonitis : of which coasts this Philip was Tetrarch : but of this Citic fee more in Nepthalim. In this Tribe there are no to

It hath two Riversor Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountains Hiron in Star of Inda: and passing by Modin, falleth into the Sca by Sachrona. The other hath & Alibeam. the name of Sorek or Sored, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which have no feedes or flones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taft, and fauour, &c. In this Valley of Sorek, so called from the River, inhabited Dalila whom Sampson Tud. 16. 4.

## S. II. THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

He Tribe of Simeon takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the border of Azypi: who being the second Sonne of Iacob by Lea, there were increased of that Familie while they abode in £gypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinai 59300. able men, all which ending were numbred at Mount smar 19300 and of Promife of their il-\* And there, fues 22200. bearing armes, who were \* in part mixed with Iuda, and in part feue- 30 fore no marue red, inhabiting a small Territoric on the Sca-coast, belonging to Edumea, of which thardinersplathe first Citie adjoyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

The Reguli or pettie Kings thereof were called Afcalonite : of which Volaterran partianoluda out of Kanlines, in the Historic of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Afealus were terechoned in the Community of the Commu be rectioned in the formes of Hymeneus: and that Afedus being imploied by Aciamus King of the 2019 2009. Lydians, with an Armic in Spria, falling in loue with a yong Woman of that Countric, built this Citie and called it after his owne name: the fame hath Nicolaus in his

Diochorus Siculus in his third Booke remembreth a Lake neare Afealon, wherein there bath beene a Temple dedicated to Derceto the Goddesse of the Syrians : having 40 the face of a Woman and the bodie of a Fish: who, as I have said before, in the storie of Ninus, was the Mother of Semiramis, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fed and releeued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Tibullus the Poet:

Alba Palastino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in Syria Palastine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many lear- 50 ned men (faith Volaterran) as Antiochus, Sofus, Cygnus, Dorotheus the Hiftorian, and

Vol. vs supra. Artemidorus who wrote the storie of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod borne, that seeking after our Sauiour, caused all the Male-children of two yeares old and under to be slaine. In the Christian times it had a Bilhop, and after that when it was by the Saladme defaced, Richard King of England while he made Warre in the holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. Eins muros cum SALADINVS diruiffet, RICHARDVS An- Adich in Trib. glorum Rex inftauranit, faith Adrichomins.

In Davids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims : for hee nameth Gath and Ascalon only, when hee lamenteth the death of Saul, and Io- 2. Sam. 1. nathan : not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the

threets of Afealon: It is now called Sealone. Gabinius restored it as hee did Azotus

Next to Ascalon stood Gaza or Gazera, which the Hebrewescall Hazza the Syrians Azan: of Azonus (as they fay) the sonne of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by Iupiter. Pomp. Atela gives the building thereof to Cambyfes the Persian: because belike he rebuilt it, and Gaza in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This Gaza was the first of the fine Satrapies of the Phili- Vol. 11. films : and the South bound of the Land of Canaan towards Agypt. But this Citie was farre more ancient than Camby fes, as it is proued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb : but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time steph.de Trb. as Alexander Macedon invaded the Empire of Persia, it received a Garrison for Davius: Ind 1.6.16. in despight whereof it was by the Macedonians after a long siege demolished and was 1.King. 6. Salib. 20 called Gaza of the Defart.

Alexander Janneus King of the Jewes surprised it : and slew 500. Senators in the 10/19,13,401,19. Temple of Apollo which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this Gaza was not fet up in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had ouer-turned, but somewhat nearer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the Machabees, and gaue many wounds to the Ienes till it was forft by Simon: of which he made fo great account as he purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left John his Sonne and Massarts. Succession to be Gouernour. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly Citie, and Brochstin.7. knowne by the name of Gazara.

At the very out-let of the River of Refor, flandeth Maiomathe Port of Gaza: to which the priviledge of a Citie was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Constance after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But Indian the Apollata Hills 101.5.c. foone after favouring the Gazeans made it fubiect vnto them, and commanded it to Nicrobia to his be called Gaza maritima.

On the other side of Befor, standeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Janneus, re-10fep.13.481.19. flored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the fanourite of 21.

Then Raphia where Philopater ouerthrew the great Antiochus: and beyond it 10(co.13 cm 10 Rhinocura whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name \* of the Torrent 11.14 &c.

40 of Agypt, till the Septuagint converted it by Rinocura: to difference it, Ef. 27. 12. it Valla Registi gining the name of the Citic to the Torrent that watereth it, Pline calls it Rhino- the name of colura; and Iosephus, Rhinocorura: Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this the fireams place the world was divided by lots, betweene the three Sonnes of Noah.

Within the Land and vpon the River of Befor they place Gerar: which the Scri- Affer, Chap. pture placeth betweene Kadesh and Shur, Gen. 20.1. That it was neare to the Wil. 7. 0.3. + 8. dernelle of Beer-Shebah, it appeares Genef. 20. 31. and therefore no merualle that as in the inarte. elsewhere Beer shebah, so sometime Gerar, bee made the South bound of Canaan, inrefat, Manile It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the Philistim Satrapies, the Kings by one on decorate. common name were called Abimelechs; S. Hierome faith that afterward it was called Gen 10.19.

50 Regio falutaris , The healthy Countrie : fo that it was no meruaile that Abraham and Ifaac lined much in these parts. Of King Afa's conquest of the Cities about Gerar, see 2.Chron. 14. 14.

More within the Land was Siceleg or Thelak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, when David in his flying from Saul to the Philisims had left his carriages there, 1.5am.30,

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Historie, faith Volaterran.

15. in the large much is expicity noted. Polat.Geog.l.11 but David followed them ouer the River of Befor, and put them to the flaughter. and recourred the prey.

Infap.10.11.11.

Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they fay, or Academie of old Palastine. In S. Hieromes time it seemes it had the name of Daema : Iolua 15.49. it is called Prbs Sanna: from the name, as it feemes, of fome of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Vrbs Arbahi. For even hence also were

these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, incouraged by Calebs promife of his Daughter in marriage : but that Iofua and the Hoaft of Ifrael were at the furprise, it appeares Jos. 10. 39. This Citie Jos. 21. 15. is named among those which out of Simeen and Inda were given to the Leuites. And hence it feemes they attri- 10 bace it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of Simeon, but of lesse same, as Lin, of which Iof. 19.7. which also Iof. 21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of

the Legites, given out of the portion of Inda and Simeon (for which Innies thinkes \* And also 1. H. Share is named 1. Chron. 6. 50. though \* in the place of Josua these two are distinguilhed) also Tholad so named 1. Chron. 4. 29. for which Iosua 19. 4. wee haue Flebolad, Chatzar-Sula fo named Iolua 19. 5. for which Iolua 15. wee haue Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification : for Gadda is Turma, and Sula Equitatus.

In the same places of Josus and of the Chronicles Chorma is named, which they 20 thinke to bee the same with that of which Numb. 14.45. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites purfued the Ifraelites. But that Chorma cannot bee in Simeon, nor within the Mountaines of Edumaa. For Ifrael fled not that way : but backe againe to the Camp, which lay to the South of Edumas, in the Defart.

Dest. 1.

Gen,21.31.

The same places also name Beersbeba in this Tribe : so called of the Oath betweene Abraham and Abimilee: neare vnto which Hagar wandred with her Sonne If was also called the Citie of Isaac, because hee dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. The other Cities of Simeon which are named in 30 the places of Iolua, and of the Chronicles, about noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie. I omit them. In the time of Ezekia King of Inda, certaine of this \* Asir Gemes Tribe being ftreightned in their owne Territories, passed to \* Gedor, as it is 1. in the Land of Chron. 4.39. (the same place which 10/. 15.36. is called Gedera and Gederothaima)

India. See in which at that time was inhabited by the iffue of Cham: wherethey feated them-

ne un pare vous de time une was missaiten y tiening of chem ; where they feated them-reply of this felines; a saffo fine hundred others of this Tribe, deftroied the Reliques of Amales Chyster whe in the Mountaines of Edom, and dwell in their places. The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of Sampson the chiefest: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Rivers are Befor, and the Torrent of Egypt called Shichar, as is noted in Affer.

THE

50

# THE TRIBE OF FVDA.

F Juda the fourth Sonne of Jacob by Lea, there were multiplied in A-Magret 74600 all which (Calebexcepted) perished in the Deforts. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of Canaan 76500. bearing armes: Agrecable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward Iudea: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to Dap and Simeon included. And many Cities named in these Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the children of Iuda: who had a kind of Soueraigntie ouer them: as Succeth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethlemes, Tiglag, Beer-Theba, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it bee meated by that ground given to this Tribe only) were vncredible if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when Dauid numbred the pcople they were found fine hundred thousand fighting men-

20 d. The Cities of Juda were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them; beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judas from Idumes . whole King hift furprised the Israelites as they passed by the border of Canaan to-Number 1. wards Meab ; and tooke from them fome spoiles, and many prisoners : who being 16/11 2014. afterward ouerthrowne by the Ifraelites, the sonnes of Keni, the Kinsmen of Moses, obtained a possession in that Territoric : who before the comming of the Ifraelites, dwelt betweene Madian and Amulek.

Following this Frontier towards Idimen and the South, Aftenfus Storpionis, or Numates. Acrabbim is placed, the next 19 drad: fo called because of Scorpions, which are faid Dans, 15. tobe in that place efrom which name of Acabbim, therame thinks that the name of

30 the Toparchie called Merabathena was denominated : of which wee have fooken in Manafes, Onthe South fide alfo of Indeathey place the Cities of Lagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Allma, Jethnam, and Afor or Chatfor, most of them Frontier Townes. And then Zipho of which there are two places to called : one besides this in the body of Inda, of which the Defan and Forrell adjoyning tooke name : where David hid himfolfo from Saul. After these are the Cities of Efron, Adar, Karkah, and Asemona, or Hat/mon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idamicatowards the North, we finde the Cities of Dania Shemah, Amam, the other Afort of Chatfor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes . of all which Ice tof 15. alfo Cariath by toface 15.0,2 scalled Kerioth: whence tudas the Traitor tude, 15.8, 15

40 Was called Is-carieth, as it were a man of Carieth. Then Hetham the abode of Samp Girm ILE. Inn. was cauca of carrein, as it were a than operators. I that recommended about of the state of the Wards Eleutheropolis, is the Citic of Iethar, or Iatthir, belonging to the Leutes In Saint notes that this Hieromes time it was called tething, and inhabited altogether with Christians; neare Hebamthough supp the Gigs was that contacts able battails fought between e. A. King of India, the bounds of and A. King of India the bounds of and A. King of India the bounds of an A. King of the Andrews, who brought into the field a Millioni of fighting the belonged in the contact and was not with the bounds of the contact and was not with the contact and the contact and was not with the contact and the contact and was not with the contact and the conta as farre as Geras; which at the famotime horecourred,

Not farre from teffer standeth farmath, whose King was flaine by tafua; and the Hebr. Citicouerturned, Next with it is Marafa the natine Citie of the Prophet Michel. 50 Berycene it and Odolle, Judan Machabene operthrew Gorgina and fent thence ten 2. Mace, 12. 35.

thouland Dragman of filmerro, be offered for Sacrifice. Odultor Hidullam it felle was an ancient and magnificent Citic, taken by Jofiat, Ger. 20.1. and the King thereof flaine. Jonathus Australates beautified it greatly. Then 10 in 15. Ceila or Keila afterward Echela, where David sometime hid himselfe: and which 1. Sam, 13.11

afterward he deliuered from the affaults of the Philistims: neare which the Prophet Abacue was buried: whose monument remained and was seene by S. Hierome.

Neare it is Hebron sometime called the Citie of Arbah, for which the Yulgar hath Cariatharbe : the reason of this name they give as if it fignified the Citic of foure: because the foure Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac; and Iacob, were therein buried, but of Adam it is but supposed : and it is plaine by the places Iosia 14.14. and 15.12. and 20. 11. that Arbab here doth not fignific foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants called Anakim, whose some as it seemes Anak was : and Achiman, Shelhai, and Talmai (whom Caleb expelled Iof. 15.) were the fonnes of this Anak, Num. 12.23. The name of Anak fignifieth Torquem, a chaine worne for orna- 10 ment : and it seemes that this Anak inriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and fo got this name: and leaving the custome to his posteritie left also the name: so that in Latine the name of Anakim may not amiffe be expounded by Torquati.

The Citic Hebron was one of the ancientest Cities of Canaan : built seuen yeares before Tloan or Tanis in Egypt: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the Anakims, whom Caleb expelled : to whom it was in part given : to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the Leuites. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent

Temple built by Helen the Mother of Constantine. Not farre hence they finde Eleutheropolis or the free Citic, remembred often by 20 S. Hierome. Then Eglon whose King Dabir affociated with the other four Kings of the Amorites, to wit, of Hierusalem, Hebron, Iarmuth, and Lachis, belieging the Gibesmites, were by Iofua vtterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next Citie of fame was Emans, afterward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Gouernment or Prafidencies of Indea. In light of this Citie Indes Marchabens (after he had formerly beaten both Apollonius and Seron) gaue a third ouerthrow to Gorgias Lieutenantro Antiochius.

In the yeare 1201, it was ouer-turned by an earth-quake, faith Eufebius. In Euleb. in Chron. the Christian times it had a Bilhops seate of the Diocesse of Casaria of Palastine.

From Emans toward the West Seathere are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and \* Alfo Lebron, Gader or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which and of Gederoth \* tof. 15.2. 36. 6 41. 30 4.39. as is a- Then Azecha to which Iofua followed the flaughter of the fine Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of a Terebinth or Turpintine : as the Vulgar readeth 1. Sam. 17.2. whence (as it feemes) they feat it neare vnto Soto, and vnto Lebna meen. of the Leuites. It revolted from the subjection of the lewes while foram the sonne of Valle Terebin. Io aphat ruled in Hieru (alem: And next vnto this standeth Maceda which to sua vtterthe bath in valle ly dispeopled.

On the other side of Emaus towards the East standeth Beth sur, otherwise Beth sora, and Bethfor: one of the ftrongeft and most fought for places in all Inda : It is feated on a high Hill; and therefore called Bethfur (the house on the Rocke, or of strength.) te tau. 10ftp.13. ant.9. It was fortified by Roboam and afterward by Iudas Macchabans. Lyfias forfit, and 40 Antiochus Eupator by famine: Ionathas regained it: and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Bethleem is the next vnto it within fixe miles of Hierusalem, otherwise Lehem: fometime Ephrata: which name, they fay, it had of Callebs wife, when as it is fo called by Moles before Caleb was famous in those parts Gen. 38. 16. Of this Citie was Abeffan or Ibzan, Indge of Ifrael, after Iephtah, famous for the thirtie Sonnes and thirtie Daughters, begotten by him. Elimelee was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife Naomi fojourned in Month during the famine of Iuda in the time of the Iudges, with whom Ruth the daughter in law of Naomi returned to Bethleem: and maried Booz of whom Obed, of whom Isai, of whom David. It had also the honour to be the native Citie to of our Saujour Ie w Christ: and therefore shall the memorie thereof never end.

Super Math.c.2. this of our Sauiour called Bethleem Inda. From Bethleem some foure or five mile standeth Theeua: the Citie of Amos the

In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a Citie of the same name : and therefore was

Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the Citie of Bethzacaria, in the way between 1. place 6.22. Bethfura and Hierufalem: on whose Hills adjoying the glorious gilt shields of An-10/10ph. Ant. 12, tiochus shined like lamps of fire in the cies of the Iewes. The Citie of \* Bezek was al. 1. Mac Cu 26. fo neare vnto Bethleem, which Adoni-bezee commanded; who had during his \*See in Manual raigne tortured 70. Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes: and C.7.2.7.1. made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the fame end befell himfelfe by the fonnes of Iuda, after they had taken him prifoner.

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The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) wee may passe by vntill we come to the magnificent Castle of Herodium, which Herod erected 10 on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and loss reaches strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adjoyning to the Defart of Jeruel between it and Tekon, is that elius floridue, where in the time of Iehofaphar, the Iewes flood and 2.c/10.20,0.16. lookt on the Mosbites, Ammonites, and Edomites, maffacring one another, when \$26. they had purposed to joyne against Iuda: neare which place is the Valley of blesfing, where the lewes the fourth day after, folemnely came and bleffed God for fo strange deliuerance.

Now the Cities of Inda which border the Dead Sea, are thefe; Aduran beautified 2. Chron. 1. by Roboam: and Tohar which the Vulgar calleth \* Segor: fo called because Lorin his \* Some call it praier for it vreed that it was but a little one: whence it was called Tohar, which find the Vinda collec-20 guifteth a little one: when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. 1.4.2. In the Ro. man. Seein
mans times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) Pamier: in Hieromestime
pdf pinipum
Balezona. Then Engaddi or Hen-gaddi; first Afasonthamar: neare with which are the mitodice. Gardens of Balfaman, the best that the world had called Opobalfamans: the most Gen1920, part of all which Trees Cleopatra Queene of Egypt sent for out of Indea, and Herod Histor. 100, the chastic. who either feared or loued Anthonie her husband, caused them to be rooted up and some hamar. presented vnto her: which shee replanted neare Heliopolis in & Typt. This Citie was 2. Chron. 20.2. first taken by Chedorlaomer , and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the Genta 7. most remarkable Cities of Indea: and one of the Presidencies thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them lest al; not that 1. Rez. 21. 30 which was the Citic of Naboth, of which alreadie: but an other of the same name. the Citie of Achinoan; the wife of David; the mother of that Ammon, whom Abfar 2. Saim. 17.15. lom flew : also as some thinke the Citie of Amasa, Absaloms Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this feemeth to bee an errour grounded vpon the nearenesse of the wordes, Ifrael and Jefrael: and because the 2. Sam. 17.25. Amasaes father is called a Isfraelite; who first of the Chron. 2.17. is called an Ismaelite : indeede the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that Amasaes Father is not said to be of the Citie Iestael, but an Ifraelite in Religion, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills or Mountaines, as those of Engaddivppon the Dead Sea : and the Mountaines of Iuda, which beginne to rife by Emaus, and end neare Taphna, and these part Juda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which fland single there is that of Hebron: at the foote whereof was that Oake of Mambre where the three Angells appeared to Abraham, which S. Hierome calleth a Firtree; Hieronin loc. and faith that it flood till the time of Constantine the yonger. There is also that Hebrer question Mountaine called Collis Achille, on the South fide of Ziph: on the top whereof the Hebr. great Herod, inclosing the old Castle, erected by tonathas Macchabens, and called Massada, garnished it with seuen and twentie high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundreth thousand men : being as it seemeth a place vnacceffable, and of incomparable ftrength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the Lake Afhaltitis, this Countrie 50 had foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, destroied with fire from Heauen for their vnnaturall finnes.

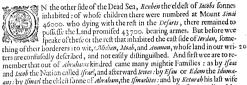
Ruth.t.

Hieron in comm.

Genef.53.48,

### THE TRIBE OF REVBEN and his Borderers.

The seates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubentes wanne from Sehon King



ans: by Ismael the eldest some of Abraham, the Ismaelites: and by Keturah his last wife the Midianites. And againe by Lot, Abrahams brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the Mosbites, and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly policit by the Canaanites, and by the Families of them descended) these iffues and alliances of Abraham, all but Iacob, whose children were bred in Agypt, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Elau and his sonnes held Idumaa: which bounded Canaan on the South. Ismael 30 tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea: stretching his possession ouer all Arabia Petras, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as farre as the River of Tigris, from

Sur to Hanilah. Most tooke the rest of the coast of the Dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian: and paffing ouer Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Iordan and the Hills of Abarim

or Arnon, as farre North as Effebon, or Chesbon. Ammon fate downe on the North-east fide of Arnon, and possest the Tract from Rabba afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountaines of Gilhead, and without them as farre forth as Arroer, though in Molestime hee had nothing left him in all Numar, 2.4. that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him ouer the River of Labor, as they had 40 done Moab ouer Arnon. As these Nations compassed fundrie parts of Canaan, so the border betweene the River of Iaboc and Damafous was held by the Amorites themfelues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of Iordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad,

and halfe Manaffe: whereof that part which Moab had, was first posses by the Eminus a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by Chedorlahomer, after expulsed by the Machites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held was the Territoric and ancient possession of the Zamzummims or Zurai, who were also beaten at the fame time by Chedorlahomer, Amraphel, and the rest; and by them an easie way on conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Mont, the fame is to bee anderstood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancaffer beaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countries, betweene Abarim and Iorelan, and driven them thence from Hesbon over Arnon, and this happened not long CHAP. 10. S.4. 1.2. of the Historie of the World.

before Moles arrivall vpon that border, when Vaheb governed the Mosbites. For he that ruled Most when Mofes past Arnon, was not the sonne of Valeb, but his name was Balac the sonne of Zipper. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edum eans anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab betweene Arnon and Tordan, as faire North as Effebon was inhabited by Reuben. And when Ifrael arrived there out of Agypt, it was in the possession of Sehon, of the race of Canaan by Amoreus : and therefore did Iephtah the Judge of Ifrael justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the Ammonites: because (as he alleaged) onoses found them in the 10 possession of the Amorites, and not in the handes of Moab or Ammon: who (furth tudo, 15) tephtah) had three hundred yeares time to recouer them, and did not; whence hee

inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And leaft any should maruaile why the Ammonites in Iephtah his time should make claime to these Countries : whereas Moses in the place Rumb, 21. vers, 26. rather accounts them to have beene the ancient possession of the Mabites then of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that Dent. 3. 11. when it is faid that the yron bed of og was to be seene at Rabbath, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the Land of og, which the Ifraelites possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the Ammonites, as much of Sehons was from the Moabites,

20 And as the Cananite Nations were feated fo confusedly together that it was hard to distinguish them : so also were the sonnes of Moab and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, 10,13. ver, 15 and Ifmael. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why Ammon commanded in Imate noise chiefe, in Iephtahs time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all halie of the those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe that one part of the Land Land of Hamwhich Gad held, namely within the Mountaines of Galand, or Gilliead, and as farre this place of to-South as Arroer belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage fine is faid to of the time, they then fought to recoure it againe. Year flich time as Mofes outer-before the time, they then fought to recoure it againe. Year flich time as Mofes outer-threw Schon at Iahrs., the Ammonites had loft to the Ammonites, all that part of their dies, was taken possession which lay about Arroer, and betweene it and Jaboe: Selion and Og two first from the 30 Kings of the Ammorites having displanted both Moab and Ammon of all within Scion: but the the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of Numb. v. 24. that If- place Den. 2.11 rael conquered the Land of Schon from Arnon vnto labor, caen wnto the children of proueth that Ammon, to as at this time the River of Iabos was the South bound of Ammon, with sales in the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions values the Lands one. at length the Gadites posses, as in the thirteenth chapter of Iosua vers. 25. it appeares.

t. II:

Of the memorable places of the Rubenites.

THe chiefe Cities belonging to Reuben were thefe, Kedemoth, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth lethson. The Vulgaror Hierome fol- 10/11.37. lowed the Septuagint those two verses 36. and 37. of 21. tof. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint red Kedfon for Kedmoth, which Kedfon by writing flipt into Jethson.

This Citie which they gaue to the Leuites, imparts her name to the Defart ad- Deut. 2.8. ioyning: from whence Moses sent his Embassage to Sehon. In the same place of it was a mar-Is fus where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Betfer & villa eius, reades ofthe 3 Dunt. 50 Bofor in folitudine Mifor, without any ground from the Hebrew : whence Adri- where the 70 chomiue makes a Towne called Mifor, in the border betweene Reuben and Gad. kept the word Farther from Kedemoth neare the Dead Sea (for the Countrie betweene being inga plaine Mountainous hath fewe Cities ) they place two Townes of note, Lafa or which after Leftah of which Genef. 10. verf. 19. the Greekes call it Callirhoe: neare Text.

which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold. bitter and fweete water, all which foone after their riling, beeing joyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which Hered the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others fay that these Springs arise out of the hills of Macharus in this Tribe.

The like fountains are found in the Pyrenyes: and in Peru, called the Baths of the Inga's 10(th, 13, ann.e. or Eings. The other town is Macherus the next between Lafa and Iordan of all that 24.0 14. and C. part of the world the ftrongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a mountaine 10.00 alibi. euery way vnaccessible. It was first fortified by Alexander Iannaus, who made it a

frontier against the Arabians: but it was demolished by Gabinius, in the warre with 10 Aristobulus, faith Iofephus. It was thither (faith Iofephus) that Herod fent Iohn Baptist, and wherein hee was flaine: his armic foone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by Aretasking of Arabia, and himselfe after this murther neuer prospering. Not farre from Macharus was Bolor or Bozra, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Leuites, and necre it Linias vpon lordan, which Herod built in honour of Linia the mo-

Hier in loc hebr. ther of Tiberius Cafar.

Enich in chron.

To the north of Linius is Setim, or Sittim: where the children of Israel embraced the daughters of Alielian, or Aloeb: and where Phine as pierced the bodie of Zimri Num.25.1. and Cosbi with his speare bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in

the middest of their sinne : and from hence losus sent the Discouerers to view Ierico 20 flaving here untill hee went ouer Iordan. As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place Adrichemius dreames of, reading Ioel 3.18. irrigabit torrentem Setim: The vulgar hath torrentem spinarum : and Junius vallem cedrorum : expounding it not for anic particular place in Canaan: but for the Church, in which the iust being placed grow

as the Cedars, as it is Pfal. 92.13.

The plaine Country hereabout by Moses called The Plaines of Moab, where he expounded the Booke of Deuteronomy to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same booke precisely bounded by Moses. On the South it had the great Defart of Paran : where they had long wandred. On the East it had Chatferoth, and Dizahab (of which two the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolomy in 30 Palastina, the later was a Tract belonging to the Nabathai in Arabia Petraa, where \* The same as Was \* Mezahab, of which Gen. 36.39.) by the Geographers called Medaua and Meit feems which daba. On the West it had Iordan: and on the North it had Laban (in Iunius Edi-Num. 21. 30.18 tion, by the fault of the Print, Lamban Deuteron. 1. 1.) the fame which the Geographers call Libias: and some confound it with Linias, of which even now wee

called Medeba whence wee plaines of Me-

Also on the same North side towards the confines of Calefyrea, it had Thophel: 16.0f which al- whereabout sometime Pella of Calestria stood: which was in the region of Decapolis, fo we reade in and as Stephanus faith, was fometime called Butis. It is also noted in Moses to be our the warres of against or necre vnto Suph, for which the Yulgar hath the red Ses, as also Num. 2.14. 40 Hanum the Am- it translateth the word Suphab in like manner : whereas in this place of Deuteronomie there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to fignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of Mara, thereby to distin-E(a.16.2. guillit from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtleffe was about these Plains of Mosh towards the dead Sea : where the Country being full of reedes, was therefore thus called : as also the red Sca was called Mare Suph, for like reason.

1.6 ( )3 Ind 7 24

The place in these large plaines of Moab, where Moses made those dinine exhortations, fome fay was Bethabara where John baptized, which in the Storie of Gedeon is called Beth-bara. Infephus faies it was where after the Citie Abila Rood, neere Indan, in a place fet with palme trees : which fure was the fame as Abel-fittim in the 50 Plaines of Moab, Numb 33.49. (that some call Abel-Sathaim and Bel-Sathim) which is reckoned by Mofes in that place of Numbers for the 42. and last place of the Ifraelites incamping in the time of Moses: This place is also called Sittim: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with Adrichomius

Adrichemius and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle

Toward the East of these plaines of Moab, they place the Cities Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma, and Hesbon the chiefe Citie of Sehon, and Elhabel, and Kiriathaims the feat of Them 32, 5376 the Giants Emim. Of the two first of these Moss seems to give a note that the Giants Emim. Of the two first of these Moss seems to give a note that the Giants in names were to be changed: because they tasked of the Mossbites \* Idolatrie. For \* London 1. \* Lo Nebo (in flead of which Innius Ef. 46.1 reades Deus vatieinus) was the name of their Nomen, decourse Nebo (in Itead of which tamus E) 40.1 Iteades Deno valuations y was the haine of their allowage are Idoll-Oracle, and Baal-meon is the habitation of Baal. Of the fame Idoll was the Hill allowage are to damining the Nebo in these parts denominated : from whose top, which the common Translators and allow to use 10 call Phaseah, Moses before his death saw all the Land of Canaan beyond Iordan. In Interpolation of Canaan beyond Iordan. which floric luvius doth not take Phafgah or Pifgah, for any proper name: but for nomina an appellatiue, fignifying a Hill: and fo also Vatablus in some places; as Xum 21,20 bisyma neg. where he noteth that fome call Pifgab that top which looketh to Iericho, and Hair as misa Bahalung it looketh to Moab, which opinion may be formewhat strengthened by the name of rum ab ore 1885. a Citie of Reuben mentioned Iof. 13. 20. called Ashdoth-Pifga, which is as much as they yied tor decurfus Pifga: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from Pifga. In the fame Nation it doub place of Iofus there is also named Beth-peor, as belonging to Reuben: so called from not appear but the Hill Peor: from whence also Baal the Idoll was called Baal. Peor, which they say from the risk was the fame as Priapus: the chiefe place of whose worship feemes to have beene mediometime 20 Bamoth-Bahal, of which also Iof. 13. in the Cities of Reuben: for which Num. 22. 41. Baight, as 8/15 they reade the high places of Baal (for fo the word fignifieth) to which place Balank Beth meen. first brought Balaam to curse the I/raelites.

† III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

30 There were besides these divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoyned to Reuben: amongst which they place Gallim, the Citie of Phalti; to whom Saul 1. Saus 24 w. et gaue his Daughter Michol from Dauid: but Iunius thinkes this Towne to be in Beniamin : gathering so much out of Esay 10. vers. 29. where it is named among the Cities of Beniamin. With better reason perhaps out of Num, 21, v. 19, wee may fay that Mathana and Nahaliel were in these confines of Reuben : through which places the Ifraelites past after they had left the Well called Beer: Then Deblathaim which the Prophet Hieremie threatneth with the rest of the Cities of Hieremass Moab.

Midian also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citie of the Madianites in Moab: 40 but not that Midian or Madian by the Red Sea; wherein Iethro inhabited. For of the Madianites there were two Nations, of which these of Most became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thouland Ilraelites, fent by Moles out of the plaines of Moab : at fuch time as Ilrael beganne to accompanie their Daughters; their five Kings with Balaam the South-faier were then flaine; and their Regall Citie with the rest destroied. The other Madianites ouer whom Jethro was Prince, or Prieft, forgate not the God of Abraham their Anceftor, but relieued and affifted the Ifraelites in their painefull traugiles, through the Defarts: and were in all that paffage their guides. In the South border of Alash adioyning to Edom, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe Citie of Edom, there is Editor. 50 that Petra which in the Scriptures is called Selah, which is as much as rupes or petra, 1785, 147. It was also called lottheel, as appeares by the place 2. Reg. 14. It was built (faith Lib.4.dut.t. Infephus ) by Recem, one of those flue Kings of the Madianites slaine as before is faid : after whom it was called Recem: Now they fay it is called Crae and L1 2

CHAP. 10. S.4. 1.5. of the Historie of the World.

The Soldans of Agypt, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treafures of Agypt and Arabia: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which Plinie and Strabo call Nabathea, whence also the Province adioyning tooke name : which name feemes to have been taken at first from Nabajoth the fonne of Abraham by Kethura. For Nabathea is no where vnderstood for all Arabia Petrea, (at least where it is not misvnderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Judea. For Pharan inhabited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomie calleth Pharanites, in fleede of Ismaelites, and all those Territories of the Cusites, Madianites, Amalekites, Ilmselites, Edomites, or Idumeans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Og King of Balan, were parts of Arabia Petraa: though it be also true, that some part of 10 1. Chans, 5.0.19. Arabis the Defart belonged to the Amalekites, and Ismaelites: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fifth calleth Hagarims of Hagar.

Num.zr.

Deut,3.13.

Num.32.3. Iof.13.27.

Efa.15.21.

This Citie Petra, Seaurus belieged with the Romane Armie; and finding the place in flow impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of Antipater, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet Amasias King of Iuda (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the Arabians in the Valley called Salinarum ) wanne also this Citie. S. Hierome finds Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this Citic. In the time when the GulTu.20,bell, Christians held the Kingdome of Hierusalem, it had a Latine Bishop, having before beene under the Greeke Church. It is feated not farre from Hor where Aaron died. and on the other fide towards the North is the River of Zared or Zered, by which 20 Moles incamped in the 38. Station. Adrichome describeth the waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben, not farre hence, and betweene Zared and Arnon : and so he doth the Valley of Saue : but the waters of Nimra or Beth-Nimra (for which it feemes Adrichomius writ Nemrim ) refresh the plaines of Moab : and the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the Tribe of Gad. Saue also cannot bee found in this place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuite of the Affyrian and Persian Princes, the King of Sodome met him in the Valley of Saue, or Shaueh, which is the Kings Dale, where Absalom set up his Monument, as it seemes, not farre from Hierusalem. And at the Same time t Melchizedec King of Salem also incountred him. But Abraham comming 30 from the North, and Melchizedec inhabiting, either neare Bethfan otherwise Scythopolis in the halfe Tribe of Manaffe, or in Hierusalem (both places lying to the West of Iordan) could not incounter each other in Arabia: and therefore Saue which was alfo called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

> t. IIII. of the Dead Sea.

Ow because the Sea of Sodome or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Alphal- 40 titis, and the falt Sea (in diftinction from the Sea of Tiberias which was fresh History Hara- water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea \* of the plaines, is often reboth every-where, and to membred in the Scriptures, and in this storic also, therefore I thinke it not impertiwhere, and nont, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the Caspian Sea, which hath no out-let or difburthening. The length of this Lake Iofephiis makes 180. furlongs Distor 3-17-though Dester. (which make two and twentie miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth 4.49 it hath which make eighteene of our miles and somewhat more. Plinie makes it a great mare foliaudinis deale leffe. But those that have of late yeares seene this Sea, did account it (faith as an a setting a weiffenburg) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and of this name two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea Ta- 50 citus maketh this report : Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, graionestothe uitate odoris accolis pestifer : neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suctas aquis volucres plaines of Manhwhichare Patitur, incertum unde superiecta ut solido feruntur periti imperitiá, nandi perinde atcalled Harboth Mond Dout, 34. I. as also vve have Cofulath in Harbath, that is in the plaines, to vvit of Zabulon.I. Mac. 9.2 2. 2. vyhence Adrichomius imagines a City in Zabulon called Araba. a Defer, terr, Santla.

tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt talt : of (mell inte-Ctious, and pestilent to the borderers. It is neither moued nor raised by the winde : nor indureth filh to line in it, or fowle to formme in it. Those thinges that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swimming, aswell as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yeare it casteth vp Bitumen: the art of gathering which Experience (the finder of other thinges) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like

And then of the Land, hee speaketh in this fort: The fields not farre from this ,, Lake, which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt >2 10 with lightning: of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a fad face as » having loft her fruitfulnesse; for whatsoever doth either grow or is set thereon, be it " fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse have nothing within them, but " moulder into ashes: Thus farre Tacitus: And it is found by experience, that those » Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe ftill grow on the bankes of this curfed Lake, doe looke faire and are of good colour on the outfide, but being cut have nothing but dust within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake casteth vp , it was by the Greekes called Albhaltitis. Velpalian desirous to bee satisfied of these reports. went of purpole to fee this Lake, and caufed certaine Captines to be cast into it, who were not only viskilfull in fwimming, but had their handes also bound behind 20 them, and not with flanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could

t. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within Arnon REVBEN possess.

OF the Kings of Mosh, whose Countrie (within Arnon) Reuben possess (though not taken from Moab but from Schon the Amorite) few are knowne. Junius in the 21. of Numbers verse 14 nameth Vaheb, which seemeth to bee the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balac, the sonne of Zippor : which Balac sent for Balaam to curse Israel. For fearing to contend with Moles by armes by the examples of Sehon and Og, hee hoped by the helpe of Balaams curlings or inchauntments, to take from them all ftrength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Ba- Num. 21.22.226 laam at the first moved by the Spirit of God, bleft Ifrael contrarie to the hope and de- 24. 10/24. fire of Moab: yet being defirous in some fort to fatisfic him and to doe him service. he aduised Moab to send Madianitish Women among the Israelites : hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen; but 40 in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his enill counfaile; and was flaine among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named : fauing that we finde in the first of Chro. the fourth, that lokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Ioalh, and Sareph, all being of the iffue of Iuda, sometime had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same Verse, These also are ancient thinges : to wit, as some expound it, Page the particulars of these mens Gouernments are no where extant or remaining; or as others, hee prius fuere, these Families of Inda were once thus famous; but now their posteritie chuse rather to abide in Babylon, and bee Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde Eglon King of Moab, who with the helpe of Ammon, and Amalee, tade : mastered Israel and commanded them eighteene yeares; which Eglon, Ebud slew in his owne house, and afterward 10000. of his Nation. What name the King of 1 Sam. 12, Month had vnto whom David fled fearing Saul, it doth not appeare; or whether it were the same against whom Saul made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are na-

med. But in respect that this Mosbite was an enemie to Saul, heereceived David. and relieved him : knowing that Saul lought his life.

After this, David himfelte entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the fame 2.S.m 8. Kings time : for he flaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part t.Chron.18. Pfal.60,v.10. tributarie : whereupon it was faid of DAVID. Most is my wash-pot, ouer Edom well I east my sloe: meaning that he would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint

them for base services: And that he would tread downe the Idumeans.

The next King after Davids time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth was Melba: who falling from Inda, (perhaps in remembrance of the feueritie of Danid) fastened himselfe to the Kings of Israel, and paied tribute to Abab 100000. Lambes, and 19 200000. Rammes, with the woll: who revolting againe from Ifraelafter the death of Alab, was inuaded by tehoram: with whom joyned the Kings of Inda and Idumea: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to Kir-hareseth, as is elfewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, affifted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, inuaded Iehoshaphat: and by reason of some private quarrells among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites fet upon the Idum.esns, and flaughtered them; and then one against an other; fo as scholbapbat had a notorious victoric over them all, without either bloud or wound. Alfoin the time of Hieremie the Prophet, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after Melha of Mesh many defcents: for Melha lived 20 Micron.27. with Jehoram, and this Mashite in Zedekins time, fourteene Kings of Juda comming betweene, who waited three hundred and odde yeares.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places

He Territorie adioyning to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountaines, was fometime in the possession 30 of the Ammonites, as farre to the South as Areer. Of the children of Gad the feuenth fonne of Jacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Agypt, and died in the Defarts 45550. and of their fonnes there entred the Land promifed 45000, bearing armes : from the halfe Tribe of Manalie the River of Jaboe divided them : from Reuben the Cities of Hesbon,

Num.1.33, 26. €[a.15.

Gra.20.

Elbele, and Apbec. The chiefe Citie of Gad was Aroer: which they make to be the fame with Ar, or Rabbath Most, the great or commanding Most. But the learned Juniu, attending diligently to those wordes of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Harabero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Civitate ipfa qua oft in flumine ; Where the Citie in the River is diffinguished 40 from the Citie upon the banke of the River, (as also in like manner Iof. c. 12.v. 2. and c. 12.2.0.) thinketh that Hurober which doubtleffe belonged to the Gadites (as 2\text{Um.} 32.34. it is faid that they built it) was indeede feated neare Har of the Moabites, but dinerfe from it. For that Har was never poffelt by Mofes, it is plaine Deut. 2.9. where God forbidding Moles to touch it, faith he bath given Har for an inheritance to the fonnes of Lot. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is faid to be within and in the middle of the River of Arnon (and so distinguished from Haroher, which is said in the same places to be on the banke of Arnon) is Har of the Moabites, the same Iunius proueth out of Num, 21.15. where Arnon is faid to bee divided into divers ftreames, where or among which Har is feated : And the fame is confirmed by the 50 place of Iof. 13.25. where Haroher is faid to be feated before Rabbah: which Rabbah, as it feemes, can not be the Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they feate not Haroher near it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by Rabbah here wee must viderstand Rabbah of Moab, which they make to be Ar or Har: and so we must needes distinguish it from

### CHAP.10. S.s. of the Historie of the World.

Haroher. And as for \* Har (which also gaue the name to the coatladioyning) it \* Dout, 2, 9, feemes it continued in the possession of the Monbites after they had once expelled Out of which the Giant-like people called Emins, first weakned by Chedorlaomer and his Associates: wordes News but Haroher by the interchange of times fuffered many ancient changes, as being 21.28, 21010 wonne from the Moabites by Schon, and from him by the Ifraelites, and from them, not that the cias it feemes in the storie of lephtha, by the Ammonites : and from the Ammonites a- tie of Har, but gaine by the Ifraelites vider the conduct of tephtha. In S. Hieromes time the greatest the coast adpart of this Citic perithed by an earth-quake, as also Zoar in which Lot faued him-wasted by sefelfe, in the destruction of Sodom, Seated not farre hence : which they fay was there- box. 10 fore called Vitula confernans, because as a wanton tumbling Heifar, shee was thrice led 11.35. ouerthrowne with earth-quake: for which caufe also Hierome seemes to thinke that Hier. in opitaph. this Zoar was called Salifa or Bal-falifa, as if Bal had beene a remainder of the old Paul & inquaft. name Balah or Belah (of which Gen. 14.2.) and Salifha which hath a fignification of beauty his anthe ternarie number, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

to terrarie number; trad antiqued to the three cartin-quances.

Brothard takes Haroher to be Petra, but erronioully, as before it is noted, feeing wher he makes that Petra was in the South border of Most, adioyning to Edom, whereas Haroher is Shalfter a plan in the North-east border. Betweene Haroher and Iordan they seate Dibon, which is Countrie in attributed to the Gadites, because they are faid to have built it, Num, 32.34. though the fame with Iofua 13.0.17. it is faid that Mofes gaue it to the Reubenites. Of this Citic among Ballas fbs., 2, the rest of Most, both Esay and Hieremie prophecied, that it should perish: and the he expounds Lakes about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neare Bal or Baba: to

Arnon in S. Hieromes time.

Keeping the bankes of Arnon, one of the next Cities of fame to Arner was Beth- Edits. Hieras nimrab, of which Elay prophecieth, That the waters thereof should be dried up : and all Elais, 21. the vale of Moab withered. Not farre from Bethnimrah in this Tribe Adrichomius placeth logbeha, and Nobach or Nobe: of both which we reade in the storic of Gedeon: 1sd.8.11. and that Togbeha was in Gad built by the Gadites, it appeares Num. 22. 25, and therefore Wobach also must needes be in these parts : but whether in Gad or Manalle it is not certaine: only that it was anciently called Kenath, Moles witnesserb. No BACH 20 alfo (faith he) went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Nobach of his owne Numarass name, where because the verses precedent speake of the Manassies, and because it is not likely that Moles would have severed this seate of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before v.34.35.36. therefore it may seeme that this \* Nobach was \* Normando in that part of Manaffe, which was in the East of Iordan though Adrichemius place Iriscalled No. it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with Nob, which Saul destroi- phach and plait in Gad. For whereas he supposetn stode the same with aver, which same united bed, of this we shall speake a in the Tribe of Beniamin. And as for that Karker where deroft the king Zebach and Salmunah rested themselves in their slight from Gedeon, to which place dome of School Gedeon marched through this Nobach and Iogbeha, though some place it in Gad, and towards Basan and therefore make it the same with Kir-chares, of which Esay 15. and 2. Reg. 3. 25. yet there can it is notaloge-40 beeno certaintie that it was in Gad: and if it bee the fame with Kir-chares, it is cer- ther vapiobataine that it was a principall Citie held still by the Moabites, and not in the Tribe in Gad.

In the body of this Tribe of Gad they place Hataroth: of which name the Scrip- ludg. 8.10. ture witneffeth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former simply cal-Num.32.3435. led Hataroth, the later Hatroth-Shoplan: for which later the Yulgar makes two Cities Roth and Shophan : the name Hataroth is as much as Corone.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of Sehon, together with Bethninnah, of which we haue spoken. Iofua c. 13.2.2.7. nameth Beth-haram, and Succoth: the former Num. 32 b 1062 Last 18

naue (posti. 1911ac. 13 (20.4) Institution for the state of the state ram) some take to be Betaramptha (of which b sosephus) after by Herode called Inlines. Codex legit But whether this Betaramptha were corrupted from Beth-Haram, or from Beth-Ara- Apaqua3a matha (of which framatha there is mention in c Insephus) or from Beth-Remphan Latitus With the Status in the Status in the Status in (of which Remphan, an Idoll of those Countries, we reade Act. 7. 43. and to which Hammond a war

Innius referres the name of the Citic Rephan 1. Macch. 27.) of this question it were hard to refolue. Buttouching Iulias (according to Io/ephus fometimes Bataramptha) the same Infepinus placeth it in the Region of Peran, beyond Iordan, which Regio Perea, as the Greeke word lignifieth, is no more than Regio viterior, the Countrie berond the River; and therefore they which labour to fet downe the bounds of this Person take more paines than needes. Fourteene Villages this Iulias had belonging vnto it, according to Iosephus. He makes it to have beene built by Herod Antipas, and named Inlias in honour of the adoption of Liuia, Augustus his Wife, into the Iulian Fami-Info Ast, 18.3, lie: by which adoption thee was called Iulia. An other Iulias, he faith, was built by & Bell Ind. 2.8. Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Gaulanitis, which hee faith is the fame as 10

Vipon the Sea of Galilee neare to Iulias in Perea (that is, in the Region ouer Iordan) they finde Vetezobra, as it is called in Iolephus, for Beth-ezob, which is as much as domus hillori. Of a noble Woman of this Citie, which for fafeguard in the time of War with the Romanes, came with many others into Hierufalem, and was there belieged. 10/ephus in the place noted, reports a lamentable Historie; how for hunger shee eate her owne child, with other Tragicall accidents hereupon enfuing.

Of Succoth (which we faid tof. 13. is placed with Beth-haran, in the Valley of the Kingdome of Sehon) it is plaine by the storie of Gedeon that it is neare vnto lordan: Ind.8.5. where it is faid, that as hee was pail tordan with his three hundreth, wearie in the 20 pursuit of Zebah and Salmunah, hee requested reliefe of the men of Succeth: who denying him, and that with contempt, in Gedeons returns were by him tortured, as it feemes under a threshing Carre or Tribulum, betweene which and their sless he put Thornes to teare their fielh as they were prest and trod vnder the Tribulum, and after which fort also David vsed some of the Ammonites, though not with Thornes, but with vron teeth of the Tribulum. As for the name of Succoth, which fignifieth fuch Tabernacles as were made in haft, either for Men or Cattle, Moles Gen. 23.17. witneffeth that the original of the name was from fuch harbours, which Incob in his returne from Mesopotamia built in that place : As also the place beyond the Red Sea, Exed.12.37. where the children of Ifrael, as they came from Ramefes in Leypt, had their first Sta- 20 tion, was vpon like reason called Succoth: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents; which they yield after for fortie seares in the Wilderneffe. In re-

membrance whereof, the Feast of Succeth or Tabernacles was instituted.

Other foure Cities of Gadare named Iof. 21.38. Ramoth in Gilehad, Machanaijm, Chesbon, and Jahzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Leuites, of which Jahzer, as Chesbon or Hesbon was a chiefe Citic of Sehon, whence Num. 32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of Inhzer. It was taken by Moles, having first fent spiesto view it. num.22.32. called the Land of Ishzer. It was taken by Mojes, having first sent spees o view it. s.chron.27.31. In the first of the Chronicles it is made part of Gilehad. In later times (as it may bee gathered by the prophecie of Efay, touching Moab) it was possessed by the Moabites: Hierem, 48, 92, to which place of E/ay also Hieremie in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length re- 40 gained (but as it seemes from the Ammonites) by Judas Macchabeus: as it is 1. Mac. 5. 8. where Junius out of Josephus reades Jahzer, though the Greeke hath Gazer. For Gazer or Gezer (as he gathereth out of Iofua 16.3. & 8. and Iud. 1.29.) was farre from these Countries of Sehon, seated in the West border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Ifraclites, untill Salomons time, for whom the King of Agypt wan it from the Canaanite, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of Chesbon it may be meruailed that in the place of Iofua, and 1. Chron. 6.81. it should be faid to have been given to the Leuites by the Gadites, seeing Iosua 13.0.17 it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the Reubenites: Adrichomius and fuch as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding Casbon 1. Macc. 5.36. among the Ci- 50 ties of Gilehad, taken by Indus Macchabaus, makes two Cities of one : as if this Casbon had beene the Chesbon of Gad: and that of Reuben diffinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and that the Gadites gave their part to the Leuites: for fo also it seemeth

that in like reason Dibon is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in an other giuen to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaym, which word fignifieth a double Armie, we reade Genesis 32.2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angells of God in that place met Iacob in manner of an other Hoalt or companie, to joyne with his for his defence: as also Luke 2.13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoalt of heauen, which appeared to the sheep-heards, at the time of our Sauiours birth; and so unto the Godly King Ofwald of Northumberland, when he was soone after to joyne battaile with the Pagan Penda of middle-England, Bedareports that the like comfort appeared : whence the field where the battaile was fought in the North parts 10 of England, is called Heaven-field. In this Citic of Machanaym David abode during the rebellion of Absalom: and the same for the strength thereof Abner chose for the seate of Isboseth, during the warre betweene Dania and the house of Sand.

Of the fourth Towne which was Ramoth in Gilehad, we reade often in the Scri-

pture, for the recouring of which King Achab lost his life. Innius thinkes that Ra-

matha-Mitshe, of which Issua 12.26. was this Ramoth in Gilehad. Concerning the place where Laban and Iacob sware one to the other, as it was called Gilehad, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of stones which Laban and his fonnes left for a monument; fo also that it was called Mitspate, which fignificth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witnessee their co-20 uenant) it is plaine by the place Gen. 31. 49. that in these parts there was not only a Towne, but likewise a Region called Mitspa, it appeares tos. 11.3. where wee reade of the Chimaites under Hermon, in the Countrie of Mitspa the Towns of Mitspa, as . Of other it seemes both by this place and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill townes of this Countrie, but in the valley. But seeing that tephta the Judge of Israel, who after he name, see in the Tribe of came home from Tob (whither his bretheren had driven him) dwelt in this Towne Bailamin.

of Mitspa, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of Manasse, and thence at first expelled Ind. 11, 36. by his bretheren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of Mitharather in Gad, then in Manasse. By Indas Macchabeus this Towne of Mitha (whether in Gad or in Manasse) was vtterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it 1.biase, 5.35. 20 flaine: for it was then possess of the Ammonites.

Betweene Succoth (of which we have spoken) and the River labor was that Peniel or Pennel, which name fignificen Locum faciei Dei; A place where the face of God was Gend, 31, 30. feene : fo called for memorie of the Angells appearing to Iacob, and wreftling with him there: the churlishnesse of which Citic, in refusing to relieue Gedeon, was the Indo. 3, 17. cause that in his returne he ouer-threw their Tower, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, they adde Rogelim, the Citie of that great and faithfull subject Barzillai, as it seemes, not surrefrom Mahanaima, where he su-2.5am. 19.33. flained King Dauid, during Absaloms rebellion. To these they adde the Townes of Gaddi, Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi being in Hebrew no more then Gaddita, is .

40 ignorantly made a name of a place. Arnon also no where appeares to bee the name ofa Towne, but fill ofa River. Aimis Adrichomius frames of ir Anduoic, I. Mace. 5. 26. fo that the name should rather be Alema, but Junius out of Tofephus reades Malls, for this in Alimis: and vnderstanding Malleto be put for Mullo, and to be as much for this in Alimis: as Munitio (as wee have flewed touching the Atillo of the Sichemites) hee takes this 10 at 1.14.
Malle to be Mitfin Mashitarum, of which 1. Sam. 2.2.3. As for that Mageth which 1. The teres D drichamius findes in this Tribe of Gad, it is that Mahacath, which Mofes noteth to bee & R in the Heas farre as the furthest of Manasses, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also Dathema, like so that one of which 1. Mace. 5.10. (which Junius takes to be a Rithma, of which Num. 33.18.a is of millaken place of firength in the Territorie of the Ammonites) and in like manner Minnith, and fortime with 50 Abel vinearum, though by somethey be attributed to the Gadites or to their borders, our missing

yetthey are found farther off. For of the two last we reade in lephta's pursuit of the an other as for Ammonites: feated as it feemes by that place of the booke of Indges, the former of Rodanin, Lebr. Ammonites: leated as it teemes by that place of the booker, both faire remoule 7. we have Dotter in the South border, and the other in the Eaft border, both faire remoule 7. we have Dotter in the South border, and the other in the Eaft border, both faire remoule 7. we have Dotter in the South border, and the other in the Eaft border, both faire remoule 7. we have Dotter in the South border. from the Gadites. But the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites was nearer, and not farre 10.4.

from the borders of Gad. It is called in the Scriptures sometime Rabbath as Deut. 3.

\*Other names 11. but more often Rabba. It is supposed to be that \* Philadelphia which Ptolomie

of this Cittle findes in Cwlefyria. Hierome and Calliflus in Arabia. It was conquered by Og from the according to

Stephanus were

Ammonites: but as it feemes neuer possess by the Israelites, after the ouerthrow of

Steposons were Assurance & A- Og, but lefe to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall scate of farte. but in the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zumzummims: which is as this later per-hans her m.f. much to fay, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same

tooke, which were also called Rapham, of whom was Og, which recovered much of that which

full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld Balsamum, and many other Hier. 8, & in it. medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of Nimrah, and Dibon, and the River labor: Others doe also fancie an other River, which riling out of the Rocks of Arnon, falleth into Iordan,

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from OG the King of Balan.

His Tribe of Gad, possess that Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of Arabia Petreacalled Nabathea, as well within as without the mountaines of Gilead: though at this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in the possession of Sehon and Og Ammorites: and therefore Moses did not expell the Ammonites, but

the Amorites, who had thrust the iffues of Lot ouer the mountaines Trachones or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel the first Judge of Ifrael, the Ammonites joyned with the Moabites against the Hebrewes, and so continued long. Iephia Judge 144.10, of Ifrael had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of Ammon, but his name is omitted. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the Ammonites, called Nahas: who be- i.Sam.ti. fleging Jabes Gilead, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right cies. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame vpon Ifrael) because those Gileadites vsing to carrie a Target on their left armes, which could not but fladow their left eies, should by looting their right; be vtterly disabled to defend themselues : but Saul came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This Nahas, as it may feeme, became the confederate of David, having friended him in Saules time, though Infephus thinkes that this Na- 10fep.18. Ast. 6. bas was flaine in the battaile, when Saul raifed the fiege of Labes, who affirmeth that 5 60.

20 there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name. Hanon succeeded Nahas: to whom when David sent to congratulate his establish- men of Tholes ment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, he most Thub is a small Territoric ya netting and to committee the state of the st from the Aramites Subject to Adadezer, and from the Reguli of Reliab, and Mascal, ther betweene and from Istob, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were ouer-tur- in the North and from Jhob, yet all thole Arabians, together with the Ammonies, were ouer-tur- in the control of caned : their chiefe Citie of Rabba, after Philadelphia, was taken, the Crowne which bound of canada, years, and the control of the waighed a talent of gold was fet on Dauids head, all fuch as were prisoners Dauid ex- 22.06 which fee equuted with strange seueritie, for with sawes and harrowes, he tare them in peeces, in the tribe of 40 and cast the rest into lime-kills.

Iolaphat gouerning Iuda; they affifted the Moshites their neighbours against him, 2. Chron. 20. and perished together. Offus made them Tributaries, and they were againe by 10-2, chros. 36, tham inforst to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundreth talents 2.chron.26, of filuer, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley : which the 1, chron. v. 17; Ammonites continued two yeares.

The fift King of the Ammonites of whose name we reade was Baalis, the confederate of Zedechia: after whose taking by Nabuchodonosor, Baalis sent Ismael of the bloud of the Kings of Inda, to flay Gedaliah, who ferued Nabuchedonofor.

might from to the Animonites had got from his ancestors : who having beene first beaten by the Bareth, one of Affyrians, and their affishants (as the Emims in Moab, and the Horims in Seir had 10 pattern, one on <u>Apprison</u>, and their attitudes (as the Emisson in Instance) and the chiefe  $G_2$  of bence) were afterward the caller conquered by the <u>Assumption</u>, sath Emisson were which in that by Mada, and the Horizon by the Idam.cam. Yet did the races of Emisreus, of whom which remait these Gyants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheneth to be from the Gyand as Schon of Hesbon had dispossest Mondy, so had og of Bafan the Ammothe of Managara inter, and between them recovered the beff part of all the Valley, between the first was also Mountaines and Iordan. Forthis 0g was also mafter of Rabba or Philadelphia: And allel with a second of the Company of the caused NYBS a-quive, because in the possession of the one or the other of these two, Moses and Israel found all of the riter Is-those Cities and Countries, which were given to Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe bos winding of Manasse. So that though it were 450, yeares fince that these Zamzummins or about 11, but in the place 2.5 am Raphains were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but ha- 20 2.5. whence up the capened, yet they did not longer their ancient inheritance; but have athers this uping the cathers this uping the cathers this uping the cathers this uping the cathers the uping the uping ne games turs Og and Sehon, both Ammorites, they recovered againe much of their loft possessions, the readsent Og and thrust the sonnes of Lot over the mountaines, and into the Desarts. And as the readsent Og and Og are Og and Og and Og are Og and Og are Og and Og are Og and Og and Og and Og are Og and Oand the tree formers of Loronar the mountaines, and into the Dejarts. And as the if we mult read Kings or Captaines of Perfuant Affria (remembred in the 14 of Genefis) made with others ce- way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom, To by that great conquest which Moses had ouer pi wotin aquat those two Amerites, Og and Sehon, did the Moabites and Ammonites, take opporturam, yet usan not be taken of nitie to looke back againe into those plaines; and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Rabbe it felles Manafites forfooke the worthip of the liuing God, and became flouthfull and licenbut of tome Fortadioining tious, they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possessing ons : and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased 20 or displeased God: and according to the wisedome and vertue of their Comman-

Dent.3"

In this Citie of Rabba, was the yron bed of og found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in Danids time, and the inhabitants flaine with great feueritie, and by diners torments. At the first assault thereof Vrias was that to death, having beene by direction from David appointed to bee imploied in the leading of an affault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein Danid so displeased God, as his assaires had ill fucceffe afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had David the waightie and rich crowne of gold, which the Kings of Ammon ware: or which as some expound 40 it, was yeed to be fet on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60 pound Will, Tys. Bell. Waight after the common talent. In the time of Christians it had a Metropolitan Bi-Sacragagas. Thop, and under him twelne others.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of Manasse, with a part of Reuben, are those which Ptolomie calleth the hills of Hippus, a Citic of Calefria: and Strabo \*Trachones: the same which continue from near Damaseus vnto the Defarts of Moab: and receive divers names as commonly mountaines do, which is locur affect of neighbour and bound divers Countries: For from the South part, as farre North-Jatebrojus: whence it ap- wards as Afteroth the chiefe Citic of Og, they are called Galaad or Gilead, from thence Northward they are know to by the name of Hermon, for so Moses calleth them: 50 in these parts The Sidenians name them Shirion, but the Amorites Shenir, others Seir : of which was properly name all those Hills also were called which part Indea and Idimea: and lastly they the bill courty. are called Libanus , for fo the Propher Hieremie makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of Galaad, the head of Libanus. These mountaines are very fruitfull, and

# CHAP. 10. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

ð. VII. of the other halfe of MANASSE.

\* An other ter ning to Manaf: F

Chapter.

0.4.1.2. d I.Macc.s. c lojeph.12. 1 1.Chran.10.

He rest of the Land of Gilead, and of the Kingdome of Og in Basan with the Land of Hus, and Argob, or Trachonitis (wherein also were part of the small Territories of \* Batanea, Gaulonitis, Gessur, Machati, and Auranitis) was given to the halfe Tribe of Manasse over tordan, of fe whose limits were consound which those three later Prouinces defended themselues against them,

ded with some for many ages. But Batanea Ptolomie setteth farther off, and to the North-east, as a 10 of their was skirt of Arabia the Defart : and all their other Provinces before named with Peraa, that Ingeries, and Iturea, he nameth but as part of Calefyria; as farre South as Rabba or Philadel-Eliss, as it is the phia: likewife all the reft which belonged to Gad, and Renben, fauing the Land neare 1. Lugs: 1.1. 8 1 the Dead Sea, he makes a part of Arabia Petras: for many of these small Kingdomes 2. it lay on the take not much more ground then the Countie of Kent.

catto the tribe of Neph, on the Bafan, or after the Septuagint Bafanitis, stretcheth it selfe from the River of Iaboc right had of it, to the a Machati and Geffiri: and from the Mountaines to Iordan, a Region exceeas in Tob. 1.2 and was possible ding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all forts of Cattle. It had also the and was ponen by Colonies of goodlieft woods of all that part of the world : especially of Oakes, which beare mast the if sallies in (of which the Prophet Zacharias, Howle O yee Oakes of Balhan) and by reason hereof 20 the time of Stall after his victor they bred fo many Swine, as b 2000. in one Heard were carried head-long into the rie ouer the A- Sea, by the vncleane spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the Gaderens. It had male first & H- in it three score Cities walled and defenced: all which after og and his sonnes were macuus in thore parts, as it is flaine, Iair descended of Manasse conquered, and called the Countricaster his owne gatheredout of name, Auoth Jair, or the Cities of Jair.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the reft) are thefe: Pella appears that it fometimes & Butis , otherwise Berenice ; by Selencus King of Syria it is faid to have was part of the beene called Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon: in which both Philip the chap. 7.0.4. Father, and his Sonne Alexander the Great were borne. It was taken and in part demolifhed by Alexander January King of the Jewes: because it refused to obay the 30 1.5. C.O. a So they call Ierres lawes; but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the Gouernment of Sythem of Ataba. ria. It is now but a Village, faith Wiger. Carnaim by the River of Iaboe, taken by then of nation 1944. If I now put a Vining and 1947 Carmine of their I dolls : rogether with Mades and Indian Matchalous : where he fet on fire the Temple of their I dolls : rogether with Mades and I had a Matchalous : where he fet on fire the Temple of their I dolls : rogether with Mades and I had a Matchalous : where he fet on fire the Temple of their I dolls : rogether with Mades and I had a made in they place the Caffle of spoken toward an enormal med thereinto for sanctuarie; and neare it they place the Callle of the che and of the Carnion, of which 2. Mac. 12.22. Then the strong Citic of f Ephron neare Iordan: fife Paragraph of which refusing to yeeld passage to 8 Indas Macchabeus, was forced by him by assault, this Chapter, and taken, and burnt with great flaughter.

labes Gilead, or labefus, was an other of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which be-3.14 & 16/1.15 ing bestieged by Nahas h King of the Ammonites, was deliuered by Saul, as is i elfebrated as 1.13. where mentioned. In memorie whereof these Citizens k reconcred, imbalmed, and 40. it focus it was buried the bodies of Saul and his Sonnes; which hung despightfully ouer the walls called Teshel, of Bethlan or Seythopolis. I Gaddara or Gadara is next to be named, feated by Plinie on the boundes of a Hill neare the River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius feemes to thinke to be Iathe plaines of boc. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot bathes, as at Macharus. Alexander Janneus after ten Moneths fiege wan it, and fubuerted it. Pompey restored it : and Gabinius m made it one of the five Courts of Justice in Palastine. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath or Amathus the third, Hierico, and Sephora in Galilee the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyrannie of Hef 1.Macc.s. rade furnamed Afcalonita, accused him to Julius Cafar of many crimes : but perceig 2-Mac, 13-27 using that they could not preuaile, and that Herode was highly fauoured of Cafar, fea- 50 n 1. am. 11. i 10 ftp. 6. am. 5, ring the terrible n reuenge of Herod, they flew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselues.

To the East of Gadara they place Seber o in which Infephus ant. 5.13. faith, Iephtha n Face, 15. Autiq. 13. o Of Mitiga in Gilthad the Citic of Lephiha, fee in the Tribe of Gad.

was buried : whence others reading with the Vulgar, Ind. 12.7. Sepultus est in Cinitate sua Gilehad, (for in una Ciuitatum Gilehad) imagine Gilehad to be the name of a Citie, and to be the same with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1. Macc. 5.26. where it readeth Casphor for Cheshon; the same Adrichomius imagineth it to be ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Ciustas, so of one Citie Hesbon or Chesbon, which they call Effebon, the chiefe Citie of Sehon, in the Tribe of Reuben, hee imagineth two more: this Calphor in Manasses, and a Citie in Gad which he calleth Cashon, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of Gamala ( so called , because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which to sephus 10 placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis ouer against Tarichea, which is

on the West side of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, see this Iosephia in his fourth booke capito 10 of the Iewish warre: where he describes the place by nature to be almost inuincible: and in the storic of the siege, shewes how Velpasian with much danger of his owner person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents : and how at length after the comming of Titus, when it was taken, many leaping downe the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the Romanes : so that none escaped, faue only two women that hid themfelues.

About foure miles West from Gadara, and as much East from Tiberias (which is on the other fide of the Lake) Tofephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomie in vita fue. gives the name to the hills that compaffe the plaines in which it standeth : so that it may seeme to have beene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrie: on the East of the Lake, as also Plinie noteth lib. 5.cap. 15. It was restored by Pompey : after by Augustus added to Herods Tetrarchie: It was wasted by the Lewes, in the 1.60, Bell. Tid. beginning of their rebellion: when by many maffacres of their Nation, they were 12.6.19. inraged against their borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein og Of an other E-King of Bafan chiefly abode, when Mofes and Ifrael inuaded him: and neare vnto drihi in Nephr. this his Regall Citie, it was that he loft the battaile and his life. It flood in S. Hieromes Deal 2.1.619 time: and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from these Townes near 10r-11em 1613,314 dan, in this valley stood Gerassa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesites, descended of the fift some of Canaan. Of these Gergesites we reade Mat. 8.28. that Christ comming Matt. 8.3 from the other fide of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts : where casting the Diuels out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogs: in which storie for Gergesites or Gergesins, S. Luke and S. Marke have Gadarens : not as if March; these were all one (for Gergessa or Gerassa is a distinct Towne in these parts from Ga- Luc.86 dera) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this storie. This Citie received many changes and calamities; of which solephus hath often mention. For belides other aduentures, it was taken by 40 L. Annius Lieutenant to Vefpafian and 1000.0f the ablest young men put to the fword. and the Citie burnt. In the yeare 1120. it was rebuilt by Baldwine King of Damafeus : and in the same yeare recouered by Baldwine de Burgo King of Hierusalem : and by him vtterly razed. Neare vnto Gerafa is the Village of Magedan, or after the Syriake Magedu, or after the Greeke Magdala, where the Pharifees and Sadduces defired Mathie. of our Sauiour a figne from heauen; the fame place or some adioyning to it, which S. Marke calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumftances of which storic it appeares that Mare. 8, S. Martin Call the Control of Decapola, Brochard Forthing and the Control of Decapola, Brochard Forthing: this coal that between the Lake of Therina and findes it to be Phiale, the Fountaine of Tordan Forthing makes both these places to be one; and findes it to be Phiale, the Fountaine of Tordan Forthing in Applic. according to Islephus: but this Phiale is too farre from the Sea of Galilee, and from c.7.4.4 1.3. 50 Bethlaida, to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For as it appears by the storie, not farr hence towards the North was the Defart of Bethfaida, where Christ filled 5000. Mati.is. people with the fine Barley loanes and two Fishes.

On the North of this Bethfatda they place Iulias, not that which was built by He- Luc. 11, 100, 6, red, but the other by Philip, which boundeth the Region Trachonitis towards the

Gen,14.5.

Because

Lucere : as it

reading cornu-

1.Cant.5.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was Asteroth: somtime peopled with the Giants Raphaim; and therefore the Countrie adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was Og. King of Basan. In Genelis this Citie is called Afteroth of Carnaim, whence 1. Mac. 7.26. it is called fimply Carnaim, as Iof. 13.21. it is called 10 Altereth without the addition of Carnaim. The word Carnaim fignificant a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll Afforeth, which was the I-See chap. 7 mage of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that Astaroth in Deut. Signifieth sheep. Others from the ambiguitie of the Hebrew take Karnaim, to have beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie; and expound it heroes \*radiantes. For of old Home when it the Raphai which inhabited this Citie (Gen. 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares is politised that noth; by comparing the words Deut. 3.11. Og ex refiduo gigantum, with the words lof. 12. is that the verb 12. Of ex reliquiis Raphagorum : but if the Karnaim (or Karnaiim) were these Raphan of this Nowac the word would not have beene in the duall number : neither would Mojes in the place of Genefis haue faid the Raphas in Afteroth of the Karnaim, but either the Raphas 20 in Afteroth of the Raphai, or some other way fittest for perspicultie: for this haming effe : whereup of both thus in the fame clause, distinguisheth one from the other!

Not farre from Asteroth Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbaching placeth Cedar, in the way out of Syria into Galilee, foure miles from Corazin. This Citic (faith or incident fa- he) is remembred in the Canticles, and in the booke of Indith, and there are that of ciem, gaue oc- this Citie understand David in his 120. Plalme and here the Sepulcher of Iob is yet

fabulous pain. to be feene, faith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is fo that the Greeke hath Geland in ters to paint fleed of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth vie in that place of Judith, and joyneth Carmel and Galilee. The Cantieles and the 120. Pfalme doc rather prove that 30 Cedar was not here about than any way helpe Adrichomius. For that they freake of Scenita Cedareni, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the Canticles that they were decolores, much more than any vinder the Climates of the land of Canaan whence Junius out of Lampridius and Plinie placeth them in Arabia Petraa, faire from these parts. Touching the Sepulcher of Ich it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens Run, Irran, Ole. (holding those places) faine many thinges to abuse the Christians, and to get moaft. in Gon. Bell. ney. Further, it may well be affirmed that many (if not all) the historicall circumin com. lib.i. de transces of Job are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke (up.Ep. ad Rom. to get fome knowledge of him, than by any prefumptions founded upon him, in-Aug.de cimi. Dei ferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Of Job himselfe whether he were the same Jobab remembred in the 36, of Geneentia tob. Greg. Is, descended from Elan, and King also of Idumaa, though Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleaster, For wand and Bellacmine are of an other opinion, yet S. Ambrofe, Anguline, Chryfollome, and are often chan. Gregorie, with Athanasius, Hyppolitus, Iraneus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustaged one into chius & other, cited by S. Hierom in his 126. Epift to Eugerius, take him for the fame, the other

The Land of Huts or Hus wherein Iob dwelt is from the Greeke Ove, which the vied Auditinior Septuagint vie for the word Huts, translated by the Pulgar fometime Hus, as Job. I. v. I fomtime Aulitis as Hierome 25,20. This Land is placed by Junius between Palellina There and on and Calefyria, belides Chamatha (or Hamath) under Palmyrene in the Countriécalthers it is called by Ptolomie Trachonitis or Bathanea, the bounds of which Countries are confounled Aufanitis, & ded with Bafan in this halfe Tribe of Manasses. And that this Land of Hus was thus they readeit in feated it may in part bee gathered out of the place of Ieremie the 25, 20, where hee the separagint reckons the Hulhites among the promiseuous borderers of the Ifraelites, whom hee therefore calleth promifeuous or miscellaneam turbam, because their bounds were

not only loyned but confounded, and their Seigniories mingled one with the other, but of this place the wordes of Hieremie, Lamentations 4.21. speaking of the same prophelie, of which he speaketh in the fine and twentieth Chapter, must needes be expounded: as Iunius reades them distinguishing the Land of Hiss from Edom: O fina Edomi, o qua habitas in terra Hutzi; O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleft in the Land of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth Filia Edom que habitus interra Hus: Daughter of Edom which dwelleft in the Land of Hus: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that lob was an Edomite, as we have said,

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and King of Edom, which if they understand by it Idumes or Edom, so called in Moto les time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of Hus to be in Edumea. For it Douts, 5, is very probable that E/au when he first parted from Iacob did not seate himselse in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the South border of Iudes, but inhabited Seir farre to the East of Iordan, and held a part of those Mountaines otherwise called Galaad, and Hermon, which by corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir for Seir, and from this his habitation did Efau incounter Iscob when he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed by the very border of Esau his abiding. It is true that at fuch time as Moles wandred in the Desarts, that the posteritie of Elan inhabited Seir to the South of Iudes: for it is like that the Ammorites who had beaten both Ammonand Moab, did also drive the Edomites out of those parts, who thence-forward 20 scated themselues to the South of Iudea, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretched

their habitations ouer the Defarts as farre as Hor where Aram died.

Now for this Hus which gaue the name to a part of the Land of Trackenilis, whother it were Hus the sonne of Aram, as Junius thinkes in his note vpon Gen. 10.23. Or rather Hus the sonne of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was Hus the sonne of Nachor : partly because these Families of Aram seeme long before to have beene lost and partly because in 10b 6.22.2. Elibu the fourth of 10bs friends, which seemes to be of 10bs owne Countrie, is called a Buzite, of Buz, the brother of Hue, the sonne of Nachor: as also Whence the Hieremie 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) Settuspin call

30 where Hus is spoken of, there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conic-Eture that in the place of 10b 32. Elihu the Buzite is faid to be of the Familie of Ram: (which Iunius expounds to be as much as of the Familie of Aram) for that by this Aram we are not to understand Aram the sonne of Sem, Junius himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he faith that one of Jobs friends (which must needes be this Elibu) was of the posteritie of Nachor (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressy) and in as much as he readethnot è familià Aram, or Ram, but è familia Syra; like as elsewhere Laban who fprung of Nachor is called a Syrian.

As for the other three of lobs friends (of whom by this note of Elibu his being of 40 the Syrian Familie, or of the familie of Nachor) it is implied that they were of other See Sidus See kindreds; as also by the Septuagints addition, that this Elihu was of the Land of Hus, neufic, or Austris, it is implied that they thought only Elibu to have beene of lobs owne

Francifcus Brochard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from Acon Eastward, findeth Suetha, and Theman on the East of the Sea of Galilee : both very neare to the Land of Hus: whereof the one may feeme to have denominated Bildad the Shuchit; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: two of the three friends of lob, of the which lob 2.11. But lunius thinks that the Shuchits were inhabitants of Arabia the Defart, descended of Shuach the sonne of Abraham and Ketura: of whom 50 Gen. 52.2. perhaps, faith he, the fame whom Plinie calls Saecai. So also he thinketh the Themanites of whom Eliphaz was, to have beene of Arabia the Defart : and Eliphaz himselfe to have beene of the posteritic of Theman the sonne of Eliphaz, which was the sonne of Esau. And so also Nahamah whence Tophar the third of Jobs friends (which in this place of 10b c.2.v. 1 1. are mentioned) is by the fame learned expositor

whence they

14621.27.

1.Ch ren.3.2.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Afraelites that dwelt on the East of Fordan.

Of the citie of Damascus and the diners fortunes thereof.

Amasevs of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beautie, antiquitie, and riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnes, and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture. but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes faith Iosephus thinke it to have bene built by isseph. 1.10. Hus the sonne of Aram: of which opinion S. Hierome vpon Efai feemeth to be; though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by Damafeus, the sonne of Eliezer Abrahams Steward, athing very Genting

vnliklie, seeing the citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by Abrahams calling this his Steward Eliezer of Damasco. Danid was the first that subjected it to the Kingdome of Inda, after the ouerthrow of Adadezer their King, but in Salomons time, Rezon recourred it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but David having overthrowne Hadadezer king of Sophena, (otherwise Syria Soba or Zobah) Razon or Rezon with the remainder of that broken armie, in-20 uaded Damascena, and possest Damascens it selfe, and became an enemie to Salomon all 1. Recitives.

The next King of Damaseus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Agypt from 1-Reg. st. Dauid, and Ioab, when they flew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Taphnes the King of AEgypts wives lifter : of whom Taphnes in Egypt was fo called. This Adad returning againe became an enemie to Salomon, all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence-out. In the line of Adad that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Assyrians & then the Gregians fucceeded. This citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riners 40 of Abanah, and Parphar: wherofone of them prophane writers call Chryforrhous the golden river. Junius takes it for Adonis. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ftrong Castle built as it seemes by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the lillies Harold. 6, Bell. being found cut in many marbles in that Cit'adell. Against this Citie the Prophets Amos, Efai, Hiereny and Zacharias, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demo- 1.3.8.10.8.17. lished, and made a heape offtones. In the time of the last Rezon and tenth King of 49.89. the Damafeens, Teglatphalaffar innited by Achaz king of Iuda carried away 1 ie na- 2 Reg 16. turals of Damafeus into the East: leaving of his owne nation to inhabit it. After that it was veterly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Hierome vpon Efai: which thing 50 was performed by Salmanafar according to Iunius, in his note vpon that place, fine vecres after the prophecie. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Piniemies; but long after when Syria fell into the hands of the Romanes, it was taken tofebanis,

rome living, as he affirmeth upon the Attes, it was the Metropolis of the Saracens:

by Mesellus and Lollius. In the time of the Christians it had an Arebbishoppe : S. Hie-

thought either to be named of *Thinmab* by transposition of letters (which *Thinmah Gen.* 36.40. is named among the sonnes of E/au that gaue denomination to the places where they were feated) or elfe to be the same Nahamah, which 10/. 15. 41. is reckoned for a Citic of Inda in the border, as he thinkes, of Edom. And yet I denie not but that neare to the Land of Hus, in Basan, as it seemes, in the Tribe of Manasses, there is a Region which at least in latter times was called Suitis, or of some DEBELL Sact. I like name. For this is cuident by the Historic of Willielmus Tyrius, which reports of 22.615.021. a Fort in this Region of Suits or Suites (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and vse for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which in the time of Baldwine the second King of Hierufalem was with great digging through rocks recoursed 10 by the Christians: having not long before been lost to the great disaduantage of the Countrie, while it was in the handes of the Saracens. The fituation of this Fort is by Tyrius described to be fixteene miles from the Citie Tiberias, on the East of Iordan: by Adrichomius foure miles North-ward from the place where Iordan enters the Lake Tiberias at Corazin.

Other Cities of this part of Manafles named in the Scripture are these: Golan, Be. besithera, Mitsha of Gilead, and Kenath, which after the comming of the Israelites was called Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitsha of Gilehad, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of Gad: The two other were given to the Leuites, and Golan made one of the Cities of refuge : from which Golan wee haue both Gaulanitis Supe- 20 rior & inferior, oft in Infephus. Behefhthera is accounted the chiefe Citie of Balan by fome, but the writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confounded with Betler or Bozza of Reuben, and with Bozza of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierome hath Arga, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of Merom (as they are called by Iofua) which make the Lake Samachonitis, as sosephus calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midft betweene Casaria Philippi and Tiberias, through which as through the Lake of Tiberias, Iordan runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of Libanus melteth it is very large, faith Brochard: otherwise more contract, leaning the marish ground on both fides, for Lyons and other wild beafts, which harbour in the shrubs that plen- 30

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrie of Manasses, Iosephus names two places of strength fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the Ierres rebellion: Seleucia the one, and Sogane the other. In the North fide of this halfe Tribe of Manaffe, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward Damafeus, as Tfedad, Chauran, and Chatfar-Henan, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade Ezek. 47. 15. with which also agrees the place Numb. 24. 8. where for Chauran, betweene T sedad, and Chatsar-Henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauran is the name of Auranitis regio, in Iosephus and Tyrius, whose bounds

(as also the bounds of Gessur and Mahachashor Macati, which were likewise borderers to Manaffes toward the North-east) are vnknowne: only that Geffur was of might, it appeares in that David married Mahaca the Daughter of Tholmay King of

Geffur : by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnfortunate Absalon.

C A P. 50

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Onaphrius in 17.6.1.23.4.5.

being taken by Haomar their King from the Romanes, in the yere of our redemption 636. And in the yeere 1147. Comad the third, Emperour of Rome, Lewes King of Fraumce, Baldwine the third King of Hierusalem, Henry Duke of Austria, brother to Wiri c.46, Wil. Conrad, Frederick Barbaroffa afterward Emperour, Theodorick Earle of Flaunders, and Tyr. Bell. Sac.l. Other Princes affembled at Ptolomais Ason, on the fea coaft, determined to recouer Damaseus: but being betrayed by the Syrians they failed of the enterprize.

In the yeere 1262. Halon the Tartar incompass it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the wals, and threatned extreame torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, Agab the fonne of Halon was by his fa- 10 ther made King thereof.

Herold, Bell. Sac.4.6,14. Herold J. 6.c.4.

In the yeere 1400. Tamberlaine Emperour of the Parthians, inuaded that region. and befieged the citie with an armie of 1200000. (if the number be not miltaken) He entred it and put all to the fword, filling the ditch withhis prisoners, those that retired into the Castle which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning : he forbare the demolithing of the citie in respect of the beautie of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000 lanternes of gold & filuer: but while he inuaded £gypt they againe furprized Damaseus. Lastly in his returne after three monethes siege he forst it: the Mahometans prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercie: But Tamber- 29 laine commaunding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000 and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwardes to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophey of his victory heraised three towers with great Arte, builded with the heads of those whom hee had flaughtered. After this it was restored and reposses by the Soldane of Agypt, with agarrison of Mammalukes: And in the yeere 1517. Selimus Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Agyptians: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Ashometans, and Christians, of all neighbouring nations.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power:

Ow bee it that Damaseus were founded by Hus the sonne of Aram, or by Damascus the sonne of Eliezer Ahrahams steward, we finde no reation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till Dauids time. For it flood without the boundes of Canaan: and therefore neglected by Mofes, Iofua, and the Iudges, as impertinent to that Storie : But were it fo that it had some reguli, or pettie Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those partes had,

Plad.6.c.23.

Plinie calleth Nubet, inhabiting betweene Batanes and Euphrates. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damaseus made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the Northeast parts of the holy land there were three chiefe principalities whereof the Kings or Commaunders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Commonwealth of Ifrael, namely Damafeus or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath-Zoba, of which these were the Princes in Dauids and Salomons times: Razon or Rezon of Damascus, Adadezer of Syria Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the cities subject to Adadezer when Danid inuaded him, though when 50 Saul made warre against Zoba, Damaseus was not named. And as Iosephus affirmeth the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to Hadad-Hezer from Damasicus, had the name of Adad: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of Adadezer, Rezen, the Commander of

yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till fuch time as 40

David Ouerthrew Adadezer prince of Sophena or Syria Zoba: the same Nation which

1.Sam.14.47. 3082. a.Sam.S.

his armie, taking aduantage, made himfelfe King of Damafeus: Adadezer and Adad of Damafeus being both flaine. About the fame time Tohu King of Chamath or Iturag. 1. Erg. 11. hearing thathis neighbour and enemie Adadezer was vtterly overthrowne, fendeth for peace to David, and prefenteth him with rich gifts, but in dolo faith S. Hierome; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the holy Land, and to the West of Damafeus . the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited : but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Indeans and Ifraelites. But to returne to the kings of Spria, I meane of Syria as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing Damafeena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath or Iturea, to which I may adde Gefbur, because it is so accounted in the 10 2. of Sam. 15. as iowning in the territorie to Damafeus (for Syria at large is farre grea-

ter, of which Palelima it felfe is but a Prouince, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times nor of our latter writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba, and Damascus.

Some account Rezon, other Adad of Idumaa: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that David having invaded that region, and left Joab therein to defiroy all the male children thereof: Adad of the kings feed, fled into Egypt: and was there married to Taphnes the Queenes lifter as before, who hearing of Daniels death, and of the death of his Captaine loab (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) hee returned againe, and as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expell Rezon out of Da-

20 ma/cus: and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as 2. Sam. 8.2. I take it, Adadezer the fonne of Rehob, whom Saulinuaded was the founder of that and 12. principalitie: and the first of Adads, who forfaking his fathers name, as hee grewe powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of Adad, the great God of the Affyrians, faith Macrobius, which lignified oneneffe or Vnitie. I also finde a citie called Adada in the fame part of Spria: of which whether these Princes tooke the name or saucit. I am ignorant. For Adad-ezer, Ben-adad, Eli-adad were the fame in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adjoyned. And that Adadezer was of greatest power. it appeareth first because it is against him, that David vndertooke the warre: secondly because he leuied 22000. Aramites out of the territoric of Damaseus: as out of his

30 proper Dominions: for had the Damaseens had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given vs his name, thirdly because Syria Zoba, of the most of which Adadezer was king, was an exceeding large territorie, and contained of Arabia the Defart as farre as to Euphrates, according to Plinie: and the greatest part of Arabia Petras according to Niger. Who foeuer was the first, whether Adadezer, or Adad of I- 1.Res. t. dumea, Rezon was the second: Who was an enemie to I frael all the dayes of SALOMON. Befids the cuil that Adad did, the cuil that Hadad did, seemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumaa, lately returned out of Egypt to wit, 23. yeres after he was carried thither.

The third king of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion, to Hezion succeded Tabremmon, or Tairemmon, to him Benhadad, as is proued in the first of Kings. 1. King 15.15.

40 For Afaking of Juda the fonne of Abiam, the fonne of Roboam, the fonne of Salomon, being vexed and inuaded by Baafha, the fuccessour of Nadab, the some of Jeroboam, fent to Benhadad, the sonne of Tabrimmon the sonne of Hezion, king of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to inuade Ifrael (while Brashs sought to fortific Rama against A/a: thereby to blocke him vp, that he should not enter into any of the territories of ifrael) who according to the defire of Afa, having received his prefents, willingly inuaded the countrey of Nepthalim, and tooke divers cities, and spoiles thence: Afa in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which Baafba had brought to 1.Rec. 15.0, 18. fortifie Rama withall, and converted them to his owne vie.

This Benhadads father Tabremmon was in league with Afa: and fo was his father 50 Hezian; for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benhadad, his fonne: though it feemeth that the gold and filuer fent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon inuaded Ifrael, before the enterprize of his sonne Benhadad, it is coniectured. For Benhadad when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as followeth. The Cities which my father tooke from thy father, I will 1, Reg. 20, 0, 34;

extreamitie,

1. Rez 15.

reflore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because Tabremmon was father indeed to Benhadad which inuaded Basilha, at the request of Afa; But this Benhadad that twice entred vpon Achab : and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of Benbadad, the first of that name, the confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than the forme of Tabremmon. For between the invalion of Benhadad the first, in Baashas time, and the feige of Samaria, and the ouerthrow of Benhadad by Achab, there past 49. yeeres, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Israel. So that if we allow 30. yeeres of age to Benhadad, when he inuaded Baalha, and after that 40. 10 veeres, ere he was taken by Achab, which make eightic lacking one, it is vnlikely that Benhadad at luch an age would make warre. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came with no fuch pompe, but the fecond Benhadad vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings : and therefore I refolue that Benhadad the fonne of Tabremmon inuaded Busha and Cinri, and Benhadad the fecond inuaded Achab, at whose hands this Berhadad received two notorious overthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a sallie of 700. If raclites : the second at Aphee, where with the like number in effect, the Ifraelites flaughtered 100000. of the Aramites: besides 2 7000, which were crusht by the fall of the wall of Aplee. And this Benhadad, Achab againe setteth at libertie: to whom he rendreth those townes, that his father had taken from the predecessour of A- 23 chilo, but being returned, he refuseth to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier towne, and of great importance. Now three yeeres after (for follong the league lasted) Ramoth not being delivered, Achab invadeth Gilead, and affeigeth the citic, being affifted by 1.Ref. 22. Josaphat. The Aramiles came to succourand fight; in which Achab is wounded and dieth that night. After this, Benhadad fendeth the commaunder of his forces called Maaman, to Ioram the sonne of Achab to be healed of the leaprosie, and though Elizeus had healed him : yet he picketh quarrell against Ioram : and when Ioram by Elizeus his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforefaid. After Benhadad beliegeth Samaria againe, and being terri-2 Reg 6. fied thence from heaven, he departed home, and fickneth, and fendeth Azael with 30 2 Rec.7. great gifts to Elizeus, to know his estate, if he might line. Azael returning, smothe-3 2 3 4. reth him. Zonaras and Cedrenus call this Benhadad Adar, and the fonne of Adar: A-Amos, Air, 49. mos and Hieremie mention the towers of Benhadad. Infephus writeth that Benhadad and his fucceffour Azael were worthipped for Gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in Damaseus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquitie, ignorant faith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeeres are compleate fince their warres with the Ifraelites. Hazardor Azard the first king of the race of the Adads of Damaseus was anointed by Elifhasor Elizeus, when he was fent by Benhadad to the Prophet, to know whether

Beethadad should recour his present sicknesse: He waged warre with Ioram; who 40 received divers wounds at the incounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Iefrael, he and the King of Inda, Abaziah, or Ochozias, are flaine by Ichn, as before is faid. After the death of Ioram; Azael continued the warre against lebs, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, ouer tordan. Hee then inuaded Inda, and tooke Gath, but by gifts from Ioas hee was aucrted from attempting Hierufalem: for he presented him all the hallowed things which I E HOSAP HAT, I EHORAM, and AHAZIAH his fathers, Kings of Inda had dedicated; and which he himselfe had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord : and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoyled to please the Adads of Damaseus. For Asa did present Benhadad 50 with those treasures, when he inuited him to warre vpon Baasha King of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition betweene Ions and Aznel, yet apart of his armie spoiled the other provinces of Iudea, and slaughtered many principall \* King. 3. v. 7. persons. Lastly, Azael vexed teather the sonne of tehn, and brought him to that

CHAP. II. S.z. of the Historie of the World.

extreamitie, as he left him but fiftie horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand footemen of all his people.

### ð. III.

Of the latter Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.



Fter Hazael, Benhadad the fecond, or rather the third of that name, the fonne of Hazael, reigned in Damafeus: who fought against Ifrael, with ill successe: for 10.48 king of Ifrael, the sonne of the vnhappie 10-2.5%. achaz, ashe was foretold by Elifhathe Prophet, beat Benhadad in three 10fephante.g. feuerall battels : and he lost all those cities to Ifrael, which his father

Hazael had taken violently from Josephaz.

After this Benhadad the fonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the 1000/h.dut.lit. fame name, of whom the Stories are loft, onely Nicholaus Damascenus, cited by Iole- c.e phus, makes mention of them : and in one of these Kings times it was that Ierobosm the second, the sonne of Ions recovered Damaseus it selfe, to Iudah saith the Geneua, 2, King 14.18; but better in Iunius, vique recuperabat Damaseum, & Chamatham Ieluda prò Ifraele; that is, And how herecovered for Ifrael, Damascus and Chamatha of Iudaa; for these ci-20 ties sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the tribe of Iuda.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no Storie. For when as Jehous the king of the tenne Tribes had thrice ouercome the Syrians in the time of Renhadad the fonne of Hazael and had recovered the cities which Hazael had wonne from Ifrael and fo left his Kingdome to his fonne 1eroboam the fecond, it feemeth that this 1eroboam without delay, and having nothing elfe left for him to enterprize, inflantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded Damafeus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Iofephus Rafes, after Zonaras Raafon, the 10. Adad, maketh league with Pekah, or Phacas King of Ifrael, against sichaz King of Iuda; both carie

30 away a great number of prisoners. After this they both beliege Achaz in Hierusalem : but in vaine. Then Adadalone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Jewes, 1,King 166. maketh it a Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought Tetglaphalaffar against Ra-Es. 7. zin, who tooke him and beheaded him, and wonne Damafeus: with whom ended losephant, lib. the line of the Adads and the Kingdome of Damafeus: the Allyrians becomming ma- 9.5.12. fters both of that and Ifrael. These Adads as they reigned in order are thus reckoned.

Adadezer, the fonne of Rehob.

2 Rezin the fonne of Eliadad, or Razin.

Hezion.

Tabremmon.

Benhadad who inuaded Baasha.

Benhadad the fecond, taken prisoner by Achab.

Hazael, whom Elifha forctold, with teares, of his advancement; the fame who ouerthrew Joram King of Ifrael, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a fecond Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with low, made the expedition 20. yeeres, and perchance more, after the first Hazael which stifled his master Benhadad, and had flaine Ioram the fonne of Achab King of Ifrael. For Ioas began to reigne in the 7 yeers of Ishu King of Israel; and after he had reigned 23 yeers, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long weeknow not) it is faid that Ha-

50 zael tooke Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some proofe that Hazael which tooke Geth, was not the fame with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because her could not at that time but be of good yeeres, being as it seemeth the fecond person in the Kingdome, and Commaunder of Benhadads men of warre. To

this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded.

8 Benha-

2.Sem.8.9.

Efai.37.

8 Benhadad the third, whom Ioash King of Israel thrise overthrew.

9 Refin, or Rezin the last, who inyned with Pekah King of Ifrael, against Inda, at which time Achaz King of Inda waged for his defence Teglatphalaffar.

Now betweene Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholaus Damascenus findes three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but reguli, as those of Emath, and Geffur, we finde that Tohu was King of Emath or Chamath in Davids time, to whom he fent his fonne Ioram with prefents, after Davids victorie against Adadezer. Also Senacherib speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not,

Of other leffer Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Affrians, neuer recoursed them selues again.



F Geffur wee finde two Kings named; to wit, Talmei, and his father Ammihur. To Talmai, whole daughter Dauid married, it was that Ab-Salon fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sophena or Syria, Soba or Calefyria, there are two named, Rehob or Rochob 10 the father of Adadezer, and Adadezer himselfe, and it is plaine that

after his death the feat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damafeus, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After Rezin became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria (which became so potent, and joyned Soba, Damafeus, Emath, and the defart of Arabia with other Provinces into one, under Rezin the second of the Adads) as it began with Dauid, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of Ifrael. For Ahaz king of Juda waged the Affyrian Teglatphalasfar against Pekah King of Ifrael, and against Rezin the last King of Damaseus: which Teglath first inuaded Damascena, and the region of soba, and tooke Damascus it selfe, and did put to death Rezin the last, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the second time 20 that the Affyrians attempted Ifrael. For first, Phul Belochus entred the borders thereof (Menahem gouerning Israel) who stopt the enterprize of Phal with a thousand talents of filuer : for this Phul Belochus, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seate at Babyion, which hee, with the helpe of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus: having besides this King of Syris in his way, who feemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Ifrael for that present time. But his sonne Teglath following the purpose of his father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Ifrael and Iuda, Pekah commaunding in the one, and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin being also wrapt in 40 that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Achaz King of Iuda, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damaseus, which lay in his path towards Ifrael, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great case posses himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim: leading with him a great part of the people captine. And his sonne Salmanassar, whom Ptolomy calleth Nabonassar, after the reuolt of Holea, forced Samaria: and rent that Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, whom Belochus supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom Teglath flaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanassar ouerturned; happened necre about a time: that of Ninus in the daies of Belochus, and the other two in the daies of Teglatphalassar, and Salmanassar his sonne. For Sardanapalus perished, Osiaruling Iuda; and the other two Kingdomes were diffolued, Achaz yet liuing.

Laftly, the Kingdome of Inda it selfe, being attempted by Senacherib, the Sonne of Salmanassar in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at

length vtterly ouerturned. Hierufalem and the Temple burnt 132 yeeres after the captiuitie of Ifrael, and Samaria: the destruction of Ifrael beng in the ninth yeere of Holea: that of Indain the eleanenth of Zedechia. Now the Emperours of Allyrinand Babylon held also the Kingdome of Syria from the eight yeere of Salmanasser, to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labynitus; in all about 200. yeeres. After these the Persians from Cyrus to Darius their last King, held Syria about 200,

Then Alexander Macedon tooke this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and his successions the Seleucide reigned therein, till it became subject vnto the 10 power of the Romanes, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering voon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doeboth in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose Historic in those antient times carried an affured face of trueth.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilval. Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobab and Gibha.



F the Tribe of Beniamin, the twelfth and youngest fonne of Iacob, whom hee had by Rachel, there were mustred at Mount Sinai 3 5000. able bodies: all which perifhing in the Defarts, there entred the holy Land of their Issues 45000, fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side Iordan, betweene Iuda and Ephraim: The Cities within this Tribe neerest Iordan, are Lod, Hadid, and One: of which Lod and One were built by Shemed a Benjamite: 1.Chro8.12. they were all three reinhabited with Beniamites, after

the returne out of captiuitie, as is mentioned, 20 che. 11.35. and Efd.2.35. where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes belides Hadid in Wehemia, a Citie called Lodhadid: This Hadid or Chadid was retuilt by Simon Mac. 12,38.

Samarimor Tsemaraim, named of Tsemary, one of the sonnes of Canaan, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land standeth lericho, one of the Toparchies; and the last of Inda: Teated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees; and therefore elsewhere called the Citie of Palmer. From the time 1006 19. of losus, who vtterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the timeof schab? in whose \*1.cbron.6.60. daies Chiel of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the loffe of Abiram his eldeft This Halmer is 50 sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne Segub: according methy whence to the curse of Iosua: in which and other respectes Hos. 12. 14. calleth Iosua a Pro. they make a new Chief Ho phet. In after-times it was destroyed by Velpalian, and rebuilt by Adrian.

To the Southeast of tericho flood \*Halmon of the Leuites, of which Iof. 21.18. To Telbe had githe South Betharaba, of which Iof.c, 15. and c. 18. Then that Gilgal of which there is to the Leuter,

\* Dest. 11.30.

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The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it seemes by the place, Deut. 11.30, that the name was knowne before the comming of the Ifraelites into Canaan) is noted Io. 5.9.0b devolutionem probri \* Issues in this Agyptiaci, because their foreskinnes (the people being there circumcised) were place, for Betumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called Collis praputiorum. This and interprets Gligal was affo called Geliath, as appeared by comparing the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front with 1. front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the places, 10, 15.7, and 18. is, front was in the bondom of training the bondom of training the bondom of training the bondom of training t 17. for it was in the borders of lordan, of which 10/.22. 13. and Gelsloth lignifieth borders. \*It flood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the 10 two hils Garizim and Hebal: vpon the one of which the bleffings, and on the other the curlings were to be read to the people; both being the mountaines of Ephraim. Further, for the fituation of this Gilgal, it is to bee noted, that both it, and Mitfla of greatest mee-Beniamin (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were leated about the midst annuall feafts of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason \* Samuel chose these two where the arke places, to either of which he came veerely to give judgement to the Ifraelites; of which two, Gilgal (as is faid) was necre Iordan on the East fide of this Tribe; and speake of feth:

Milliancere the West fea, towards the land of the Philishims,
uall, but of ia.

The philid place when

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also Samuel vsed veretings: and be- ly to come, is \* Bethel: which also was seated in this Tribe of Beniamin. But to re- 20 fids the Priefts turne to Gilgal which was the first place, where the Arkeresided, after they past ouer and vie to bring the 4rte Jordan from whence it was carried to Silo,& thence to Kiriath-ieharim, and at length to their great to Hiernfalem) here in Gilgal it was that Iofua pitched vp the twelve ftones, which were taken out of the channell of Iordan when it was drie, that the Ifraelites might paffe ouer it, by which Storie, as it is fet downe Iof. 4. it appeares, that the same day that they passed ouer Iordan, they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit ma-Sam,12,0,11.0 ny other memorable things, it was that Samuel hewed Agag the King of the Amale-6.14.v.18 ncikites in pieces. And as for Mitha, whither also Samuel came yeerely to give Iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held as that for the reuenge of the Leuites wife against Gibha, and the Beniamites, Iud. 20. 1. and another against the Phi- 30 listims 1. Sam. 7.12. Thither also Indas Macchabeus gathered the Iewes (when Hiethet: though Innius also take rusalem was possest by the Heathen) as it is 1. Macc. 3.47 in which place this reason irfor the place of their meeting is added ; Quià locus Orationi fuerat Mitspa anteà Ifraeli. Touching where the drive this Mittha, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name : Mitipa of Inda, of which Iof. 15.38.\* Mitipa of Gilead, of ther then this satisfies of Gile- David for a while held himselfe, commending his parents to the King of Moab 1. adjof which tof. Sam. 22.3, and lastly, this chiefe Mitiga of the Benjamites. And as in this place the 11.8.as appeares by must and also in the time of the Macchabees (as we have faid ) when Hierusalem was held by 40 Verfus orietens, the wicked under Antiochus, so also in the time of Hieremie, after the destruction of tot 10/10 notes the Temple by the Chaldeys, Gedaliah whom Nabuchodonofor left in Ierry as Gouernour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to nour ouer those that were set in the same, now the great hurt of the Iewes) he was flaine by the treason of Ismael, one of the royall blood of Inda, as it is Herem. 14. followed the

Neere veto this Mitspa, the \*Scripture mentioneth Beth-ear, after called Aben-He-Caustites, thosh Adriche. anogu Agrico. zer, that is, the Stone of helpe: where Samuel pitched up the pillar or Stone, for a out of this place imagine Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching Bethel which (as it feemes) was the third place where Samuel held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was aunciently called Luz, and 50 they write it) how it was taken by the iffue of Infeph (though it belonged to the portion of Benint Tibe of iamin, as it is Nehem. 11.31. and Iof. 18.22.) and how another Citie called Luz\*neere adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the fpies, as it is Indg. 1 and of the occasion of the name from Iacobs vision: and how

Jeroboam, by creeting one of his calues here, of Bethel ( which lignifieth the house of \*Borrowing God) made it \* Beth-auen, that is, the house of Vanitie Hof. 4.15. &. 10.5. as also one incishbour ther memorable things of this place, they are so wel knowne, out of the Hiltories of towie in the the Scripture, that we may well palle them ouer.

CHAP.12. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

The territorie of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the tenne Lude and Israel Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of Abia against Ieroboam (of which 2.Chr. betweene Hai 13.) was taken from them, and adiogned to the Kingdome of Inda: and so it continued, as appeares by the Storie of Ioshia: which performed the Prophecies against See 2.95 to the altar of Bethel, 2. Reg. 23. whence those coastes I. Macc. 11.34. are called Aphie-mathe 1 ynderrema, which Greeke word fignifieth as much as, A thing taken away, to wit, from the fland the place tenne Tribes. It was one of the three Seigniories or Prafectures which Demetrius in 1. Macc. 11. 34. his Epiftle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Iewes, out of the Sa- med for one maritan Country. A part of it, as appeares 2. Chron. 12.19. was Hephrauin, which lof. or the three 18.22. is called Hophram, belonging to this Tribe of Beniamin.

Not farre from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we finde three other Citles often mentioned in the Scriptures, Rama, Gibha; and Gebah. Of the name Rama, \* it is noted leves out of alreadie, in the description of Ephraim, that there were many townes so called, Samara, this because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out Rama in the Tribe of lying toward Inda (as it feemes because Mat. 2. it appeares that it bordered Bethlehem) and also the East to te-20 out of Brochard and Breidenbach make Silo to have beene called Rama, and finde yet date ward the another Rama in Zabulon; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of Rama VVest: and d. in the Tribe of Affer, as it feemes, wee haue testimonie 10,19.29 and of an other in which even Nephthalim Iof. 19.36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount Ephraim 1. Sa. norwespake) 25.1. which more often is called \*Ramatha, and 1. Sam. 1.1. Ramathaim T for him: for windt between which the Septuagint haue Aramatham-Sophim, taking the Article affixed in the be- the two other, ginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke Iofeph of Armathea Mat. 27.57 A first Rama is feenes there was denominated.

Of a fourth Rama we reade 2. Reg. 8.29. which is Ramoth in Gilchad. The first, Tribe of simewhich is most often mentioned, is Rama of Beniamin, seated as we faid, necre Bethel South, which 20 the vttermost South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause 10,19,8 is cal-Bassshain the time of Afa King of Juda, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from the South and him to Ala. Of this Rama, or Ramatha I should rather thinke lofeph was, that buried otherwise Ba-Christ: because it was neerer to Hierusalem, and after the captivitie belonged to In-halath beer. dan, as it appeares Efd. 2,26. where in that it is joyned with Gebah, it is plaine that he fruition that speaketh of that Rama with whose stones (after Baasha had ceased to build it) Asa (as is, Gouerning it is 1. Reg. 25.22.) built Gebah adioyning to it both being in Beniamin. And as Rama a genitius was the South-border of the tenne Tribes, so was Gebah the North-border of the whence the Kingdome of Iuda: whence 2. Reg. 23. 8. we creade that Iofiah through all his King. Walgar out of the Stellusping. dome, euen from Gebah, which was the North-border, to Beer-fleba which was the the septiment read loft 24.356 South-border, deftroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie Gibba which was the Citie of Sanl (the wickednesse of which near for which land thath (el-Citie in the time of the Indges had almost veterly rooted out this Tribe) Adriche- lis Phincessi (for miss confounds with Gebah, making one of two (as they are evidently diffine wished this word is Esi 10.27. of which word \*Gibha, in another forme Gibbath, he imagineth Gabaath a- pellative figure nother Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this citie also to Rama fring a Hill) of Beniamin, appears Ind. 19.13. where the Leut with his wife not able to reach to Ra-utaling noma, tooke vp his lodging at Gibha. By that place of 1. Sa. 22. Git feemes that there was tice of this, in this Gibba some tower or Citadell called Rama; where Junius reades in excelle, for in builds his Ci-Rama: but it may be that the name of the Kings place in this citie, was Rama: as it pon this Text 50 feemes that in Rama of Samuel, the name of the chiefe place where Samuel with the and placeth is Colledge of Prophets abode, was Naioth. The great Citic of Hat ouerthrowne by 10f. when as the which 10/.7.2. is placed neere Beth-auen upon the East of Bethel, was in this Tribe, as wordsadjoined

is proved Nehe. 7.10.30. though it be not named by lofuac. 18.for it was burned by Hill was in the him and laid desolate, as it is 10.8.28. In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum, Another Mountaines of

400

\* The word

much as dati

Cas ir were a Dec dati) or as

Innius ex-

CHAP.12. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

Citie of cheife note reckoned 10/.18.25. in this Tribe was Gibbon, the chiefe Citie of the Heuites: whose cunning to bind the Ifraelites by oath to saue their lines, is set downe lof a, whence they were reckoned among the \* Nethingi or Profelits: and Nethinim or Methinici, is as were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of sauing these Gibeonites broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine 2. Sam. 21.1. This Gibeon or Gibbon with Almon and Jebah (of both which wee haue (poken) and with Hanothoth the natall place of Hieremie the Prophet, were faid 10/. pounds it dedi-21.28.to be given to the Leuites by the Beniamites. Neere to this Hanothoth was Nob, as appears 1. Reg. 2.26. where Ebiathar the Priest, which was of Nob before it was destroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hansthoth : It is reckoned in the Tribe of to Beniamin, Nehem. 9.31. and though in the time of Saul the reliding place of the Arke was at Kiriath-jearim: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloodined, which Saul raised in this place (as it is set downe 1. Sam. 21. and 22. ) in the judgemen of Iu-

nius, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time. Miemas alfo in this Tribe Nehem 9.31. was a place of fame, of which Efai 10.28. where also he nameth Gallim, and Migrom in this Tribe. In Micmas Saul had his Camper, Sam. 12.2. ( when he left Gibba to Ionathan) and there also was Ionathan Macchabaus his aboad. 1. Macc. 9.73. Of Gifcala in Galilee Iofephus makes often men tion, but of any heere in Beniamin, which they make the natall place of S. Paul, whence (they fay) when it was taken by the Romans, hee failed with his parents to 20 Tharfis, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of leffe importance lomit, and come to the Citie of Hiernfalem, and the Princes and Gouernours of this Cirie . A great part whereof was in the Tribe of Beniamin, whence Iof. 18. 28.it is named among the Cities of Beniamin.

## ð. I I.

Of diners memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

\* See in the hither halfe of



T what time Hierufalem was built (which afterward became the Prin- 20 ceffe of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that Melchifedee, was the founder thereof in Abrahams time. But \*according to others, that Citic out of which Melehifedee incountred Abraham (in his returne from the ouerthow of the Affyrian and Per-

fian Kings or Captaines, when Lot was made prisoner) standeth by the river of Iordan, in the halfe Tribe of Manalle bordering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, and by the Greekes Solima.

Hierusalem (whensoeuer or by whomsoeuer built) was a principall Citie in Iosua his time : yet not fo renowned as Hazor the Metropolis (in those daies and before) of all the Cananites, Adonizedek (whom Iofua flew) was then King of Hierufalem. 40 That it was belonging to the Jebusites it is manifest: for how long socuer they held it before Molestime, they were Mafters and Lords thereof almost 400, yeeres after him : even till David wanne it : and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Iebu(ai (the children of Iebuseus the some of Canaan) built; after whom it was called Iebus. And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when David attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defendit.

David after he had by Gods affiftance poffest it and turned out the Iebusites, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings : changing the name from 50 Jebussalem, the Citic of the Jebusites, to Hierusalem, which the Geekes call Hierosolima. After Davids time Salomon amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. tofcomt. Appl. 1. For befides the worke of the Temple, which was no leffe admirable than renowned Strabo goog lase among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and wals, could not any where in the world

bee exampled : and befides that it had 150000, inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foote of depth: cut out of the very rocke; and 250 foote of breadth; whereof the like hath feldome beene heard of either

After the death of Salomon, and that the Kingdome of the Iewes was cut afunder, Shiftaa King of Agypt, and his predecessour, having bred vp for that purpose, Adad the Idum.can, and Ieroboam, Salomons servant; and both married to AEgyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: Sifhae first inuaded the Territorie 2.Kim.14. of Inda: entred Hierusalem, and fackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches 10 of Salomon, but of all those spoiles which David had gotten from Adadezer, Toling the Ammonites, and other Nations. It was againe fackt and a part of the wall throwne downe by Ioas King of Ifrael, while Amasia the twelfth King thereofgo 2 Kin. 16.

Not long after Achaz the fifteenth King of Iuda impourished the Temple. and presented Teglasphalassar with the treasures thereof. And Manasse the sonne of Ezekiah, the fonne of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah, to the Embassadours 2.Kj 6.25, of Merodach, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures It was againe spoiled by the Babylonians, Ioakim then reigning. But this ungratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perfifting in all kinde of impietic, filling the Citie even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raifed up that great Babylonian King Nabuchodonofor, as his 2. King. 19. fcourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Pa- 2.Par,18, laces therein, and the wals and towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the dust : carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavie yoake of bondage and feruitude full 70, yeeres, infomuch as Sign was not onely become as a torne and plowed vp field, Hierusalem a heape of stone, suichas time and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and bri- 25.26.29. ers, but (as Hierome speaketh) Euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beafts to tread on that defiled foile.

Then 70 veeres being expired, according to the Prophecie of Daniel, and the Tewes Hills, 10 trac by the grace of Cyrus returned: the Temple was againe built, though with inter-neb. ruption and difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without wals or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeeres, till Nehemia by the fauour of Artaxerxes rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoiled by Bagofes, sq. lim. i. or Vagofes, the Lieutenant of Artaxerxes: after by \* Prolomans the first, then by 34 orc.

Antiochus Epiphanes: and againe by Appollonius his Lieutenant. By Pompeyii was The sind of taken long after, but not destroied, not robbed, though Crassus in his Parthian expe-

dition tooke as much as he could of that which Pompey spared.

But the damages which it fustained by the violence of facrilegious Tyrants, were fembling his 40 commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntary Religion, came contribution of the people, and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captinitie, the vp to Elinia. people of the land through the exhortation of of godly Kings, made many and large to the Louisian to crifice Louisian offerings to repaire the Temple of Salomon. The wrong done by Ptolomesus Lagi to ant, t. the second Temple, was required by the bountie of his sonne Ptolomeus Philadelphus. The mischiefe wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were fent to Hieru/alem out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citic or Temple had endured, might wel feeme forgotten in the reigne of Herod that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent cyle. King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many fumptuous 50 workes did fo adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than

they had beene in the daies of Salomon.

Of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romanes.



N this florishing estate, it was at the comming of our Sauiour Christ Ie-(w: and after his death and afcention, it to continued about 40. veres. But then did Titus the Romane, being stirred vp, by God, to be the reuenger of Christ his death; and to punish the Jewes sinful ingratitude, incompasse it with the Romane armie, and became Lord thereof. Hee began the fiege at fuch time as the lewes, from all parts, were come vp to the cele-

bration of the Paffeouer: To as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thou- 10 fands of all forts; and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the civile diffention, opprest them within the walles; a forcible enemic affailed them without. The Idumaans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Iewes Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonofor tooke it. And to be short, there perified of all forts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the vimolifhed, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had beene any fuch place or habitation. Onely the three Heradian towers (workes most magnificent, and ouertopping the rest) were spared, af- 20 well for lodgings for the Romane garrifons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might indge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater

and more shining that thereouer became victorious.

After this, fuch Iewes as were scattered here and there in Indea, and other Proninces, beganne againe to inhabite fome part of the Citie ; and by degrees to rebuildit, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Romane State : but after 65. yeeres, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, Alim Adriance the Emperour flaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three Herodian Towers, with all the reft, making it good which Christ himselfe had 30 foretold; That there should not stand one stone uppon another, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appealed, and the Prophecie accomplished he tooke one part without the wall, wherein flood Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulcher of Christ, and excluding of the reft the greatest portion, hee agains made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, Elia Capitolia. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sowe to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despight of the Iewes Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thenceforth euer enter into the Citic, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

Quuphrius Chro.

Gol. Tir. Bel. Sa. But the Christian Religion florithing in Palastina, it was inhabited at length, by all 40 Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeeres.

It was afterward in the 636. yeere after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens,

who held it 400 and odde yeeres.

In the yeere 1000, it was regained by Godfrey of Buillon, by affault, with an excceding flaughter of the Saracens, which Godfrey, when hee was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recourry, it remained under the fucceffours of Godfrey 88. yeeres : till in the yeere 1197. it was regained by Saladine of AEgypt : and lastly, in the yeere 1517. in the time of Selim, the Turkes cast out the AEgyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumobarec, or the Holy Citic. 50 Neither was it Ierufalem alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made defolate, but all the great Cities of the world have with their inhabitants, in feuerall times and ages, fuffered the fame shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the

CHAP.12. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

impietie of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and by flaucrie; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possest; of the wals and buildings, yea of the foyle and the beafts that fedde thereon.

For even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect, lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulnesses witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fedde in the dayes of the Kings of Inda and Ifrael; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very foile it selfe bath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beast that belonged to dimelek, no not any small number of them to bee facrificed to himselfe, neither was it enough that Achan himselfe was stoned, but that his moucables were also confumed and brought to ashes.

ò. 1111.

Of the vaine and malitious reports of Heathen writers, touching the



F the originall of the *Iewes*, prophane writers have conceived diver ly and injuriously. Quintilian speakes infamously of them, and of their leader; who (faith he) gathered together a pernitious Nation. Diodore and Strabo make them AEgyptians. Others affirme that while

Is governed AEgypt, the people were so increased, as Ierosolymus, and Indas ledde thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions; which might be meant by Moses and Aaron: for the name of Moses was accidentall, because hee was taken up and saued out of the waters. But Justine, of all other most malitious, doth derive the Jewes from the Syrian Kings; of Justin List whom, Damafeus, faith bec, was the first : and to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Ifrael, He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that Ifrael had 20 tenne fonnes, among whom hee divided the land of Iuda; fo called of Iudas his el-

dest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of Israel he calleth In feph: who being brought up in AEgypt, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and lignes prodigious, and this toleph (faith hee) was father to Moles: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished AEgypt. Further, hee telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Defarts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the feuenth day, for this cause euer after observed the seauenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a braunch of their Religion. Hee addeth also that they might not marrie 40 out of their owne Tribles, least discovering their vncleannesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the AEgyptians. These and like fables

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grofly belie them in affirming That in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Affe, which they adored. But herein Tacitus forgetteth himselfe, having in the fift booke of his owne Historie truely confessed of the Jewes, that they worshipped one onely God; and thought it most prophane to represent the Deitie by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like 50 this hath A'exander Polyhistor, in Stephanus; who also makes Iudas with Idumea, the first parents of the Jewes.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from Indaus, whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; Cited by Stewhence it came that the Spartans or Lacedamonians challenged kindred of the He- phasus in Isbrewes: but they did it as descended of Abraham, faith Insephus. Some of these re-

ports feeme to have been gathered out of dinine letters; though wrefted and peructed, according to the cultom of the Hearten. For 6 have they obfeured and altered the Storico of the Greation, of Paradife, of the Floud; and giuen new names to the children of Alawin in the firft age: to Nauband his fonnes; in the fecond; and for Abraham, flast, and Lacob, Mofes, and the refl of the fathers, and leaders of the Hebrewer; all which fainings, as touching the Enwe and their originals, Nofephan against Appina and Terullian have difficiently andwered. For that the Hebrewer were the Children of Arphaced and Hebre, no man doubteth: and 60 Childrens originally, taking name either of Hebre, the fonne of Sale, or elfe (faith Montanus) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth Stephanas, the Greeke Grammarian,

Caleb.∫ 63.

as is before remembred. And therefore doth Stephanus, the Greeke Grammarian, deriue the ikbrewes or tweek from Larabay shauing miliaken the name of Larabay, who was the fonne of labor, in the sixth defent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of Laboras-for after Lawb, otherwise lifest, the chiefe part were called lifest, and here part after Elawor Edom, Edomiets, at length the remnant of Lawb, being most of the Tribe of Inda, honoured the name of Fubias, the some of Labob, and became Indians or Invest as also for a time in the name of Ephanut the some of logle, the chiefe of the Partiaches of the ten Tribes, therefor the tenne Tribes were comprehended; but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of Israe fell. The Indians continued their names, though they suffered the same service out to long after, vnder Nabuehodomosor.

rered the lame fertitude not long after, which Nation whether which this Nation wherewent, was first paternall: which continued till they fertid the AEgyptims. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and leaders, Moseand Iosaa, by a pollicie Diuine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to ludges. Fourthly, they defired a King, and had Saul for the first: Of whom and his successions, before were intreat, we care first to speake of their Gouernment vider ludges, after the death of Max:

with somewhat of the things of

Fame in other Nations about these times.

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CHAP.

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Agubeni The desert Arabia Arabia the stonie Saccaa Agræi Saue or Saba from when the Saleams spoyled leb Painerina The contry of & Amonite's Tome & Nabatha tyme Zamzuminis nowphilade phia the mountains of Arnon Mountaines of Ara V Stonie Emath of Huringdon's These of The Best Store The mountains Since Touche of The Manual Th The most action of the introduction of the section Moabites somti e Emims

## CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable thinges that happened in the world, from the death of Iosva to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of Івритна.

> ò. I. Of the inter-regnum after I o s v A's death : and of OTHONIEL.



HEN Iofua was now dead, who with the aduise of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritic ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: It pleased God to direct the Tribe of Inda (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the Canaanites, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the affiftance of Simeon) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only flew ten thousand, but made Adonibezek prisoner : the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the Canaanites and Perizites.

This tyrants crueltie as elfe-where hath beene fignified, they returned in the fame 30 kinde vpon his owne head : and so by the torments which he now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malitious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods institudgement against himselfe.

The Tribes of Inda and Simeon did also master and possessed during this interregrum (or as somethinke, before the death of Iosua) the Cities of Azotus, Askalon, Ekron, and Hierusalem, which they burnt, and the Iebusites afterward reedified. They tooke allothe Cities of tehron, Debir, or Kriathfepher, and Zephath, afterwards tiorna. And although it be not fet downe in expresse wordes that any one perfon commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as Mofes and Iofua did: yet it feemeth that Caleb syas of greatest authoritie among them: and that he with the adulfe of 40 Phinees directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded without a chiefe, the good fucceffe which followed their undertakings witneffeth. the contrarie. And it was Caleb euen while Iofua gouerned, as appeares Iof. 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the perfor-

mance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter Achsah: which he performed to otheried his yonger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be effected the fecond cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge Soone after. But while those of Juda made warre with their borderers, from whom they only recoursed the mountainous Countries (for they 50 could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valleis, because they had Chariots of gron.) Ind. 1.94

The rest of the Tribes sought also to inlarge and establish their owne Territories: in which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Iolephrecouered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recouer from Dan all Ind. 1.25; the plaine Countries : and forst them to saue themselues in the Mountaines. And 144,1,32,

Jud.3.10.

2608.

now the Ifraelites vinmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculoufly a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better aduised them in the Inter-regnum ) did not only ioyne themselues in marriage with the Heathen Nations : but (that which was more detectable) they ferued the Idolls of Baal, and Afteroth, with other the dead Gods of the Canaanites and Amerites. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had prouoked with their Idolatrie, deliuer them into the handes of the Aramites of Melopotamia: whom Chushan Rishathaim at that time commanded. But after they had felt the fmart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to have compaffion on his people, and to raife vp Othoniel to bee their Judge and 10 Leader: who by God affifted, deliuered his bretheren from oppression: and inforst the Aramites to returne into their owne Defarts, and into Mesopotamia adioyning, after which the Ifraelites had peace fortie yeares, during all the time of Othoniels gopernment. This Othoniel is thought by Toffatus to have beene the yonger brother of Caleb, for as much as in the booke of Judges he is twice called Othoniel the sonne of Cenaz Calebs yonger brother. Others doe rather interpret those wordes (Calebs vonger brother) as if they fignified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that Calebs Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that Othoniel should have beene the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of Caleb (as fome learned men ex- 20 pound it) and as the very wordes of Scripture seeme to inforce. For Caleb was the fonne of Jephunneth, and Othoniel the fonne of Cenas, Calebs yonger brother; that is, he was not brother to Caleb, but his yonger brothers sonne; to whom it was not only lawfull, but commendable to marrie with his Cofen German Calebs daughter.

How long it was from the death of Iofuah to the government of Othoniel, it cannot be found : but it seemes to have beene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. Laifb was then taken (as is thought) by the Danites; and the best writers are of opinion that between the times of Ioluah and Othoniel that civill warre brake out betweene the Beniamites and the rest of Israel, for the forcing to death of the Leuites wife. For it is written that in 30 those daies there was no King in Ifrael, but every man did that which was good in Ind.17. & 18. his owne cies. And as Inda led the people against the Canaanites during the Interregnum, fo was hee commanded to doe against Beniamin, cuen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have beene when Io (uah was dead, and before the government of Othoniel, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Gouernours, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leane to have attended such a civill Warre, if their power had beene as great, as it was in the menaging of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their eftate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such 40 numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

λ II.

of the memorable thinges of this Age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

Here liued in this age of otheriel, Pandianon Pandareus, According to Homer, the fif King of Athens: who beganne to rule in the twentieth year of otherial, and gouerned fortie yeares. Hee was father to E- you will be used in the suppliers were Progne and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in falses.

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebes: of whose Daughter Semel was borne Dienysus or Liber pater: vnder whome Linus the Muslitan lined. In his time

time also the Cities of Melu., Paphu., and Thurfus, were built.

Ida and Daiffus Bourished in this age, who are said to have found out the vsc of iron: but Gengis hath taught we the contrarie, and that Tubulcain long before Gen. 1.1.

wrought cunningly both in 1100 and brassle. Not long after this time, Amphina and Whence cams Zethus governed Thebes: whom disers: hornologyer in de in Eludet time. But S. Aniron manned the government of the said the said of the fractions fractions and other Nations, during the government of the sudges, begins with Triptolemus Augsteinst Daif of S. Augustine de Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth booke, but higher des Civitates Dei, and the eighteenth between the civitates D

of whole parentage there is a little agrecement. Fines vpon the thirteenth Chapter of S. Auggline de Cuitate Dei, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that defires his pedigree may finde it. Lataratius and Eugleius make him natiue of Atties: and the sonne of Eleusius King of Eleusius. Which Eleusius is Quarfulli industrie had sed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This when vpon the like occasion Triptolemus could not performe, searing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boate, which carried in her Prove agrauen or carued Serpent: who because he made exceeding great speede to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the aire.

Whether the times of the Kings which lived together with Otheniel, and after him with the reft of the ludges and Kings of Ifred and Meda, be precifely fet downe, I cannot anow, for the Chromologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of along lifer and therefore I delire to be excurfed if in the fe comparison I erre with others of beter iudgement. For whether Enfehius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make them folues fo conversant with the fe ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they beganne to rule) have hit the marke of time of all other the furthed off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors them felues, from whom the anciented Chromologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne works, but consecture: Secondly, because their owne different and contention in those elder daies, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is fisch, as no man among them hath yes foe disfied any mans vnderslanding, saue his owne, but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne

This disligreement is found not only in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but cuen in computation of those times which the indisputable authoritie of holy Scripture hath lummed ypas in that of Abrahams birth; and after in the times of the Indiges and the oppressions of Ifrael, in the times from the egression to the building of Salomous I emple, in the Person Empire, the security Weekes, and in what not? Where Sover the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue Gought by

To many waies to vincouer the Sunne, that the daies thereby are made more darke, and the cloudes more condenft than before, I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in the Geomputations: and therefore that such and such than other men have done in the Geomputations: and therefore that such and such Kingsand Kingdomestooke beginning in this or that yeare, I amow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better indigenents. Nami prifeir rebus verients non ad unguent quaereda; In ancient thinges we are not to require an exact marration of the truth, laies Diodove.

of Envostime, and of Proserpina, Orithya, Terevs, TANTALVS, TITYVS, ADMETVS, and others that lined about these times.



Fter the death of Othoniel when Ifrael fell back to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged Moab to inuade and suppresse them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of Ammon, and Amalee vnto his owne, and fo (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to

make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations, had an easie conquest ouer Israel: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedily folded vp. In this miferable estate they continued full eighteen yeares under Eglon King of the Moabites, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his cares from their crying repentance : but raifed vp Ehud the fonne of Gera to deliuer them: by which weake man though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the Israelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resoluted to attempt vpon the per- 20 fon of Eglon, whom if he could but extinguish, he affured himselfe of the following victorie: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution. Ehud went on as an Embassador to Eglon, loaden with presents from the Israelites, as to appeale him, and obtaining private accesse vpon the pretence of fome fecret to be reuealed: he pierst his bodie with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the dores of his closet upon him, escaped

It may feeme that being confident of his good fuccesse, hee had prepared the ftrength of Ifrael in readinesse. For sodainly after his returne, he did repasse Jordan, and invading the Territoric of Moab, overthrew their Armie confishing of 10000. 20 able and ftrong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that Samear his Successor had miraculously flaine 600. Philistimes with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of Ifrael lived in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeares from the death of Othoniel, which terme expired in the Worlds yeare 2691.

In the daies of Ehud Naomi with Elimelech her husband, and with her two fonnes, trauailed into Moah, and so the storie of Ruth is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourfcore yeares which are given to Ehud, it was that Oreus King of the Molossians : otherwise Pluto, stale Proferpina, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of Hipponium in Sicilia: or (according to Paulanias) by the River Cephilus, which elsewhere he calleth Chemer, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This stealth 40 being made knowne to Pyrithous with whom Hercules and Thefeus ioyned themfelues, they agreed together to recouer her : but Plute or Oreus (whom others call Aidonius) had (as they fay) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on Pyrithous, and tare him in pecces, and had also wearied Theleus, but that Hercules speedily rescued him : and by firength tooke and maftered the Dogge Cerberus : whereof grew the fable of Hercules his delivering of Thefeus out of Hell. But Zezes, as I take it, hath written this storie somewhat more according to the truth. For Theseus and Pyrithous faith he, attempted to feale Proferpina Daughter to Aidonius, King of the Molossians who had Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferpina. Proferpina being a generall name alfo for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to Aidonius, Theseus 50 and Pyrithous were both taken, and because Pyrithous was the principall in this conspiracie, and Theseus drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for food to Aidonius his great Dogge Cerberus, the other held prisoner til Hercules by the infligation of Euriftheus deliucred him by ftrong hand. The Moloss

CHAP.13. S.3. of the Historie of the World.

which Stephanus writes with a fingle (S) were a people of Epirus inhabiting neare the Mountaines of Pindus: of which Mountaines Oeta is one of the most famous. where Hereules burnt himselfe. The River of Acheron ( which the Poets describe to be in Hell) rifeth out the fame Hills. There is an other Nation of the Molo Bin Theffalie : but the feareneighbours to the Cafiopai, faith Plutareh in his Greek

The rape of Orithya the Daughter of Erictheus, King of Athens, taken away by Borens of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North winde, because Thrace is situate North from Athens. In his time also Tereus 10 rauished Philomela, of which the fable was deutsed of her conversion into a Nightingale. For Tereus having married her fifter Progne, conducting Philomela from Aihens to fee her fifter, forft her in the paffage, and withall cut out her tongue that shee might not complaine; perswading Progne his Wife that Philomela died in the midway: all which her brother in law's mercilesse behauiour towards her, Philomela expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it Progne. In reuenge whereof Progne caused her only Sonne mys to be cut in peeces, and set before Tereus her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinarie soode: of which when he had eaten his fill: shee caused his head, handes, and feete, to be presented vnto him: and then fled away with fuch speede towards Athens where her Father Pandien yet lived, as 20 the Poets fained, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was

performed Strabe finds to be Daulis in Phocis: and the Tombe of Tereus, Paufanias Lo hath built neare the Rocks Mergi, in the Territorie of Athens. By which as alfo by Panin Ass. the name Daulis, where these thinges are supposed to have beene done (whence also Philomela is called Dauliss ales) it appeares that it is true, which Thuydides notes by Thusla; way of digression in his Peloponnesian Warre, That this Tereus was not King in that which is now called Thracia, or in Odryla, (as the Poets call him Odrylius) but that Phocis a Countrie in Greece not farre from Attica, a Citie whereof is called Daulia, was in Pandions time inhabited by Thracians : of which this Tereus was King : whence Pandion to have amittle with his neighbours, made him his fonne in law casit is good

30 to beleeve, faith Thurydides, that Pandien King of Athens; made that alliance with a neighbour King from whom he might have fuccour, rather then with any Tereus, that should have held the Kingdome of Odrysa; which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for Progne to be turned into. may sceme to haue beene partly because, as Pausanias saies: Daulide nec midificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines; As if a Swallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and to her fifter, did for eyer hate that place.

Neare this time Melampus (who is faid to haue vinderstood the voices of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Phisician. Hec restored to their former health the Daughters of Pratus King of the Argines, who (as the

40 Poets please) were made mad by Iuno: and thinking themselues to be Kine, fled into Poulls. the woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries, where Homer Odd it the ground was light, they did vie often to plough with Kine.

In the 47. yeare of Ehud, Tros beganne to raigile in Dardania, and gaue it his owne name, about which time Phemone the chiefe Priest of Apollo in Delphos, denised the Panti

Of the same date was Tantalius, King of Lydia : whom Eusebius makes King of Phrygia: and also of that part of which the people were anciently Maones. Of Tantalas was denifed the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of lone : and fome to the couetous that dare not minoy his richos. Eufebius calls this Tantalus the Eufeb, page E-

50 fonne of Impiter, by the Nymph Pleta: Diaconns and Didymins in Zeeses, give him an analysh seeses other Mother. He was faid to be the fonne of Impiter, as forme will haue it; because high to chils. he had that Planet in his afcendent, betokening wifedome and riches. It is faid that when he made a feast to the God; having nothing more pretions; he caused his owne Sonne to be flaine and dreft for the banquet : of whom Ceres cate part of one of the

shoulders; whereby was signified that those men which seeke after divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children. of all else the most dearest. And where it was denised, that he had alwaies Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet fuffered the torment of hunger and thirft, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom ouid:

> Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat TANTALVS, boc illi varrula lingua dedit.

Here T ANTALVS in water feekes for water, and doth miffe, The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this. 10

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discourred the fecrets of the Gods: that is, because he taught wisedome and vertue to mortall men: which storie Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise and say, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirflie of more aboundance, was neuer fatisfied. Of whom Horace against conetoufneffe.

> T ANT ALVS à labijs sitiens fugientia captat Fluming anidrides? mutato nomme de to Fabula narratur.

The thirsting TANTALVS doth catch at streames that from him flee. Why laugheft thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceine where it is fained of Tantalus, that he gaue the Nettar and Ambrofia of the Gods to vaine and vnworthie men, that hee was therefore by them in 30 that fort punished. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus.

> Immortalitatem quòd furatus, Coetanijs conuiuis Nectar Ambrolismá, dedit,

Because that stealing immortalitie, He did both Nettar and Ambrofia give To guestes of his owne age to make them line.

Whereby it was meant that the secrets of Divinitie, ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meates in a foule stomack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often peruerted by an vncleane and defiled minde.

Mark.4.34.

To you it is given (faith Christ in MARKE) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without all thinges be done in parables. So is it faid of him, that he expounded all thinges to his Disciples a-part. And therefore doth Gregorie Na-Greein Orat, de Zianzene inferre vpon a place of S. Pavl. Quod si Pavlo licuisset effariea, quorum restaratione dis. ipsi cognitionem casum tertium & vsque ad illud progressio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius conflaret; If PAVL might have ottered the thinges, the knowledge 50 whereof the third heavens, and his going thither did bring onto him, peraduenture wee might know fomewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, faith Reudin, thought it not the part of a wife man, Afino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, qua ita reciperet, vt Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scara-

baus : quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, qua meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur; To fet an Affeto a harpe, or to learne mysteries : which he would handle as a Swine doth a trumpet, or a lay a viall, or Scarabies and uncleane flies four-aigne ointment. Wherefore he commanded filence to his disciples: that they should not disclose divine mysteries to the common fort; which are easier learnt by meditation than by babling. And therefore did the Agyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar; and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceede with the contemporaries of Aod, or Ehud, with him it is also faid that Tityus lived whom Apollo flew, because he sought to force his Mother Latona. Euphorion hath it thus, that Tityus was the Sonne of Elara, the Daughter of Orchomenus; which Elarabeing beloued of Jupiter, to avoid Juno's revenge, he hid Elara in the earth, where shee was delivered of Tityus: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. Pausanias speaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirmes that his bodie occupied the third part of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie of his flature out of Homer.

> Porrectufa, nouem TITYVS per ingera terra Asiduas atro viscere pascit aues;

Hom, Cd. 11.

Nine furlongs stretcht lies Tirves, who for his wicked deedes The hungrie birds with his renewing liner daily feedes.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of Panopea, a Citie in Phocis, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still lined, and had his sless

Admetus King of Theffalie lived also in this Age, whom it is faid that Apollo first 20 ferued as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but hauing flaine Hyacinthus he crost the Hellespont, and fled into Phrygia: where together with Neptune, hee was entertained by Laomedon, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of Troy, not by making the brickes leape into their places by playing on his Harpe : according to him in Onid which

> Ilion aspicies, firmatag, turribus altis Maria, APOLLINEAE Structa canore lyra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high Built with the harpe of wife A POLL o's harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his handes, as hired in this worke. And that He alfo laboured at the building of the Labyrinth in Greece, all the Paulin dis, Megariens witnesse, faith Paulanias;

In these daies also of Ebud, or (as some finde it) in the daies of Deborah, lived Perfeus the sonne of Impier and Danae, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of Peloponnesus to secke their adventure on Affrica side) Medusa the Daughter and Succeffor of Phoreus, being weakely accompanied as flee hunted, neare the Lake

50 Triton, was surprised and slaine: whose beautie when Perfess beheld, he caused her Triton a Lake of head to be imbalmed, and carried into Greece: the beautie whereof was fuch and Affrica which formuch admired, and the beholders fo aftonished which beheld it, as thereof Pale collection grew the fiction, that all that looked on Medusa's head, were turned into Didymin peres

Cecrops the second of that name and 7. King of Athens, and Acrisius the 12. or Enfib, in chron. after Eufebius, the 14. King of the Argines, began also their raignes, as it is faid. in the time of this ludge : of which the first ruled 40 yeares, and the second 21 yeares. Alfo Bellerophon lived in this age, being the sonne of Glancus, the sonne of Silyphus: who inticed by Antea or Sthenobia the wife of Pratus of the Argues, to accompanie her, but refujing it, shee accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: wherupon Pretus fent Bellerophon into Lycia, about fome affaires of weight, between him and his Sonne in law Jobates : giving fecret order to Jobates to dispatch him : but Iobates thinking it dishonorable to lay violent handes on him: imployed him against Chimara, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) 10 pittying his innocencie, fent him the winged Horse Pegasus, sprung vp of the bloud of Medula, formerly flaine by the Souldiers of Perleus in Africa, to transport him. a horse that none other could master or bridle but Minerua : vpon which beast Bellerothon ouer-came Chimera: and performed the other feruices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arrived to Ishates in safetie: whom Jobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters : and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie vp to heaven upon his Pegafus: whose pride Iupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies fo to vexe Pegafus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his back, into the Valley of 20 Cilicia, where he died blinde: of which burthen Pegafus being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven and being fed in Jupiters owne stable, Aurora beg'd him of Jupiter to ride on before the Sunne. This tale is diverfly expounded, as first by some. That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeserued adperfitie, and to call downe those which are too high minded : according to that which is faid of Bellerophon: that when he was exposed to extreame hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliuerance and honor: but waxing ouer-prowd and prefumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of forrow, and euer-during miferie. Secondly by others, That under the name of Chimera, was meant a cruell Pyrate of the Lycians, whose ship had in her 30 Blatar, in claric Prowe a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the scarne, of which three beafts this Monster Chimera was faid to be compounded, whom Bellerophon pursued with a kinde of Galley of fuch swiftnesse that it was called the slying Horse: to whom the inuention of failes (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that Chimera was the name of a ship, for so Virgil calleth one of the greatest ships of

L.S. Encid.

Ion also from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their pa-Homer.inhymas rent Iauan) deriue their name of lones, is faid to have beene about Ehuds time: Homer calls them Isones, which hath a neare resemblance to the word Isuan. Perhaps 40 Lib. 18.6.13 de ci.Di. Li 18.6.15 it might be so that Ion himselfe tooke name from Ianan . it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to reviue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his iffue.

The invalion of India by Liber Pater, is by fome reported as done in this age : but S. Augustine makes him farre more ancient: placing him between the comming out of Egypt, and the death of Iolua.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to Ehud, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who gaue name to Peloponne [us in Greece, now called Morea.

d. IIII.

Q. IIII.

of DEBORA and her Contemporaries.

Fter I frael had lived in peace and plentie to the end of these 80. yeares they againe began to forget the giver of all goodness, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehnd*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For

as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle fecuritie; fo is fecuritie as fruitfull in be-10 getting and bringing forth both danger and fubuerfion : of which all effates in the world haue tafted by interchange of times. Therefore when their finnes were againe ripe for punishment, Jabin King of Hazor, after the death of Ebud, invaded the Territorie of Ifrael, and having in his feruice 900, yron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twentie yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp Deborah, the Prophetesse, who incouraged Baracto leuie a force out of Nephtalin, and Zabulon, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of Nepthalim were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that Barae had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance, which in them was more fenfible, than in o-20 thers, because Hazor and Harofeth the chiefe holds of labin, were in Nepthalim. So in the daies of Jeptha the Gileadites tooke the greatest care, because the Ammonites with whom the Warre was, preffed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as

it pleased God by the left hand of Ebudto deliuer Ifrael from the Moabite: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the valiant Sifera by Iael the Kenites wife : fo was it his will at other times , to worke the like great thinges by the weakest meanes. For the mightie Assyrian Nabuchodonofor, who was a King of Kings, and refittleffe, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the caufers of his brutilh melancholy: and changed his marchleffe pride into the base humilitie of a Brast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all

30 power, he sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of Senacherib by his Angell : or as he did the Egyptians in Moles time: fomtime by dead bodies, as when he drowned Pharao by the waves of the Sea : and the Canaanites by haile-stones in the time of Iosua: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, Chedorlaomer, and his companions, by the houshold feruants of Abraham. He caused the Moabites and Ammonites to fet vpon their owne confederate the Armie of the Edomites; and having flaine them to kill one an other in the fight of Ichofaphat: and of the like to these a volume commandate of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did Deborah the Propheteffe fpeake vnto Barae in these wordes: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, Jud 4.9.

40 for the Lord shall fell Siser a into the handes of a Woman. In which victoric all the ftrength of the Canaanite Iabin fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which Warre it feemeth that Iabin himfelfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of Indees.

After all which Deborah giueth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulneffe, and great mercies, shee sheweth the weake estate whereinto Ifrael was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations in these wordes: Was there a shield or speare seene among fortic thousand of Israel? Ind. 5. 118. the also sheweth how the Israelites were seuered and amased, some of them confined ouer Iordan, and durst not joyne themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead: Varto that the Alberites kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the

Land, and the children of Dan who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, showing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curfeth the inhabitants of Meroz, who dwelling neare the place of the battaile (belike fearing the fuccesse) came not out to affist Ifrael, and then blesseth Lack

the wife of Heber the Kemte, who nailed Siferain her Tent: shewing the ancient affe-Gion of that race to the Ifraelites. For though the Familie of Heber were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondencie with Jahin the Canamite, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Laftly, shee derideth the Mother of Silera who promifed her fonne the victorie in her owne hopes; and fancied to her felfe, and described the fpoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee dire-

eteth her praises and thankes to God only victorious.

From the beginning of Isbins oppression to the end of that peace, which Deborath and Barae purchased vnto Israel, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the King- 10 dome of dreas which had continued 5.44. yeares was translated to Aspense: The translation of this Kingdome Fines out of Paulanias write that this effect: After Danase, Lyneaus fucceeded in Argos, after whom the childs at of Abss the fonne of Lyncens divide the Kingdome : of which Aerifius being eldeft held Argos it felfe: Pretus his brother posset Ephys or Corinth, and Taynthos, and other Cities with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in Tirynthos, which wit-

neffe Pratus poffession, faith Pausanias.

Now Acrifius was foretold by an Oracle, that hee should be slaine by the sonne of his Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Ladie being exceeding faire, it is 29 fained that no piter turned himfelfe into a golden shower which falling into her lap, begat her with child : the meaning whereof was, that fome Kings fonne, or other Worthie man, corrupted her keepers with gold: and enloyed her, of whom Perfess was borne: who when he grew to mans effate, either by chance (faith Ctefus) or in thewing his grand-father the invention of the difeus, or leaden ball, flew him vnwils lingly. After this Perfeus, to avoide the infamic of Patricide in Argos, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle Prietus: and built Mycane. This imprisonment of Danae, Sophocles reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brasen vault, under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie Horace hath this wittic observation.

Inclusam DANAEN, turris ahenea. Robustag, fores, & vigilum Canum Trifles excubie, munierant fatis Nocturnis ab adulteris : Sinon ACRISIVM Virginis abdita Cullodem pauidum, IVPITER & VENVS Rififfent, fore enim tutumiter & patens. Connerso in pretium Deo. Aurum per medios ire (atellites, Et perrumpere amat (axa, potentius

Tetu fulmineo ...

The brasen Tower with dores close bar'd. And v atchfull bandogs frightfull guard, Kept safe the Maidenhead Of DANAE from secret loue: Till finiling VENVs, and wife IOVE Beguild her Fathers dread. For chang'd into a golden shower, The God into her lap did powre 50 Himfelfe, and tooke his pleafure. Through gardes and stonie walls to breake,

The thunder-bolt is farre more weake, Then is a golden treafure. The first Kings of the Argines were these.

Inachus the first King, who beganne to raigne in the first yeare of Jacob, and the 61. of Isaac from which time to the end of Sthenelus, Castor militeckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, Eusebius accounteth to have stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. Io was the Daughter of this Inachus: whom the Egyptians called this.

> Phoroneus. Crotopus, Danaus: Lynceus. Abus. Acrilius. Pelops. After the translation to Mycene, Mar. Scotus finds these Kings. Perfeus. Sthenelus. Eury Abeus.

Atreus and The fonnes of Pelopi by Hippodamia : Atreus by Agamemnon.

Tifamenus.

Penthilus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, and the last : beginning with Eurystheus: and ending with Penthilus. In Tifamenus time the Heraclida returned into Peloponnesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, were Midas who raigned in Phrygia: and Ilus who built Ilium : with others mentioned in our Chronologicall table, as contemporaries with Debora.

Of GIDEON, and of DAEDALVS, SPHINX, MINOS, and others
that lived in this Age.



EBORA and Barat being dead the Midianites affifted by the Amalekites infefted Ifrael. For when under a tudge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had injoyed any quiet or prosperitie: the Index was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a 50 short time (the hand of God being with held from their defence) as to saw them

felues, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest acceffe: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest fulls, time by themselves and the multitude of their cattle destroying all that grew vp.couering the fields as thick as graffe-hoppers: which feruitude lasted seauch yeares.

The

Ind.6.0.5. 14d,c.6. + 7.

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Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp Gideon the sonne of Ioash, afterward called Ierubbaal: whose scare and vnwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precifely fet down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000.men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts; Each of these 300. by Gideens appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing so loude a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) fo many lights about them, effected the Armie of Ifrael to be infinite, and strucken with a fodaine feare, they all fled without a ftroke ftricken; and were flaughtered in 10 great numbers : two of their Princes being made prisoners and staine. In his returne the Febramites began to quarrell with Gideon because hee made warre without their affiltance, being then greedie of glorie, the victorie being gotten : who (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happie by being neglected. But Gideon appealing them with a mild answere followed after the enemie, in which purfuit being tired with trauaile, and wearie euen with the flaughtering of his enemies, he defired reliefe from the inhabitants of Succoth, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might ouer-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had faued themselues by flight. For they were soure Princes of the Nations which had invaded and wasted Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which 20 were taken already, and Zebah and Salmunna which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of Succoth fought the like reliefe from the inhabitants of Penuel, who in like fort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the profequation of the other two Princes he performed: to wit, that hee would teare the flelh of those of Succoth with Thornes and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of Penuel: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their bretheren the Ilraelites, especially after so great a victorie: I may presume to make coniecture; it feemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer Iordan, and in the way of all inualions to be made by the Moabites, and Ammonites, and Midianites, into Ifrael, had either 30 made their owne peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them : or else they knowing that Zeba and Salmunna were escaped with a great part of their armie, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men : as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enuic and maligne others, if they performe any praife worthy actions, for the honour and fafetie of their owne Countrie, though themselves may be affured to be are a part of the smart of contrarie successe. And such malitious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrie should suffer hazzard, and want, than that fuch men as they millike should be the Authors or actors of any glorie or good 40

Now Gideon, how or wherefocuer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his wearic and hungric Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunitie, and purfued his former victoric to the vttermost; and finding Zebah and Salmanna in Karkor (suspense) eting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, & slaughtered those ting no lattice attempt, you that he specified in the former attempt. 12000s, and with all he tooke Zebab and Salmans, prisoners; whom because themselves had exequited Gisleons bretheren before at Tabor, he caused them both to be staine; or (as it is written) at their owne request flow them with his owne hands: his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it, and in his returne from the consummation 50 of this meruailous victorie, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of Succoth, and of the Citizens of Penuel: forgiving no offence committed against him; either by strangers or by his bretheren the Ifraelites. But fuch mercy as he shewed to others, his own chilalren found foon after his death, according to that which hath been faid before. The

debts of crueltie and mercie are neuer left vnfatisfied: for as he flew the 70. Elders of Succoth with great and vnufuall torments, fo were his owne 70. fonnesal, but one, murthered by his owne bastard Abimilee. The like Analogie is observed by the Rabmurrhered by disowire Datairu Annines. I the like Analogie is concluded by the hav-bines, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the AEgyptians, who having caused the male children of the Hebrewes to bee flaine, others of them to be cast into the riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angell, and drowning Pharach and his armie in the redde fea. And hereof a world of examples might bee given, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

CHAP.14. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

In the end so much did the people reuerence Gideon in the present for this victoric, and their owne deliuerance, as they offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, Ind 3.23. and to establish him in the Gouernment; which heerefused, answering i mill not reigne ouer you, neither shall my childe reigne ouer you, but the Lord shall &c. But he defired the people that they would bestow on him the golden earnings, which every ment the properties they would be flow on that the gorden carrings, which every manhad gotten. For the Ismaelites) neighbors, and mixt with the Midiants wed to weare them the waight of all which was a thousand and seuen hundred Shekels of wenter them time wangur of an wincums a common and reterminance of stacks of gold, which makes of ours. 2380. liif we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar.

And because he connected that gold into an Episada agarment of gold, blew. fike.pur.

Lind 8.88 ple,scarlet,and fine linnen belonging to the High Priest onely,and serve the same in 20 his owne Citie of Ophra or Ephra, which drew Ifrael to Idolatrie, the same was the

destruction of Gideon and his house. There was another kinde of Ephod besides this of the High Priests which the Leuites vsed, and so did David when he daunced before the Arke: and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demaund how it was possible for Gideon with 300. men to defroy 120000. of their enemies and afterward 15000. which remained, wee and purt the may remember that although Gideon with 300, gaue the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the armic came into the slaughter, and pursuite, for it is written; That the men of Israel being gathered together out 104.57.1.12.

30 of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianits: for this armie Gideon left in the tents behind him, when hee went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyfe of his 300. trumpets came after him to

Thereliued with Gideon AEgeus the fonce of Pandion, who reigned in Athens: Euristheus King of Mycone: Atreus and Threstes the sonnes of Pelaps, who bare dominion ouer a great part of Peloponnessus, and after the death of Euristhess, the Kingdome of Mycene fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Arreus who holding his brother in icalousic as an attempter both of his wife and crowne, flew the children of Thyestes, and causing their slesh to be drest did therewith seast their sa-

40 ther. But this crueltie was not unreuenged. For both Atreus and his fonne Agamemnon were flaine by a base sonne of Thesses, yea the grandchildren; and all the linage of Atreus died by the same sword.

In Gideons time also those things were supposed to have beene done which are written of Dedalus and Icarus. Dedalus they say, having slaine his Nephew Attalus, fled to Minos King of Crete for fuccour, where for his excellent workermanshippe he was greatly effected, having made for Minos a Labyrinth like vinto that of AE-gypt. Afterward he was faid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for Psylphes. Queene, that the, being in love with a faire Bull, might by putting her felfe into the Cow fatisfie her luft, a thing no leffe vinatural than incredible, had not that share-

30 leffe Emperour Domitian exhibited the like beaftly spectacle openly before the people of Rome in his Amphitheater; of purpose as may seeme to verifie the olde fable. For sait appeares by those verses of Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abhominabe shew as a goodly Pageant in those vitious times,

Tun Et am

Iunctam Paliphaen Dicteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec se miratur Cafar longena vetustas Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Paliphae, Servius makes a leffe vnhonest confirmation of it, thinking that Dedalus was of her counfell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretarie of Minos called Taurus, which fignifieth a Bull, who begat her with child, and that the being delivered of two fonnes, the one refembling Taurus, the other her husband Minos, it was fained that the was deliuered of the Mon- 10 fler Minotaur, haife a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practife being discouered, and Dedalus appointed, to be flaine, he fled out of Crete to Cocalus King of Sicil: in which paifage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he falhioned wings for himfelfe and his foane to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued him with boats which had oares onely, Dadalus framed failes both for his owne boate, and for his fonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention Icarus bearing himfelfe ouerbold was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of Dedalus that he made Images that could move themselves, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes and hands, whereas those that preceded him could onely present the bodie and head of those men whom they 20 cared to counterfait, and yet the workmanshippe was esteemed very rare. But Plutarke who had seene some of those that were called the Images of Dadalus found them exceeding rude.

Herind Plat. Pauf,lib.9.

With Gideon also florished Linus the Theban, the sonn of Apollo, & Terpsichore who instructed Thamaris, Orpheus, and Hercules. Hee wrate of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was flaine by Hercules his scholler with his owne harpe.

Againe, in this age those things spoken of Sphins and Oedipus are thought to haue been performed. This Sphins being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthian Armie ledde by Oedipus ouercome. But that which was written of her 30 propounding of riddles to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere Thebes which she defended, and by Oedipus dissoluting her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding fwift, and with the bodie of a Lyon for her crueltie. But that which Palaphatus reports of Sphinx were more probable did not the time disproue it, for he cals her an Amazonite and the wife of Cadmus: who when by her help he had cast Draco out of Thebes (neglesting her) he married the fifter of Draco, which Sphinx taking in despightfull part, with her owne troops she held the mountaine by Thebes, from whence the continued a tharpe warre vpon the Thebans till by Qedipus ouerthrown. About this time did Mines thrust his brother out of Crete, and held sharpe warre 40 with the Megarians, and Athenians, because his some Androgeus was slaine by them. He possest himselfe of Megara by the treason of Seylla, daughter of Wifus the King. He was long Master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of deliuering him every yeere feuen of their sonnes; which tribute Theseus released as shall bee shewed when I come to the time of the next Judge Thala. In the end hee was flaine at Camerinus or Camicus in Sicilia by Cocalus the King, while he purfued Dadalus: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those Ilands.

Eufeb.in chr.

To this time are referred many deeds of Hercules, as the killing of Anteus the gyant, who was faid to have 60, and odde cubites of length, which though Plutarke doth confirme, reporting that there was fuch a bodie found by Sertorius the Roman 50 in Lybia, where Hercules flew Antaus: yet for my felfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That Anteus was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, Eusebius affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, hee was fained to bee the sonne of the Earth. Plinie faith that he inhabited neere the gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. S.

flied by the Nymphes.

Augustine affirmes that this Hercules was not of Greece, but of Lybia : and the Hydra Auguscialis also which he ouercame, Plato expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

# Q. VI. Of the expedition of the Argonauts.

Bout the eleuenth yeere of Gideon, was that famous expedition of the Argonauts: of which many fabulous discourses have been written,

Pelias the sonne of Neptune, brother by the mothers side to A fon who was Iasons father, reigning in Ioleus a towne of Thessalie, was warned by the Oracle of Apollo to take heede of him that ware but one shoe. This Pelias afterward facrificing to Neptune, inuited Infon to him, who comming hastily, lost one thoe in paffing ouer a brooke : whereupon Pelias demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should aduise him to take heede : to which question when Isson had briefly answered, that he would fend him to Colchos, to fetch the golden fleece, Pelias immediatly commannded him to vndertake that feruice. Therefore Iason prepared for the voyage, having a shippe built by Argus, the sonne of Phryeus, by the Counsell of Pallas: wherein hee procured all the brauest men of Greece to faile with him : as Typhis the Master of the thippe, Orpheus the famous Poet, Caffor and Pollux the fonnes of Trndarus, Telamon and Peleus, fonnes of Acus, and fathers of Aiax and Achilles, Hercules, Theleus, Zetes and Calais the two winged fonnes of Boreas, Amphiaraus the great Southfaver. Meleager of Calidon that flew the great wilde boare : Afealaphus and Ialmenus or Almenus the sonnes of Mars, who were afterwards at the last warre of Troy, Laertes the father of Plyffes, Atalanta a warlike virgine, Idas and Lynceus the fonnes of Aphareus, who afterwards in fight with Caffor and Pollux flew Caffor, and wounded Pollux, but were flaine themselves : Lynceus by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter with

These and many other went with Infon in the ship Argo: in whose prowe was a table of the beech of Dodona, which could speake. They arrived first at Lemnos: the women of which Iland, having flaine all the males, purpoling to lead an Amazonian life, were neuertheleffe contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the Country about Cyzicus: where dwelt a people called Doliones; ouer whom then reigned one Cyzicus; who entertained them friendly; but it fo fell out, that loofing thence by night they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the Doliones, to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enean mics: by which meanes they fell to blowes, infomuch that the Argonautes flew the most part of the Doliones together with their King Cyzicus; which when by daylight they perceived, with many teares they folemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arrived shortly in Mylia, where they left Hercules and Polyphemus the fonne of Elates, who went to feeke Hylas the darling of Hercules, that was rani-

Poliphemus built a towne in Myfia, called Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules returned to Argos. From Mysia the Argonautes failed into Bythima, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the auncient inhabitants of the Country, oner whom Amreus the forme of Neptune was then King. He beeing a strong man, compelled all stran-50 gers to fight with him, at whorlebattes, in which kinde of fight hee had flaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by Pollux. The Bebryces in reuenge of his death flew all vpon Pollux, but his companions referred him, with great flaughter of the people. They failed from hence to Salmydeffus, a towne in Thrace (formwhat out of their way) wherein Phineus a Soothfayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with

the Harpyes. The Harpyes were faid to be a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for Phineus, came flying in, and denouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craned his aduife, and direction for their voyage : you shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliner me from the Harpyes, and then afterwards to aske my Counfaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be coursed, and meat set on, which was no fooner fet downe, then that prefently in came the Harpyes, and played their accustomed prancks: when Zetes and Calais the winged young men faw this, they drew their fwerds, and purfued them through the ayre; fome fay 10 that both the Harpyes and the young men died of wearinesse in the slight, and purfuit. But Apollonius faith that the Harpyes did couenant with the youthes, to doe no more harme to Phineus, and were thereupon difmiffed. For this good turne Phineus gaue them informations of the way, and aduertifed them withal of the daungerous rockes, called Symplegudes, which by force of windes running together, did thue vp the paffage : wherefore he willed them to out a pigeon before them into the paffage: and if that paffed fafe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no meanes to hazard themselves in vaine. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lolta piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the rockes and then rowing with all their might, paffed through fafe, onely the end of the poope was 20 bruifed.

From thence forward, (as the tale gorth) the Symplegades have flood fill, for the Gods, fay they, had decreed that after the pallage of a hipper, they thould be fixed. Thencethe Argensutes came to the Marindyni, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river Parthenius, where Lyeus the King entertained them courteoully. Here Islaman a Sooth fayer of their company was flaine by a wild boare; also heere Typhis died; and "Mneus vidertooke to fleare the hipper. So they passed by the river Thermoelon, and mount Casasifus, and came to the river Phasin, which runnes through the land of Calebo, When they were entired the hauen, Islam went to Active the king of Colebo, and cold him the Commaundement of Pelias, and cause of 30 his comming, destring him to deliver the golden Flece, which Actes, as the Fable gooth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoake together two brazen hooft bulles, and plowing the ground with them, sow of ragions teeth, which Mineral had given to him, being part of those which Cachins did sow at Thebes. These bulles were great and stores, and the cathed out fire: Vulcan had given them to Attes.

Whilest /afon was in a great perplexitic about this taske, Medea the daughter of AEJes, fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre foorth, that being excellent in Magique, the came privily to him, promiting her helpe, if he would affure her of his marriage. To this Iason agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue the to him a medicine wherewith the bad him to annoint both his bodie and his ar- 40 mour, which would preferue him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would arise out from the ground, from the teeth which hee should fowe, and fet vpon him. To remedie which inconucnience, shee bad him throw ftonesamongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in fuch wife that he might eafily flay them. Is for followed her counfaile; whereto when the cuent had answered, hee againe demaunded the Fleece. But AEcies was so farre from approxing such his delire, that hee denifed how to destroy the Argoniutes, and burne their shippe, which Medea perceiuing, went to Isfon, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung vppon an oake in the groue of Miss, where they fay it was kept by a Dragon, that nener flept. This Dragon was by the Magique of Medea cast into a sleepe : so taking away the golden Fleece, the went with Lifen into the thippe Argo; having with her her brother Absyrtus.

AEtes vnderstanding the practises of Medsa, provided to pursue the ship, whom

when Medeaperceized to be at hand, (he flew her brother, & cutting him in pieces the feattered his limbes in discrete places, of which A Better Inding fome, was faine to fecke out the reft, and fuffer his daughter to paffe: the parts of his fonne hee buried in a place which thereupon he called Tom; the Greeke word fignifieth Dissifton. Afterwards he fent many of his fubicedes to fecke the hippe Argo, threatning that if they brought not backe Medeathery fhould fuffer in her flead. In the meane while the Argonusts were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River Eridanus, which is Po in Italia.

Instite offended with the flaughter of Ablytus, were them with a great temporal, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Illustic Ablytudes, there the flippe Argo (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) Ipake to them, and faid that the anger of Inpater floudd not ceafe, till they came to Aufoins, and were clenked by Cires, from the murther of Abfyrius. Now they thereupon fayling between the coaftes of Isphas, and dallis, and palling through the fen of Surdinia and along the coaft of Hetwiris, came to the Ile of AEsa, wherein Circe dwelt, who cleaned them. Thence they fayled by the coaft of the Syreus, who fang to allure them into danger: but Orpheus on the other fide fang fo wel that he flayed them. Only Butes fwamme out vnto them, whom Fenus ramified, and carried to Ishbesom in Scieller of well.

Hauing paft the Syrens, they came betweene Seylla and Churyhdis, and the ftragling rocks which feemed to call out great force of flames and finoke. But Their and
the Nereides, conneyed them fafe through at the appointment of nine. So they
coasted Siellie where the becues of the Sunne were, and touched at Coreyra the Iland
of the Phexeer, where King Aeinoise reigned. Meane while the men of Whiles that
had beene sent by AEeres in quest of the shippe Argo, hearing no newes of Its. and
fearing his angerifthey fulfilled not his will, betooke themselues to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the mountaines of Coreyra, others in the Ilands Adfyrithet, and some comming to the Pheases, there sound the thippe Argo, and demanded Metaa of Acinous, where to Alienous made answere, that if thee were not 14 slows
to the they should have her, but if shee were alreadic married he' would not take her
from he'r busband. Artee the wife of Alienous hearing this, married them where from the

for e they of Culchos not during to returne home, flayed with the Phaeaers for the Argonautes departed thence, and after a while came to Crete. In this Iland Minos reigned, who had a man of braffe given to him (as formed the Tablest Say) by Fulcan. This man had one veine in his bodie reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed by with a brazen naile, his name was Talus. his cultome wasted runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw, the shippe Argo passed by he threw shones at it, but Medaa with her Magique destroyed him. Some say that the slew him by potions, which made him madde; others that 40 promising to make him immortall, the drew out the naile that stope his veine; by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was stained by Pana, who wounded him with an arrow in the check. From hence the Argonautes failed to destina where the were faint to faith for fresh water. And

laftly from AEgina they failed by Eubea and Locris home to Ioleos, where they arri-

ued, having spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of Isson, wholf find the mysteric of the Philosophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also other superfine Chymists, draw the twelve labours of Heroules. Sudday thinks that by the golden Fleece, was ment a booke of Parcennent, which is of theepeskinn, and therefore called golden, 50 because it was taught therein how other mettals might be transmuted. Others would signifie by Isson wisdome, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable is the opinion of Dereilus, that the Storic of such a passing was true, and that Isson with the rest went indeed to robbe Celebos, to which they might arrive by boate. For not faire from Cauches there are certaine steeper.

falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting vie to fet many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth through, which Strabo witnesseth to be true. The many rockes, straites, fands, and Currents, in the paffage betweene Greece and the bottome of Pontus, are Poetically connerted into those herie bulles, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the Syrens, Scylla and Charybdis, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the Mediterran fea, difguised, as the rest, by Orpheus, under poeticall morrals : all which Homer afterward vfed (the man of braffe excepted) in the description of Vlyffes his transiles on the 10 fame Inland-feas.

VII.
 Of Abimelech, Tholab, and law, and of the Lapytha, and of Thefeus, Hyppolytus &c.

Fter the death of Gedeon, Abimelech his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the Sechemites, remembring what offers had bene made to his father by the people, who defired to make him and his their 20 perpetuail Princes; and asit feemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modestic) that some of his brethren might take on

them the Soucraignrie, practifed with the inhabitants of Seckem (of which his mother was natine) to make election of himfelfe, who being eafily moued with the glorie, to hauea King of their owne, redily condescended and the better to inable Abimelech, they borrowed 70 pieces of filuer of their Idoll Baalberith, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first deteliable enterprife, to wit, the flaughter of his 70. brethren the fonnes of Gidem, begotten on his wines, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but 10th am the voungest, who hid himselfe from his present furie : all which hee executed on 30 one flone, a crueltie exceeding all that bath beene written of in any age. Such is humanchimbition, a monfter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose feuenges are without date and for curel failing) neither hath it respect to na-ture; which laboured the preservation of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though gamished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other passions and affections by which the soules of men are tormented. are by their contraries oftentimes relifted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth enery vice, and is it felfe the childe and darling of Satan, looketh only towards the ends by it felfe fet downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane foeuer) which may ferue it: remembring nothing, whatfoeuer inflice, pictic, right or 40 religion can offer and alleadge on the contrary. It afcribeth the lamentable effectes of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the vndertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and beganne in Angels: for which thy were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more auncient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceeded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the fruart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practife the other, as befitting enery age, and mans condition.

In the youngest of Gideons sonnes having escaped the present perill, sought by his best persyalions to alienate the Sechemites, from the affilting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happie estate of moderate subjection, had refufed to receive as vnlawfull, what others had not power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people)

had appointed them by whome and how to be gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oline, which contented it felfe with it's fatneffe, the Figge tree with fweetnesse, and the Vine with the good juyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downeall the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. He also forestold them by a Propheticall fpirit, what fliould befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and confume the Cedars of Libanon.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right leddcon) Gael the sonne of Ebed withdrew the Citizens of Sechem, from the scruice of Abimelech: who therefore after some affaults entred the place, and maistred it; 10 and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll Badberith was worshipped,

and put all the people of all forts to the flaughter. Laftly, in the affault of the Calle or Tower of Teber, himselfe was wounded in the head with a flone throwne ouer the wall by a woman, and finding himfelfe mortally brufed, he commaunded his owne page to pierce his bodie, thereby to attoid the dishonour of being slaine by fo feeble a hand.

While Abmelech viurped the Gouernment, the Lapithe and Centaures made warre against the Thebanes. These Nations were descended of Apollo and were the first in those parts that denised to mannage horses, to bridle and to sit them : in somuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of Pindus, into the

20 plaines, those which had neuer seene borsemen before, thought them creatures patroparati, it compounded of men and horses 360 did the Mexicans when Ferdinanda Cortes the desirentia,

Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

After the death of Abimeleeh, Thola of Isfachar gouerned Israel 23. yeeres, and after him Jair the Gileadite 22. yeeres, who seemeth to bee descended of Jair the fonne of Manaffe, who in Mofes time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his owne name, Haboth Jair. For to this Jair there remained thir Nam. 83.41. tie of those Cities, which his auncester had recouered from the Amerites. Of these sudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all sudges. their times, Ifrael lived without disturbance and in peace,

When Iair judged Ifrael, Priamus beganne to reigne in Troy, who at fuch time as Hercules facked Ilium, was carried away captine with his fifter Helione into Greece, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, hee rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned Troy; and so farre inlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreme Lordin effect of all Asia the leffe. He married Heeuba the daughter of Cisseus King 10 Tu? of Thrace, and had in all (faith Cicero) fiftie fonnes, whereof feauenteene by Hecuba, of whom Paris was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt Hesione, tooke Helena the wife of Menelaus the cause of the warre which followed.

Thefeus the tenth King of Athers began likewise to reigne in the beginning of Lair: fome writers call him the fonne of Neptune and Athra: but Plutark in the 40 Storie of his life findes him begotten by Agens, of whom the Gracian feet betweene it and Afia the leffe tooke name. For when Minos had maistered the Athemans, fo farre as hee forft them to pay him seauen of their sonnes energy yeere for tribute, whom hee inclosed within a Labyrinth, to bee denoured by the monfter Minotaur : becanfe belike the fonnes of Taurus, which hee begat on Paliphae the Queene, had the charge of them: Among these seauen Theseus thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free his Countrie of that slauerie occasioned for the death of Androgeus, Minos his fonne.

And having possess himselfe of Ariadnes affection, who was Minos daughter hee received from her a bottome of thred, by which hee conducted himfelfe 50 through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the Labyrinth, made in all like that of the Citic of Crocodiles in Egypt; by meane whereof having flaine Minataur, hee found a readie way to returne. But whereas his father Egene had ginen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in fafetie, hee should vse a white faile in figne thereof, and not that mournfull blacke faile, vnder

Perf.5.

which they left the port of Athens. This instruction being either forgotten or neglefted A gens descrying the shippe of Theleus with a blacke faile catt himselfe ouer the rockes into the fea, afterward called of his name Ageum

One of the first famous actes of Theseus, was the killing of Seyron, who kept a pasfage betweene Megara and the Peloponnejian Isthmos, and threw all whom hee mastered into the sea, from the high rockes. Afterward hee did the like to Cereyon, by wreftling, who yfed by that Arte to kill others. Hee also ridde the Country of Procrulles, who yied to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastned by cordes fuch as hee tooke, part of them to one and part to the other bough, and by their springing backe tare them asunder. So did hee roote out Periphetes and other 10 mischieuous theeues and murtherers. Hee ouerthrew the armie of the Amazons, who after many victories and vaftations, entred the Territorie of Athens, Thefeus hauing taken their Queene Hyppolita prifoner, begat on her Hippolytus: with whom afterward his mother in law Phadra, falling in love, and hee refuling to abuse his fathers bed, Phadra perswaded Theseus that his sonne offered to force her: after which it is fained that Thefeus befought Neptune to reuenge this wrong of his fonnes, by fome violent death. Reptune taking a time of advantage fent out his Sea-Calues, as Hippolytus passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as cafting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miscrable and undescrued destinie, when Phadra had heard of, shee strangled 20 herselfe. After which it is fained, that Diana entreated Asculapius to set Hippolytus his pieces togither, and to restore him to life : which done, because hee was chafte, thee ledde him with her into Italie, to accompanie her in her hunting, and field fports.

It is probable that Hyppolytus, when his father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sca, was affronted thereat, and received many woundes in forcing his paffage and escape; which woundes Asculapius, to wit, some skilfull Phisician, or Chirurgion healed againe, after which hee past into Italy, where hee lived with Diana, that is the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of these auncient prophane Stories, Plutarch faith well, that as Cosmographers in 30 their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the fame with strange beastes, birdes, and fishes, and with Mathematicall lines, fo doe the Gracian Historians and Poets, imbroder and intermixe the tales of auncient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous difcourfes. True it is, that Thefeus did many great things in imitation of Hercules, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the Athenians, from being difperft in thinne and ragged villages : in recompence whereof, and for deuifing them lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say per Ostracismum, by the Lawe of Lottes, or names written on shelles, which was a deuice of his 40

Strab.li.g.

In Epift Helen.

Fud.10.3.

Hee stole Helen (as they say) when she was 50. yeeres olde, from Aphidna, which Citie Caftor and Pollux ouerturned, when they followed after Theleus to recouer their fifter. Erafiftratus and Paufanias write that Thefeus begat her with child at Argos, where shee crested a Temple to Lucina: but her age makes that tale valikely to bee true, and so doth Ouid, Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum ere. The rape Eusebius findes in the first of Jair, who gouerned Ifrael 22. yeeres, to whome succeeded Jephta or Jepte fixe yeeres, to whom Ibzan who ruled seauen yeeres, and then Habdon eight yeere : in whose time was the fall of Troy. So as, if Theseus had a childe by her in the first of Iair, (at which time wee must count her no lesse 50 than fifteene yeere olde, for the women did not commonly beginne fo young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeere olde at the destruction of Troy: and when shee was stollen by Paris eight and thirtie: but herein the Chronologers doe not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting with Halicarnasseus

doe in effect confent, that the Citie was entred, and burnt in the first yeere of Demophoon King of Athens, the successour of Mnestheus, the successour of Theleus, feauenteene dayes before the Summer Tropique, and that about the eleventh of September following, the Troians crost the Hellespont into Thrace, & wintred there, and in the next spring that they nauigated into Sicilia, where wintring the second yere, the next fummer they arrived at Laurentum, and builded Lauinium. But S. Augustine hath it otherwise, that when Polyphides gouerned Sicyon , Mnessheus Athens, Tautanes Affyria, Habdon Ifraell, then Aneas arrived in Italie, transporting with him in twen-Angalectides! tie shippes the remainder of the Troians: but the difference is not great: and hercof 10 more at large in the storie of Troy at hand.

In Stepan Phelis the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeeres, beginning by the common account in the time of Thola. His fuccessours, Adrafus who reigness ned foure yeeres, and Polyphides who reigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of Lair, so is also Mnestheus King of Athens, and Atreus, who held a great part of Peloponnesus. In Assiria, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Judges, Mitreus and after him Tautanes reigned. In Agypt Amenophis, the sonne of Ramses, and afterwards Annemenes.

d. VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

N this age was the warre of Thebes, the most auncient that ever Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of. Wherefore the Romane Poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicares in this point held truely against the Peripa-teticks) that the world had a beginning, vigeth them with this

Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumque & mundi, semperque aterna fuêre, Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trois, Non alias alij quoque res cecinere poeta?

If all this world had no originall, But things have cuer beene as now they are: Before the fiege of Thebes or Troyes last fall, Why did no Poet fing fome elder warre?

It is true that in these times Greece was very saluage, the inhabitants being often 40 chaced from place to place, by the captaines of greater Tribes; and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than hee could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or fow more corne than was necessarie for their suftenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was n ot heard in Greece, when Homer did write, who measures the valew of gold and braffe by the worth in cattel; faying that the golden armour of Glaucus, was worth 100. becues, and the copper armour of Diomedes worth nine.

Robberies by land and fea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the viuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not 50 many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycene the principal Citie in Peloponnesus was a very little thing, and it may wel be thought that therest were proportionable : briefly, Greece was then in her infancic, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants might haue enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the

Pp2

Atheniani because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yetthat the land in generall was very rude it will cassly appeare to such as consider, what Thary shides the greatest of their Hilborians bath written to this effect, in the prastice to his Hilboria. Wherefore, as in the selator trimes, idle Clinonicles vse when they want good matter, to fill whole bookes with reports of great frostes, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade, fo did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings, remember onely the great shoods which were in the times of Organians and Demattion: or else rehears selator fables of men changed into birds, of strange moniters, of adulterie committed by their Gods, and the mightie men which they begat, without writing ought that sauou- to red of humanitie before the time of the warre of Thebes: the briefe whereof

QEdipus the fonne of Laius King of Thebes, having beene cast foorth when hee was an infant, because an Oracle forctolde what cuill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow paffage contending for the way, flay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of Thebes, by marriage of the Queene locasta, called by Homer Epicaste: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two lonnes, Eteocles and Polynices. But when in proceffe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vinderstood the gricuous murther and incest hee had committed, he 20 tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang her selfe. Some say, that OEdipus having his eyes pulled out, was expelled Thebes, bitterly curling his fonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howfocuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should reigne one yeere, and the other another yeere; and so by course rule interchangeably: but this appointment was ill observed. For when Polynices had after a yeeres Gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when Eteocles had reigned the first yeere, hee refused to give over the rule to Polynices. Hercupon Polynices fled vnto Argos, where Adrastus the sonne of Talass then reigned, vnto whose pal- 30 lace comming by night, hee was driven to feeke lodging in an out-house, on the

There hee met with Tydeus the sonne of OEneus, who was fledde from Calydon: with whom striuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. Adrastus hearing the noyle came foorth and tooke up the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the shield of Tydeus a Bore, in that of Polynices a Lyon, hee remembred an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduifed to give his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore : and accordingly hee did bestowe his daughter Argia vpon Tydeus, and Deipyle vpon Polynices, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an armie, and affembling as many valiant Captaines as he could draw 40 to follow him, hee was defirous among others to carrie Amphiaraus the fonne of Oicleus a great Soothfayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But Amphiaraus, who is faid to have foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely Adrastus, did both vtterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. Polynices therefore dealt with Eriphyle the wife of Amphiaraus, offering vnto her avery faire bracelet, vpon condition that thee should cause her husband to affish him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of Polynices. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therfore whereas a great controuerlie, betweene Amphyaraus and Adrastus, was by way 50 of compromise put vnto the decision of Eryphile, either of them being bound by folemne oath to stand to her appointment : shee ordered the matter fo, as a woman should, that loued a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was more casie to foresee than avoide destinie, sought such comfort as reuenge might affoord, giving in charge to his fonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother and make strong warre vpon the *Thebanes*.

Now had Adraffus affembled all his forces, of which, the featen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippomedon (in steade of whom some name Medifieus) all Argines, with Polynices the Theban, Tydeus the AEtolian, and Parthenopaus the Arcadian fonne of Meleager and Atalanta. When the armie came to the Nemean wood, they met a woman whom they defired to helpe them to fome water, the having a child in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argines to a 10 foring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had flaine the childe. This woman was Hypsipyle the daughter of Thoas the Lemnian, whom shee would have faued when the women of the Ifle flew al the males by confpiracie intending to lead an Amaz onian life. For fuch her pictic, the Lemnian wives did fell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to Lyeurgus Lord of the Country about Nemer, whose young sonne Opheltes or Archemorus, the did nurse, and lost as is shewed before. When you the childs death thee hid herfelfe for feare of her maister, Amphiaraus told her somes where they should finde her and the Argines did both kill the Screent which had flaine the childe, and in memoric of the chaunce, did inflitute folemne funerall games called Nemean, wherein ... uftus wanne the prize with his fwift horse Arion . Tydeus 20 with whorlebats, Am aus at running and quoiting, Polynices at wreftling, Parthenopeus at shooting, and one Landoeus in darting. This was the first institution of the Nemaan games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many ages. There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one Opheltus, a Lacedamonian. Some fay by Hercules, when hee had flaine the Nemean L you; but the common opinion agrees with that which is here fet downe.

From Nomea the Argines marching onwards, arrived at Citheron, whence Tydens was by them fent Embaffadour to Thekes, to require of Escedes the performance of Couenants betweene him and Polynices. This meffage was nothing agrecable to Escedes, who was throughly refolued to holde what hee had, as long as hee could:
30 which Tydens perceiving and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what

30 which Tyzen betterming and rectioning party to get motions party to try white mettle was in the Thebans, hee made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laide fiftie men in ambulh to intercept him at his returne to the armie, of which fiftie hee flewe all but one, whome hee fent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witnelf of his valour. When the Argines vnderflood how refolued Eteoles was, they prefented themselues before the Citie, and incamped round about it. Thebesis faid to haue had at that time seauen gates, which belike stoode not farre asunder, seing that the Argines (who afterward when they were very faire stronger, could scarce muster who more thousandes then Thebes had gates) did compasse the towne. Advassus 40 quartered before the gate Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogystan, Tydeus before

40 quartered octrot the gate runniadas, capanels octrot the Ogytan, 19 and before Crenis, Amphirams at Prefixs, Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopeus at Electra, and Polymies at Hippfila. In the mean feafon, Eteocles hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanunders wrote them, took eadulifor Treflus the Soothfayer, who promifed victorie to the Thebans, if Menseins the fonne of Creon a principall man of the Citie, would wowehimfelfe to be effaine in honour of Offars the God of warre. So full ofmalice and pride is the Dirull, and lo enuious at his Creators glorie, that hee not onely challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and facrifice with all Diuine worthippe, but commanundeth vs to offer out felues, and our children wrote him, when hee hath fufficiently clowded mens vnderthanding, 50 and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deutotion. And fuch abhominable facrifice of men, maides, and children hath hee exacted of the Sprinns, Car

nable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath bee exasted of the Syrians, Cartheginans, Gelles, Germanes, Cyprians, & Eyptians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grewe more wife, so did he waxelesse impudent in cunning, though not

leffe malitious in defiring the continuance of fuch barbarous inhumanitie. For King Diphilus in Cipres without adulfe of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. Tiberius forbad humane sacrifices in Affrick : and crucified the Priestes in the groues where they had practifed them. Hercules taught the Italians to drowne men of have in stead of the liuing yet among the faluages in the West Indies these cruell offerings have been practifed of late ages; which as it is a fufficient argument that Satans malice is onely covered and hidden by this fubtiltie among citill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarifmes then reigning in Greece. For Menacius as foone as hee vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people; bestowed himselfe (as 10 hee thought) yoon Mars, killing himfelfe before the gates of the Citie. Then was a battell fought, wherein the Argines prenailed fo farre at the first, that Capanew advancing ladders to the walles, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when hee fell or was cast downe, or (as writers hane it ) was stricken downe by Jupiter with a thunderbolt, the Argines fled. Many on each part were flaine in this battell, which caused both sides to defire that Eteocles and Polynices might trie out the quarrell in fingle fight : whereto the two brethren according, flewe each

Another battell was fought after their death, whereig the fonnes of Allagus behaued themselues very valiantly: Ilmarus one of the sonnes slewe Hippomedon 20 which was one of the feuen Princes: Parthenopeus being another of the feauen (who was faid to have beene so faire that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was flaine by Amphidicus, or as fome fay, by Periclymenus the fonne of Neptune; and the valiant Tydeus by Menalippus: yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought vnto him by Amphiaraus, which hee cruelly tore open and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is faid, that Pallas who had brought from Jupiter fuch remedie for his wound, as should have made him immortall, refused to beflow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall did perish through the beaftly rage, that hee shewed at his

The hoaft of the Argines being wholly discomfitted, Adrastus and Amphiaraus fledde: of whom Amphiaraus is said to haue been swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the river Ismenus, togither with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens fight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carcafes or drowned in the river; and his bodie neuer found nor greatly fought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to Athens; where fitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies . For Creen having obtained the Government of Thebes, after the death of Eteocles, would not fuffer the bodies of the Argines to bee buried : but caused Antigone, the only daughter then living of OEdipus, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and 40 buried the bodie of her brother Polynices, contrary to Creons Edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of Adrastus, did send foorth an armie under the Conduct of Thefeus, which tooke Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Argines to Sepulture: at which time Euadnethe wife of Capaneus, threw herfelfe into the funerall fier, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the fonnes of those Captaines which were flaine at Thebes, that any leffereuenge should bee taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeeres after having levied forces AEgialeus the sonne of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promachus of Parthenopaus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfunder of Polynices, and Euripylus of Meciftens, marched thither under the conduct of Alemeon the fonne of Amphiarans: 50 with whom also went his brother Amphiloitus. Apollo promised victoric if Alemeon were their Captaine, whom afterward by another Oracle hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the citie, they were incountred by Laodamas the fon of Eteocles

then King of the Thebanes, (for Creen was only Tutor to Laedamas ) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and flew Agialeus, yet was he put to the worst, and driuen to flie,or (according to Apollodorus) llaine by Alemaon. After this difafter the citizens began to defire composition; but in the meane time they conuaied themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Towne called Effica. The Argines when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Towne, entring into it, lacked it. threw downe the walls, and laid it wast; howbeit it is reported by some that the Towne was faued by Ther fander, the sonne of Polynices, who causing the Citizens to 10 returne, did there raigne over them. That hee faved the Citic from vtter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the Thebanes to the Warre of Troy, which very shortly after ensued.

### d. VIII.

Of IEPMTA, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, IVD. II. v.28. are to be reconciled with the places ACT. 13.20. I.R EG. 6.1. together with some other thinges touching Chronologic about thele times.

Ther the death of Lair (neare about whose times these thinges happened in Greece, and during whose gouernment, and that of Thola, Ilrael liued in peace and in order) they revolted againe from the law, and feruice of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worthipped Baal and Afteroth, they

now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adioyning, and imbraced the Idolls of the Aramites, of the Zidonians, Moabites, and Ammonites : with those of the Ind. 18 Philistims. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the Aramites, by the Amalekites, and Midianites: To now hee scourged them by the Ammonites, and after- The

30 ward by the Philistims. Now among the Ifraelites, those of Gilead being most oppress, because they bor-18, years are dered upon the Ammonites, they were inforst to seeke tephta, whom they had for- sneed in the merly despited and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (not with- World 2812) flanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of de- in which years uilish hatred and reuenge, was content to leade the Gileadites to the Warre, vpon lethia began, condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victorie. And when he had disputed with Ammon for the Land, disproued Ammons right, and fortified the title of Ifrael by many arguments, the same prenailing nothing, he beganne the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouer-threw them: and did not only beate

them out of the plaines, but forfithem ouer the mountaines of Arabia, euen to Min. 14d. 11. 12. nith, and Abel of the vineyards, Cities express heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is faid, that he performed the vaine vow, which hee made, to facrifice the first living creature hee incountred, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and only desired two Moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion that shee was not offered, is more probable, which perinted Borrheus and others proue fufficiently.

After these thinges the children of Ifrael, of the Tribe of Ephraim, either envious 50 of Iephta's victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grieuous slauerie that euer Ifrael suffered, quarrelled with Iephta, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with Gideon. Tephia hereupon inforst to defend himselfe against their furie, in the incounter slew of them two and fortie thousand, which so weakened the body of the Land, as the Philistims Indiana,

2925.

2ud. t 1.28.

Ad.11.20.

1,King.6.1.

had an easie conquest of them all not long after: Iephta after he had judged Israel fix yeares died : to whom succeeded Ibzan, who ruled seuen yeares : after him Elon was their Indge, ten yeares : in all which time Ifrael had peace. Eufebius finds not Elon, whom he calleth Adon, for in the Septuagint, approved in his time, this Judge was

Now before I goe on with the reft, it shall bee necessarie voon the occasion of

Jenbra's account of the times Ind. 11.28. ( where he faies that Ifrael had then poffer the Fast side of Jordan 200, yeares) to speake somewhat of the times of the Judges. and of the differing opinions among the Diuines and Chronologers : there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point feeming repugnant, or disagree- 10 ing: the first is in this dispute betweene Jephta and Ammon, for the right and poffesfion of Gilead: the second is that of S. Paul Act. 13. the third that which is in the first of Kings. Iephta here challengeth the possession of Gilead for 200. yeares : Saint Paul giveth to the Indges, as it feemes, from the end of Iofua, to the last of Heli, 450. yeares. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of Ifrael out of Agypt, to the foundation of Salomons Temple, there were confumed 480. yeares. To the first Beroaldus findeth Jephta's 200. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of Id facit nume- feth a certaine number, for an vncertaine : Sie vt dieat annum agi propè trecente simum, 20 ro certo prom-certopro, posto. ex quo nullus litem ea dere mouerit Israeli; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yere, fince Ifrael poffeffed those Contries, no man

Iolua, 40, of Othoniel, 80, of And and Samgar, 40, of Debora, 40, of Gideon, 2, of Abimilech, 23. of Thola, and 22. of Jair: But Jephta (faith Beroaldus) putteth or propomaking question of their right. Codoman on the contrarie finds more yeares than Jephta named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in Ifraels captivitie, at severall times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) Jephta forbare to repeate the whole fumme or any great part, leaft the Ammonite should have justly objected, that 71. of those yeares, the Ifraelites were in captinitie and vaffalls to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300. yeares it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest. To inflific this account of 365, yeares, belides the 71, yeares of captinitie or af- 20

fliction, to be added to Beroaldus his 266. he addethalfo 28, yeares more, and so maketh vp the fumme of 365. These 28, yeares hee findeth out thus: 20, yeares hee giues to the Seniers betweene Iolua and Othoniel: and where Beroaldus alloweth but 18. yeares to Io/na his government, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to Iosephus; whereas S. Augustine and Eusebius gine him 27. Melanchton 32. The truth is that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of thefe, we have the just number of 300, yeares. Neither is it strange that Iephta should leave out more than halfe 40 of these yeares of affliction: seeing as it is already said the Ammontes might except against these 71. yeares, and say that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the Ifraelites had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. Martin Luther is the Author of a third opinion making those 300, yeares remembred by Iephta, to be 306. which odde yeares, faith he, Iephta omitteth. But because the yeares of enery Indge as they raigned, cannot make up this number of 206, but doe only compound 266, therefore doth Luther adde to this number, the whole time which Moles spent in the Delarts of Arabia Petran; which fortie yeares of Moles added to the number which Beroaldus findeth of 266, make indeede 206.

But I fee nothing in the text to warrant Luthers judgement herein: for in the dispute betweene Iephta and Ammon for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon in these wordes. Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came up from Agypt from Arnon unto Iaboc, & c. now therefore reflore those Landes questy or in peace. So by this place it is plaine that the time is not to bee accounted from Mo/es departure

out of Egypt: but from the time that the Land was posself. For it is said, Quià cepit Ifrael terram meam; Because Ifrael tooke my Land : and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking : which Tephtas answere also confirmeth in these wordes. When Ifrael dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 200. yeares: why did vee not then recover them in that space? fo as this place speakes it directly, that Ifrael had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 200. yeares : and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that I frael had to possesse it, it seemeth fomewhat strained to me; for wee doe not vie to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purpoles, but from their victories and pof-

Junius neuerthelesse likes the opinion of Luther, and saies that this time of 200. yeares hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of Iephtas narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of Moles whole journey : to wit, at the fixteenth Verse of the eleuenth Chapter of Indges in our translation in these wordes. But when Ifraelcame up from Egypt, &c. and therefore Moses his 40. yeares (as he thinks) Junios in the 11 are to be accounted, which make the number of 305, yeares; and not only the time of tud. rat, in which Ifrael poffest Gilead, according to the Text and Iephtas owne wordes: of which I leave the judgement to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we 20 may not beginne the 480. yeares, from the deliuerance out of Agypt to the Temple, even from the first departure out of Agypt, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of S. Pauls and Iephtas account with this reckoning, than any of those

that as yet haue beene fignified. For first, touching tepht as 300. yeares of possession of the East side of Iordan, it is to be remembred that for a good while before the Israelites poffeffed it, Sehon and Og had dispoffeffed Moab and Ammon thereof: fo that when the Ifraelites had conquered Sehon and Og, the right of possession, which they had paffed to Ifrael; and so lephta might say that they had possessed those Countries 200. yeares, reckoning 266. yeares of their owne possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings Sehon and Og, whose right the Ifraelites had by the law 30 of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. Paul Act. 13. that from the end of Iosua to Read the 24 of the beginning of Samuel, there past 450 yeares. And this place Luther understan- Influs, and the dethalfo befides the letter, (as I finde his opinion cited by Function Krent femius, and remain classes) Beza, for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of 4. Beza in his Mofes, to the last yeare of Heli, but 357. yeares: and this hee doth the better to ap- Annotations proue the times from the egreffion out of Agypt to the building of the Temple, of the Adis v. so which in the first King. 6. is faid to be 480. yeares.

Now for as much as S. Paul (as it feemes) finds 450. yeares from the death of Jofua, to the last of Heli, and leaves but 30. yeares for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40 40. for David who ruled 40. and for Salomon who ware the Crowne three whole yeares ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore Luther takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrate out this peece of Scripture of S. Paul: to wit. Then afterward he gaue unto them Judges about 450. yeares, unto the time of S A- 45,13.20. MVEL the Prophet: the wordes then afterward, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of Iofua, as shall be hereafter proued. But where S. Luke rehearing the wordes of S. Paul wrate 350. yeares (faith Luther) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinitie of those two Greeke wordes, whereof the one fignifieth 300 and the other 400 wrate Tetracofiois for Triacofiois 400 yeares, for 300. yeares, and 450. for 350. This hee feeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to 50 which opinion Beza in his great Annotations adhereth. A contrarie judgement to this bath Codoman: where Luther and Beza beginne at Moles death, he takes his account from the death of Io/ua, and from thence to the beginning of Samuel he makes 430. yeares: to wit of the Indges (not reckoning Sampsons yeares) 319 and of yeares of seruitude and affliction under strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon

Ind.13.

Sampfons 20. yeares, is because he thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeares, in which the Philiflims are faid to have oppreffed Ifrael. For it is plaine that during all Samplons time they were Lords oner Ifrael. So then of the Iudges, besides the 111. wares of feruitude, Codoman reckoneth (as I have faid) 319 yeares, which two fummes put together make 430. yeares, and whereas S. Paul nameth 450. yeares, he finds 20. yeares to make vp S. Pauls number, to have beene fpent after the death of lofus by the Soniors, before the captinitie of Chufban, or the election of Othoniel: which 25, yeares added to 430, make 450, according to S. Paul. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of lofus, and the second of Iniges, in each of which places it is written, that Ifrael ferned the Lord 10 all the daies of Iosva, and all the daies of the Elders that over-lived Iosva, foasto thefe times of the Elders, Codeman gineth 20 yeares, which make as before 450.according to S. Paul. Neither would it breede any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeares of the Seniors, betweene Josus and Othoniel, should be denied. For they which denie these yeares and make Othoniels 4c, to beginne presently ypon the death of losus, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20. yeares lesse than Codoman, fo toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeares of affliction apart from the yeares of the Iudges) in the number of Samplons yeares and of the 40. yeares of the Philiftims oppreffing the Ifraelites, they have 20. yeares more than Codoman. For they reckon these 40. yeares of oppression all of them a-part from 20 Sampsons 20. but Codoman as is said makes Sampsons 20. to be the one halfe of the 40. of the Philistims oppressions; so that if the 20. yeares of the Seniors, be not allowed to Codoman, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce) that the Philistims in an Inter-regnum, before Sampson judged Ifrael, vexed the Ifraelites 40. yeares belides the 20. while Sampson was their Judge, and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeares betweene the end of Iofia, and the beginning of Samuel, though wee admit not of any Inter-regnum of the Seniors, betweene Iofua and Othoniel : For if the times of their affiletion be fummed, they make 111. yeares, to which if we adde the yeares of the Indges, which are 339, we have the inft fumme of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may feeme to bee much more probable, than 20 theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and reade with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. yeares, is to beginne immediatly, or soone after the death of Moses: certainly the place of S. Paul doth euidently teach the contrarie, though it bee received for true that there was vitium feriptoris in the rest. For these be S. Pauls wordes : And about the time of 40. yeares, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroied Seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them bylot. Then afterward he gaue unto them Indges about 450. yeares, unto the time of SAMVEL the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moles and of his yeares spent in the wildernesse, then in the nineteenth verse he commeth to the acts of Josus; which 40 were that he destroied seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth verse it followeth: Then afterward hee gaue them Indges about 450. yeares, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of Moles, is wide of S. Pauls meaning, so farre as my weake understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any waight in opinion of Codoman touching this place, in the Acts is that it seemes irreconciliable with the account 1. Rev. 6.11. For if indeede there were spent 450. yeares betweene the end of Iosua and the beginning of Samuel, certainly there must needes be much more than 480, yeares betweene the beginning of the Israelites iournying from Agypt, and the foundation of the Temple by Salomon. To this difficultie Codoman answereth, that these 480. yeares 1. Reg. 6. 1, must be ginne to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their lournying from Egypt, which he makes to be 25. yeares after the beginning of Otheniels gouernment; from whence if we cast the yeares of the Indges, with the yeares of sernitude (which fummes according to his account, of which we have already spoken,

make 397. yeares) and so to these yeares adde the 40. of Samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of Dauid, and the 3. of Salomon, wee shall have the inst summer of 480. yeares. Neither is that distinhed, that the annue specifions is not of the other doctored gerefions in some interpretable feel finite, the yeare of their comming out of \*\*Egypt (for so it is in the originally or the yeare after they came out of \*\*Egypt, may well be vinder-flood for the yeare after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so wee finde that thinges which were done 40. yeares after they had set foot out of \*\*Egypt, are fail to bane been done in their going out of \*\*Egypt, as Ifd. 1 1.4. When If rule came out of \*\*Egypt, sordan was driven back, 10 and Dott. 44.4. These west tests (finitions) with 0 or \$\*Egypt, sordan was driven back, 20 and Dott. 44.4. These west test (finitions) with 0 or \$\*Egypt, sordan was driven back, 20 and Dott. 44.4. These west test (finitions) with 0 or \$\*Egypt, sordan was driven back, 20 and Dott. 44.4. These west test (finitions) with 0 or \$\*Egypt, sordan was driven back, 20 and Dott. 44.4. These west test (finitions) with 0 or \$\*Egypt, sordan was driven back as the sordan was driven back, 20 and 20

CHAP. 12. S. 8. of the Historie of the World.

The next point to be cleared is how their iournying should be faid not to have had end vntill the 2.5, yeare after the victorie of othernel. To this codeman answereth that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not vntill this time: at which time the Dantes at length sated 20 themselves, as it is declared Ind. 18 For doubtlessee to this time the expedition may

20 themseliues, as its acctared Ind. 18-For doublishes to this time the expedition may most connected by the referred. And thus without any great inconnectinector him appearing doth Codoman reconcile the account of tophra, and S. Paul, with that in the first of Kingis. 6-Now whereas it is faid that the expedition of the Danites was when Ind. 18.15 there was no King in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it is not necessfair that we should suppose that Othoniel liued all those ao, yeares of rest, of which Ind. 3, 11 I fo that by the 2, yeare after his victorie, either he might have been dead, or at least as Gideon did, he might have resulted all sourcingstife, and Go either way it might truly be faid that at this time (to wit, the 25, yeare after Othoniels victorie) there was no King in Israel. This opinion of Codoman, if it were as consonant to other Corazon Robogors grounding their opinions on the plaine T ext, where it is indisputable, as it

30 mongers ground enough and coherent; might perhaps be receited as good: effectially confidering that the specches of S.Paul, have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as also futely true, in fach manner as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authoritie, we may justly suffect the supposition whereupon his opinions ignorated; it being fach as the content of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codeman that the conquest of Laufh, by the T tibe of Dan, was performed in the flue and twentieth years of Othomiel? Or what other probabilitie hath he than his owne consecutor, to show that othomiel did so renounce the office of a ludge after 40 flue and twentie yeares, that it might then be truly said there was no King in 1/5 rael, but curely man did that which was good in his owne eas.

Now concerning the rehearfall of the law by Mofes, and the flopping of Iordan, they might indeed be properly faid to haue beene, when Ifrael came out of Expris, like as we day that King Edward the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke he can finden of such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth aiourney by an accident, or faith by concurring the proposition, when Iordan was turning back, Ifrael came out of Expris. Indeed most vnproper it were to give date vnto actions commenced long after, from an expedicion finished long before, namely to say that King Edward at his articulout of Pa-

50 tion finished long before, namely to say that King Edward at his arrivall out of Palessima, did winne Scotland, or died at Carlile. How may we then believe that enterprize performed so many yeares after the division of the Land (which followed the conqueltat the journies end) should be said to have beene at the time of the departure out of Agypt. Or who will northinke it most strange that the most notable

account of time, feruing as the only guide for certaine ages in facred Chronologie, floudd not take name and beginning from that fluthrious delinerance out of Leppt, rehearfed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to fixed, where of the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewife are the yeare and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the year vpon that occation changed, but flould haue reference to the furprizing of a Towneby 600. men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and flool from thence Idolls to be their guides, as not going to worken Gods pame? For this accident whereupon Cooloman buildeth hath either no time giuen to it, or a time farre different from that which he supposeth, and is indeeder rather by him placed in such a yeare, because it best flood with his inter-to-pretation for to haue it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle S. Paul did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen Ifrael to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by Indges, and Prophets, vnto the time of Saul: did raise vp our Lord Iefus Christ out of the feede of David the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should have no end. Now in rehearing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have beene the true Messas) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation 20 of times (the Historie being so well knowne and beleeued of the Iewes to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeares consumed in the wildernesse, whereof no man doubted, saying that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40, yeares. In like manner he proceeded saying that from the divifion of the Land vnto the daies of Samuel the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450, yeares. Neither did he stand to tell them. that an hundred and eleuen yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 230, yeares of the Indges: for this had beene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is a worke not so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that 30 which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480, yeares is fo express and purposely set downe.

Now that the wordes of S.Paul (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of Chronologie, but must be taken as having reference to the memorie and apprehension of the yulgar, it is cuident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeares to the raigne of Saul: whereas it is manifest that those yeares were divided between Saul and Samuel, yea that farr the greater part of them were spent under the gouernment of the Prophet, how focuer they are here included in the raigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning for fake the generall opinion when it fauoureth not fuch exposition 40 as they bring out of a good minde to helpe where the neede is not oner-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The wordes of S. Paul were fufficiently instified by Beroaldus, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those daies, that the 111, yeares of seruitude were to be reckoned a part from the 339, yeares afcribed to the Indges; which accompt the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a quali, where he faith quali quadringent is & quinquaginta annis; As it were four ehundred and fiftie yeares. But Codoman being not thus contented, would needes have it to be fo indeede; and therefore diffoynes the members to make the accompt euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precifely doth cast up the yeares from the departure out of Egypt, vnto the building of Salomons Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given

faith to his owne interpretation of S. Paul, he thinketh it more needfull to find fome new expolition for that which is of it felte most plaine; shan to examine his owne coniecture you a place that is full of control defte. This by expounding, after a firrange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he looseth himself in those wates wherein before him neuer han walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answere, That otherwise could not gouerne aboue 25, yeares, because then was the taking of Lass, at which time there was no King in Jirael; That the Danties must needes have taken Lassis at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the Soundation of the 12 Templet only action that might be termed the comming of Jirael out of Lassis, without excluding the yeares of fertivated, and that the yeares of fertivated must needes be included, for that otherwise he himselfes should have spent his kinne vainely, in Seeking to pleasure S. Pausi with an exposition. Albeither this ground be throng enough to vphold a paradoxe, I senue it to the decision of any indicious R ender.

And now to proceede in our florie. To the time of lephs are referred the death of Hereules, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the provilions which been husband. Menn-law, taiging then in Jopets, and his prototion, y symmony Kingof Myeris, indee for her recoverie. Others referre this rape of Henry the four between of Hesen from which time, if the Warre of Try (as they uppost) did not beginned ill the third of Month time, if the Warre of Try (as they uppost) did not Elons, yet the Greekes had they eyers, to prepare the findious is the rule holding not true in this Warre, long, preparate hells elevent affer without it, that a long preparation begets if heedle with one to the Greekes and they are the preparation for the Greekes confunction years in the agreempt and Try as it feetnes was entred, lack than do burnt in the third dear of Hebbith.

Three yeares die Toy taken, which was in the fire yeare of Tablon, \*\*Tork at rived in Table. Tablom in the eighth yeare of the rule died, after he had beene the Father of 40. Ionnes and 30. grand-children. And whereart is finprofeed, that the Judaina, 40. yeares of freads oppression by the Pablithme (of which Judaina, 14), tooks beginning from the ninth yeare of Tath and ended which he fall of \*\*Laborn\*\* I say name and for the opinion. For Ephrain bad had the earlie of superior languant Lephra, for its calling them to Warre over Invalue, if the Pablithme had held them in Gruinted in their owne I criticories and if Ephrain could have brought 4,2000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress, and had it been true that they were, who will doube but that they would rather have fought against the Pablithms with so powerfull an Armie for their owne delinerance, than against their owne Derthen the IfPacities But Ammon being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other cremie. And therefore these 40. yeares must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of Samplem and afterward: or effect by must be referred to the inter-expanse between the

death of Habdon, and the deliverance of Ifrael by Sampson, such as it

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CHAP.

r.King.6.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

ò. I.

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of the Genealogic of the Kings of Trey, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historicall truth.



HE Warre at Toy with other Stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most Chromologers is found in the time of Habdon, hadge of Ifrael, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to intreate of in one intire narration, be-20 ginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to breake the Storie into peeces by rehearling a-part indivers veness the dispersitie of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of Tray is vncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teneer and

Durdanus were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of Virgil: which if he (as Reineceius thinkes) tooke from Berofus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it from him, then it refls vpon the authoritie of Virgil, who fiith thus.

Ancid. 3.

Crèta I o v 1 s magni medio iacet infula Ponto:
Monsi desse vols, de gentis cundoula noistra.
Centum Vrobe solutiant magnas, oberrinaregna:
Maximus vande Pater (fi rite auditas recordor)
T e v c. w v 8 Robetas prinum eff aducettus ad ora s:
Optanish, locum vegno. Nondam Iliam de acces
Per games fleteront: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hins Mater Cultrix Cybele, Corybantiań, sera,
Idaumi, pennus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Where I o v E was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundreth great and goodly Cities fland.
Thence (if I follow nor milfaken flame)
T E v e E R the eldelt of our grand-fires came
T othe R hatean flores: and raigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
T he Towers of T roy: their dwelling place they fought
Inloweft vales. Hence C v = E L = rites were brought:
Hence Corybuntian Cymbules did remoue:
And hence the name of four Idams groue.

Thus

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Thus it seemes by Firgil, who followed furely good authoritie, that Tencer first gaue name to that Countrie, wherein heraigned ere Trey was built by Dardanus: of which Dardanus in the samebooke he speakes thus.

Eft locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt: Terrauniqua, potens arms atque vibere glela. Osmoriy cidunec vini, mus. Emaminores. Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem. Hanobis propria sedeci-inco Da RON N. N. S. ortus: Iassing, Turney genus à que Principe nostrum:

Messer at the Gracians call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race.
Observins held it, now the later progenie
Gittes it their Captaines name, and calls it Italie.,
This seate belongs to vs, hence DAADANYS,
Hence came the Author Ofour flock, Iden.

Also Aneid.

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At g, equidem memini (fama est observior annis)
Ammeso ita ferre senes, bis ortus va agris
DARDANY S Ideas Phygia penetrauit ad vrbes,
Threiciand, Samum, que nune Samothracia serturHincillum Coryii Tyrrhenâ ab sede prosectum
Aureanune solio stellantis regia casi
Accipit, &c.

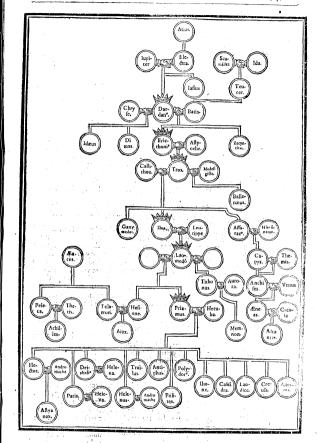
Some old Anvancans, I remember well
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell
Of DARDANYS, how bornein India:
From hence he into Phrygia did flie.
And leauing Tuscaine where he earth had place)
With Corystus did faile to Samostinace.
But now inthronized he sits on high
In golden Palace of the flarier skie.

But contrarie to this, and to fo many Authors, approuing and confirming it, Reineccius thinkes that these names, Troes, Teueri, and Thraces, are derived from Tiras 40 or Thir as the sonne of laphet: and that the Dardanians, Mylians, and Assanians, mixt with the Troians, were Germane Nations, descended from Ashkenaz, the sonne of Gomer: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and River of Ascanius in Asia tooke name. That Ashkenaz gaue name to those places and people it is not vnlikely: neither is it unlikely that the Ascani, Dardani, and many others, did in after-times passe into Europe: that the name of Tencer came of Tiras, the coniccture is somewhat hard. Concerning Tencer, whereas Halicarnasseus makes him an Athenian, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. Fireil (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of Crete, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully fought, and in this did follow: 50 feeing it no way concerned Augustus (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether Teucer were of Crete or no. Reineceius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus and others, that thinke him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Sonne of Sonmander and Ida, Lord of the Countrie, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus, founder of Troy. Reineccius further

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thinkes that Atlas raigned in Samothracia, and gaue his Daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus: and that these were Parents to Chryle, first wife to Dardamu. Virgil holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the sonne of Eleêtra by Inpiter, which Electra was the Daughter of Atlas, and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom shee bare Infins. Annius out of his Berefis finds the name of Cambobla (con, to whom he gives the addition of Coritus, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of Dardanus and Iasius; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction between these Bretheren, which grew to such heate, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into Samothrace. The obscuritie of the historie giues leaue to Annius of saying what he lift. I that loue not to vse such liber- 10 tie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Sonne of Lapiter, it must have beene of some older Impiter than the Father of those that lived about the Warre of Troy. So is it likewise probable that Aslas the Father of Electra Eucoce, decon, was rather an Halian than an African, which also is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often beene faid) there were many Inpiters, and many of allmost energy name of the Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my selfe with making any narrow fearch into these fabulous antiquities, but set downe the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to Teuer such Parents as Diodorus giues, because others give him none, and carrying the line of Dardanus in manner following. 30

Atlas



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the Trotan Kingdome, with the length of enery Kings raigne, I have chosen good Authors to bee my guides, that in a Historic, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greekes, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the confent of Writers, and generall paffage of thinges elsewhere done. And first for the detiruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by Diolorus to be 780, yeares more ancient than the beginning of the 94th. Olympiad. Wherea charefore 372, did passe betweene the beginning of the Olympiaels, and the first yeare of the 94th, it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is, 408. yeares went betweene the destruction 10 of Troy, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authoritie of Died in pref. Die orus be good proofe, who elfewhere tells vs, that the returne of the Herachda, which was 80. yeares after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeares before the first

Dianyf.Halic.

Died.l.14.

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of Tionifus Halicarnafeus, who placing the foundation of Rome in the first of the seuenth Olympiad, that is four and twentie yeares after the beginning of those games, accounts it 4:2 later than the fall of Troy. Solin Politifica. Solina in expresse wordes makes the institution of the Olympiads by Iphitus, whom he calleth Iphiclius, 408. yeares later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is eafily collected by necessarie inference out of diners other places in the same 20 Eufeb deprep. booke. Hercunto doth Eufebius reckoning excludinely agree : and Eratofthenes Emaglito. (as hee is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) makes vp out of many particulars, Cts. alex, from the fame totall fumme, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewife excludible.

> The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by Clemens in the fame place, doe neither cohere any way nor depend upon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Tray being in the years before the Olympiads foure hundred and eight : wee must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of Eufebius, who leades vs from Dardanus on-wards through the raignes of 39 foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fine and twentie voltres; and after of Priamus, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder Laomedon, wee are faine to doe, as others have done before vs, and take it vpon trust from Annua his Authors; beleening Atanetho so much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former Kings raignes and of Priamus, he is found to agree with Eusebins, which may give vs leave to thinke that Annius hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very fcrupulous; for feeing that no Hiflorie or accompt of time depends upon the raigne of the former Kings, but only youn the ruine of the Citie vnder Priamus, it may fuffice that wee are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yearg.

True it is that some objections appearing waightie, may be alleadged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answeres I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the Greekes knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the

The first enterprise that was under-taken by generall consent of all Greece was the last Warre of Troy, which hath beene famous enen to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there affembled : the great battailes fought with variable successe : the long indurance of the siege ; the 50 destruction of that great Citie; and the many Colonies planted in fundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the Troians, as by the victorious Greekes after their unfortunate returne. All which thinges with innumerable circumftances of especiall note, have beene delivered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits

of many writers, especially by the I oems of that great Homer, whose verses have giuen immortalitie to the action, which might elfe perhaps haue bene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes done both before and fince that time. For it is true which Horace faith;

> Vixère fortes ante AGAMEMNONA Multi, sed omnes illach imabiles Vrgentur, ignotique longâ Notte: carent quià vate facro.

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne Ere AGAMEMNON: yet lye all opprest Vnder long night, vnwept for and vnknowne: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet foit is, that whileft these writers have with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they fought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ig-20 norance of the Historic, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that wee feeke for the knowledge of fuch actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did menage them of Poets, in whose works are both profit & delight: yet fmall profit to those which are delighted ouermuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked trueth, shall finde matter in Poems, not vnworthy to bee regarded of Historians. For those thinges excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authours, written of this great warre. All writers confent with Homer, that the rape of Helen by Paris the fonne of Priamus, was the cause of taking armes; but how he was hereunto emboldened it is doubtfull. 

Of the Rape of HELEN: and firength of both fides for the warre.



Erodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phanicians had rauished Io, and carried her into Egypt, the Greekes to bee reucinged on the Barbarians, did first rauish Europa whom they brought out of Phanicia into Creta, and afterward Otedes, whom they fetcht from Colchos, denying to reflore her to her fa-

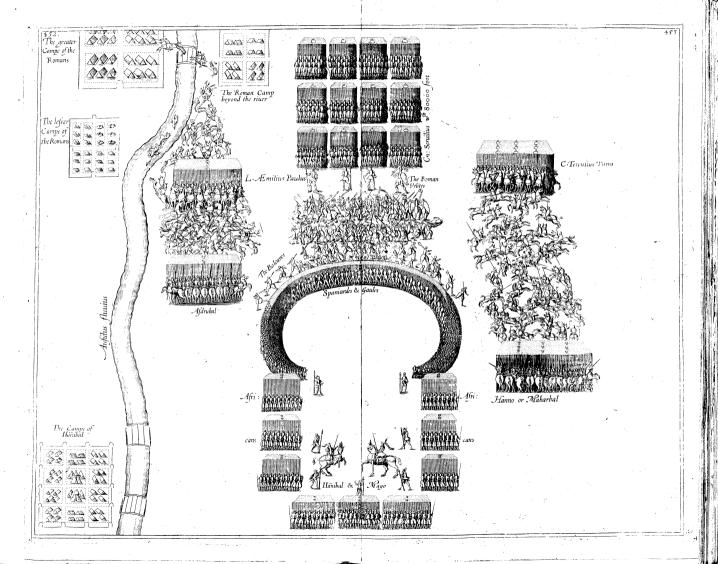
40 ther, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of 10. By these deedes of the Greekes, Paris (as the same Herodotus affirmes) was imboldened to doe the like; not fearing such reuenge as insued. But all this narration seemes friuolous. For what had the King of Colchos to doe with the injurie of the Phanicians? or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of 10, plead any quarrell against him, that neuer had heard the name of Phanicians? Thucydides a writer of vnquestionable sinceritie maketh it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not yfed at all in Homers time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greekes themselves were not then called all by one name Hellenes, as afterwards. So that it were vnreasonable to think, that they should have sought reuenge vpon all Nations as barbarous, for the iniu-50 rie receiued by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the Greekes, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselues. Others with more probabilitie say,

that the rape of Helen was to procure the redeliuery of Helione, King Priamus his fifter, taken formerly by Hercules, and given to Telamen. This may have beene true.

for Telamon (as it feemes ) was a cruell man, feeing his owne forme Tencer durft not come in his fight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cypres, one ly because his brother Aiax ( which Tencer could not remedie ) had flaine himfelfe. Yet, were it fo that Hesione was ill intreated by Telamon, it was not therfore likely, that Priamus her brother would fecke to take her from her husband, with whom the bad lived about thirtie veeres, and to whom the had borne children which were to faceeede in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that Paris had no regard, either to the rape of Europs. Medas, or Helione; but was meerely incited by Venus, that is by his luft, to do that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greekes from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greekes, as Herodotis discourseth, but all people were ac- 10 customed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some farre Country, or keepe them to their owne vie. So did Theleus and Pirvihous attempt Proferpina; and fo did Thefew (long before Paris) rauith Melen. And thefe practifes, as it appeares in Thury lides were to common, that none durft inhabite necre vnto the fea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no leffe lawfull than merchandife: wherefore Tyndareus the father of tielen, confidering the beautie of his daughter, and the rape which Theieus had made, caused all her wooers who were most of the principall men in Greece, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if shee were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recouer her. This 20 done, hee gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who chofe Menelaus brother to Agamemnon. So the cause which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge of Helens rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made vnto her father Tyndareus. Hercunto the great power of Agamemnon was not a little helping; for Agamemnon besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the Areadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarqued for Troy in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or ledde by the reputation and power of the two brethren, Agamemnon and Menelaus; or defirous to partake of 20 the profit and honour in that great enterprife; take armes against the Troians. The Greekes Fleet was (by Homers account) 1200. Fayle or thereabouts; but the veffels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build shippes with deckes; onely they vsed (as Thucydides faith) small shippes, meete for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fiftie men, the greatest 120. euery man(except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Gracian armie confished of 100000, men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that ouer was raifed out of Greece; and the greatnesse of this amie, doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which tenne whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie not the tenth part of this 40 number, as Agamemnon faid in the second of Homers Iliades; but their followers and avdes were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Millia, and the greatest part of Misthe leffe, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazones also brought them fuccour. And Rhefus out of Thrace, and Memnon out of Affyria (though some

thinke out of Athiopia) came to their defence.



ð. III.

Of the Gracians iourney, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helenacs being detained in Ægypt; and of the Sacrificing of Johnsenia



Herefore the Greeks vinwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things a might beecompounded by treatic, flent Menelum and Vilijes Limbalfadours to Troy; who demannded Helen and the goods were taken with ber out of Menelum his houle. What an fiwere the Troins made heremotic is veneratin, Herodatu from the report of the & Expitum Pricish.

makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to *Troy*. The fumme of his discourse is this.

Paris in his returne with Helena, being driven by foule weather vnto the coast of Ægypt, was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuarie. Protess then King of Agypt, finding the acculation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: difmiffing Paris without further punishment, because hee was a stranger. When therefore the Greekes demaunding Helen had answere, that she was in £gypt: 20 they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceited indeed the had not been there, they returned home, fending Menelaus to aske his wife of Proteus. Homer and the whole Nation of Poets (except Eurypides) vary from this Historie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more gracefull to their Paems, for the retaining of a faire Ladie, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his Odyffes, Homer speakes of Menelaus his being in Agypt, before he returned home to Sparta; which voyage it were not eafily believed, that he made for pleasure : and if he were driven thither by contrary windes, much more may we thinke that Paris was likely to have beene go driven thither by foule weather. For Paris immediatly vpon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking fuch windes as hee could get, and rather enduring any ftorme, than to commit himfelfe to any Hauen in the Greeke feas; whereas Menelaus might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, vntill such time as the winde had come about, and served for his Na-

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirme the faying of the Agyptian Priests, which is, that if Helen had beene at Troy, it had beene vtter madnesse for Priamus to fee fo many miferies befall him, during the warre, and fo many of his fonnes flaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for 40 Hector was elder) nor equall invertue to many of the reft. Belides, it may feeme that Lucian spake not more pleasantly than truely, when he said that Helen, at the warre of Troy, was almost as old as Queene Hecuba, considering that she had beene rauished by Theseus the companion of Hercules, who tooke Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further, that the was fifter to Caffor and Pollux (the and Pollux being faid by some to have beene twinnes) who failed with the Argonautes, having Telamon the father of Max in their companie before the time that Hesione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Aiax, that was a principall commander in the Trojan warre. But whether it were fo, that the Trojans could not, or would not reftore Helen, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very 50 well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to have them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incenfed, made all hafte towards Troy: at which time Calchas (whom some say to have beene a runnagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captaines and all the Hofte with many troublesome answeres

and dininations. For he would have Agamemnons daughter facrificed to appeale

Diana, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Ludy were facrificed or whether (as fome write) the Godaelle was contented with a hinde, it is not needfull heere to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the depill which awaits for al opportunities, is neuer more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. Calchas also told the Greekes, that the taking of Troy was impossible till some fatall impediments were remoued and that till tenne yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which not with standing the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise; under the commaund of Agamemnon, who was accompanied with his brother Menelaus; Achilles the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend Patroclus, and his Tutor Phanix; Aiax and Teucer the fonnes of Telamon; Idomeneus, 10 and his companion Meriones; Neftor, and his fonnes Antilochus, and Thrafymedes; Viilles: Mneltheus the fonne of Petreus captaine of the Athenians : Diomedes the fonne of Tydeus, a man of fingular courage; the wife and learned Palamedes; Alcalaphus, and Jalmenus, the fonnes of Mars, who had failed with the Argonauts: PhiloEtetes alfo the fonne of Parn, who had the arrowes of Hercules, without which Calchas faid that the Citie could not be taken; Aiax the sonne of Oileus, Peneleus, Thoas, Eumelus, Tilandrus, Eurypilus, Athamas, Sthenelus, Tlepolemus the fonne of Hercules; Podalyrius, and Machaon, the fonnes of Afeulapius: Epeus viho is faid to have made the woodden horfe, by which the towne was taken; and Protefilaus, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

## d. IIII.

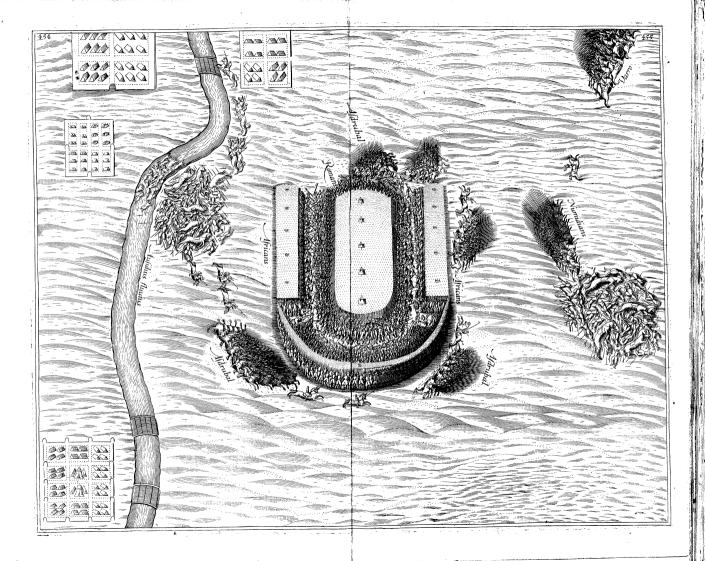
## Of the Actes of the Gracians at the fiere.

Hese and many other of lesse note, arriving at Troy, found such sharpe entertainment, as might callly perswade them to thinke that the war would bee more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter they loft Protefilaus, whom Hector flew, and many other, without athey loft Protefilaus, whom thector new, and many other, mumbers 30 ny great harme done to the Troians: faue onely that by the in numbers 30

of men, they wonne ground enough to incampe themselves in, as appeareth in Thueydides. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their veffels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to fend some part of their men, to labour the ground in Cherronesse: others to robbe vpon the sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeeres, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yetcould he townereceine little loffe by them, having equal numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait, if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore outd faith, that from the first yeare till the tenth, there was no fighting at all : and Heraclides commends as very credible the report of Heraclicus : That the Greekes did not lye before Troy the first nine yeeres: but onely did beate vp and downe the feas, exercifing their men, and inriching themselues, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned not untill the fatall time drew neere, when it should be subjected.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which Priamus made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeare, for he knew none of them, and therefore fitting vpon an high tower (as Homer tels) he learned their names of Helen: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have beene supposed that hee should so beeignorant of them, if they had shewed themselues before the towne so many yeerestogether. Betweenethese relations of Thucydides and Herodicus, the difference is not much, the one faying that a few of the Greekes remained in the Campe before Troy, whilest the rest made purueyance by land and sea : the other that the



whole armie did spend the time in washing the sea-coastes. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authours: for they make report of miniptownes and I ands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuite; in which actions Achillet was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howssource it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which Troy was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pessioned arose among the Greeke: which some said that Apollo service in reuenge of his Prictes daughter, whom Agamenties had refused to tegoe, for any ransome: but

10 Menalide interpreting the place, faith that by Apolb was mean the Sunne: who raifed pefficient fogges, by which the armie was infelted; being lodged in a mooriful pecce of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was outer-petfered with those, who had been abrode, and now were lodged all close together; hauing also grounded their flippes within the fortifications.

About the same time atose much contention betweene Asymemman and Achillerabout the bootic, whereof Asymemman, as Generall, hauting first chosen for his part a captine woman, and Achilles in the second place chosen for himselfie an other, then Airs, Yiffes, and so the rest of the Chieftantes in order. When the Soons soon sayer Calchas had willed that Asymempons woman strong the order to her father, Apollo's

20 Prief, that so the Pestilence might cease, then this gatherinin greatly rage and say, that hee alone would not look his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had been eigenen to sheller, or that which had fillen to the so, or to Mylight. Hereupon Ashike desied him, but was saine to suffer all partiently, as not able to hold his Concabitie by strong hand, nor to reunding the follow otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Companies. But the Greeks incharged by their Captaines, presented themselses before the Citie without him, and his troupes.

The Trohans were now relicued with great facciours, all the neighbour Countries having fent them ayde: partly drawnet of that warre by their. Commanders, 30 who affilded Prishms for money, wherewith be abounded when the warre beganne (as appeares by his words in Homer) or for loue of him felfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daighters; partly also (as we risy well guesse) into the other when they was then they was the det he Countries additioning with Troy. So that when Hether is filled out of the towne, hee was little inseriour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the Troian armie, were Hether, Paris, Deiphobus, Hethens and the other sonnes of Prishms: Leaness, Anterior, and his sonnes, Pelydamss, Sapedon, Clause, Asius, and the sonnes of Panthus, belies Refus, who was slaine the first night of his arrivall. Memoon, Queene Penthessa, and others who came to

40 wards the end of the warre. Betweene these and the Greekes were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King Mus you the plaine; and an other at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein Hestor brake through the fortifications of the Greekes, and began to fire their flips; at which time Airx, the sonne of Telamon with his brother Teucer, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vinwounded, made head against Hestor, when the state of the Greekes was almost desporate.

Another battell(for fo antiquitie cals it) or rather the fame renewed, was fought by Patroclus, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth Abillies troopes, releising the wearie Greekes with a fresh supply. Agamennon, Diomedes, Visifes, and the rest of the Princes, shough sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of Patroclus, repelled the Trains we should hardly. For in that slight Patroclus was lost, and his body, with much contention recouvered by his friends, was brought backe into the Camps: the armour of Abillies which he had put on, being torne from him by Better. It was the manner of those warres, hauing slaine a man, to strippe him

and hale away his bodie, not reftoring it without ransome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they lought all on foote, flightly armed, and commonly followed the fuccesse of their captaines; who rode not voon

horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by fome truftie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting them-

felues where neede required, threw first their lauelins, and then alighting fought on foote, with fwords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of the footmen, or elle returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began againe with a new dart asthey could get it, if their old were loft, or broken. Their armes defensive to were helmets, breft-plates, bootes of braffe or other mettall, & shields commonly of leather, plated ouer. The offentiue were fwords and battel-axes at hand; and flones.

arrowes or darts when they fought at any diffance. The vic of their Chariots (be-

fides the swiftnesse) was to keepe them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were

much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest warre hea-

nieft :alfo that from them they might throw their lauching downewardes, with

the more violence, Of which weapon I finde not that any carried more than one

or two into the field; wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their Tents

for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewife of armours they had little change

any peece were loff or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like if he had any

fitting, taken from some Captaine whom hee had flaine, and stripped or else to

borrow of them that had by fuch meanes gotten fome to spare. Whereas there-

fore debilles had loft his armour which Hector (as is faid before) had taken from the

body of Patroclus, he was faine to awaite the making of new, ere he could enter the

fight : where of he became very delirous that he might revenge the death of Patre-

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himselfe vnto Achilles, not enely restoring

as well as he might. In the next battell dehilles did fo behaue himselfe, that he did 30

his concubine Brifers, but giving him very great gifts, and exculing former matters

not onely put the Troims to the worft, but also flew the valiant Hector, whom (if

Homer may herein be believed) heechaced three times about the walles of Troy.

But great question may bee made of tiomers truth in this narration. For it is not

likely that Hector would flay alone without the Citic (as Homer doth report of him)

when all the Trojans were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the rivers of Xan-

thus and Simois, as he must have done in that flight : nor that the Troians perceiving

Hettor in fuch an extremitie, would have forborne to open some of their gates and

let him in. But this is reported only to grace Achilles, who hauing (by what meanes focuer) flaine the noble Hefter, did not only carry away his dead bodie, as the cu-

them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him thamefully about the field, felling

the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ransome. But his crueltic and

controusnesses were not long vnreuenged; for he was shortly after slaine with an ar-

row by Paris, as Homer fayes in the Seaan gate, or as others in the Temple of Apollo,

whither he came to have married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he

was too farre in loue, hauing flaine so many of her brethren, and his body was ran-

fomed (as Lycophron faith) at the felfe famerate that Hectors was by him fold for.

Not long after this, Penthefilea Queene of the Amazons arrived at Troy; who after

fome proofe given of her valour, was flaine by Pyrrhus the fonne of Achilles.

stome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leatherne thongs into 40

elus his deere friend.

or none; every man (speaking o the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if 20

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the Booke of DARES and DYCT is, the Colonies of the reliques

Inally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the Cistic was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treassion of Eneau and Antieney; or by a woodden Horse, as the Poets, and common same (which followed the Poets) shaued editured, it is vocertaine. Some write that woon one of the gates of Trey called Seau,

was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horfe. It may well bee that with some wodden engine, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romans in after-times yied to doe with the Ramme: or scaled the wals vpon the fudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a wodden horfe, it had beene a desperate aduenture, and serving to no purpose. For either the Troians might have perceived the deceit, and flaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this re-20 port they are faid to have thought ypon) or they might have left it a fewe dayes without the Citie ( for it was vnlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their walles vpon the suddaine to doe it ) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must have perifhed for hunger, if they had not by iffuing forth valeafonably discoursed the inuention. Whereas further it is faid, that this horse was built to high and great that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that thereforethe Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall, to make way for it. through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifest that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needleffe, considering that 20 without their helpe there was way fufficient for the armie, so that the surpriling of any gate by them was now to no purpole.

John Baptista Gramay in his Historic of Asia, discoursing of this war, faith that the Greekes did both batter the wall with a wodden engine, and were also let into the Citic by Antenor, at the Scaan gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleete of the Gracians had hoisted faile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Troians into fecuritie. That the Citie was betrayed the bookes of Dares and Dietys must proue, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in auncient times, would not as they 40 did, have followed the reports of Homer and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having ferued in that warre made against the Common report had it not been that either those bookes were even in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no fuch repugnancie to the other authours as now is found in them.

Alfo concerning the number of men flaine in this warre which Dares and Dyctis fay to have been about 600000. on the Troian lide, and more than 800000. of the Greekes, it is a report meerely fabulous; for a funch as the whole fleete of the Greeks was reckoned by Homer, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as hee could, to bee formewhat leffe than 1200. faile, and the armye therein transpor-50 ted ouer the Greeke leas, not much about 100000 men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common falhion of men to extol the deeds of their Aunclents: for which cause both Homer magnified the Captains of the Greekes, that ferued in the war; and Virgil with others were as diligent in commending & extolling the Troians and their Citie, from which the Romanes descended. Yeathe Athenians

long after in the warre which Nerwes the Perfun King made against all Greece, did not for beare to vaunt of the great cunning which Mnejteus the Jonne of Peters had thewed in marshalling the Grecian army before Troy: whereupon, as if it had beene a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld vnto Gelon King of almost all Sicily, the Admiraltie of their Seas, not with standing that hee promifed to bring 200. good fighting thips, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in fuch their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie came of 10 the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romanes, brought into that Countrey by Aneas : the Venetians first feated in Padua, and the Countrie adjoyning by Antenor: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the sonne of King Priamus. To which Hellanicus addeth that the posteritie of Hector did resemble fuch of the Troians as were left, and raigned ouer them about Troy.

### ð. V I.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.



Oncerning the Greekes, they taked as much milerie as they had brought upon the Treians. or Thueidides notes that by reason of their long abode at the fiege, they found many alterations when they returned: fothat many were driven by their borderers from their auncient feats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: fome

were flaine anone after their arrivall; others were debarred from the Soueraigntic among their people, by fuch as had flayed at home. The cause of all which may feeme to have beene the differsion of the armie, which weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into 30 formany peeces under feuerall Commaunders, not very well agreeing. For (Lefides other quarrels arising vpon the division of the bootie, and the like occasions ) at the time when they should have set faile, Agamemnon and his brother fell cut, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to Minerus. Hereupon they fell to hot wordes, halfe the fleet remaining with Agamemnen, the rest of them sailing to the Ile of Tenedos; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to Agamemnon, others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole Fleet was fore vexed with tempelts : for Palliss ( as Homer faith ) would not bee perswaded in

They who returned fafe were Neflor, and Pyrrhus, whom Orefles afterward flew: also Idomeneus, and Philottetes, who neverthelesse, as Virgilitels, were driven soone after to feeke new feats : Idomeneus among the Salentines, and Philochetes at Petilia in Italie. Agamemnon likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife and by the adulterer Agyilhus, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. Menelius wandring long vpon the Seas, came into £gypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather sceme) to fetch her. Viffes, after ten yeeres, having lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recourring the mastershippe of his owne house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to feeke out new habitations.

Aiax the fonne of Oileus was drowned; Tencer fled into Cyprus; Diomedes to King Daunus, who was Lord of the Japyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driven into Affricke, others into Italie, all the East part whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason of so many townes which the Greekes were driven to erect

# CHAP.15. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

to creek upon that coast. Finally it appeares in Homer that the Greeian Ladies, whose husbands had been at the warre of Troy, were wont to call it; The place where the Greekes fuffered miserie, and the valuckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene faid, happened in the time of Habdon Judge of Ifrael, whom Samfon after a variance or Interregnum for certaine yeeres succeeded.

# CHAP. XV. Of SAMSON, ELI, and SAMVEL.



HE birth and actes of Samfon are written at large in 2070. the 13.14.15. and 16. of Indres; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition therof. But thefe things I gather out of that Storie. First that the Angell of God forbad the wife of Manoah the mother of Samfon, to drinke wine or ftrong drinke, or to cate any vnclean meate, after the was conceived with childe, because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the child in the mothers wombe. Though this were cuen the counsell of God himselfe,

and delinered by his Angell, yet it feemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part for bearing nor drincks. nor meats, how ftrong or vncleane focuer, filling themselues with all forts of wines. and with artificiall drincks farre more forcible; by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men

Secondly it is to be noted, that the Angell of God refused the facrifice which Mamoah would have offered him, commaunding him to prefent it vnto the Lord; and therefore those that professed distinction by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they facrifice, may affuredly know that they are Deuils who accept therof and not good Angels, who receive no worthip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this Samfon was twice betrayed by his wines, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitful teares : by the first he lost but a part of his goods : by the second his life. Quemnullavis superare potuit, voluptas euertit: Whom no force could onermaster, Voluptuousnesse ouerturned.

Fourthly we may note, that he did not in all deliner Ifrael from the oppreffion of the Philiftims; though in some fort he reuenged, and defended them : for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly you it : yet so much did Ifrael feare the Philistims, as they affembled 2 000, men out of Inda, to befree Samfon in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, vling these wordes. Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers over vs? &c. After which they bound him, and delive-50 red him vnto the Philiftims, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no fooner loofened, but he gaue them another overthrow and flew 1000, with the jawbone of

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to be auenged of his enemies, when he pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast wherto they sent for Samfon to deride him till which time he bare his affliction with patience : but it was truely faid of Seneca; Patientia Sapelasa vertitur in furorem, Patience often wounded is converted into furie : neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

of ELI and of the Arke taken, and of DAGONS fall, and the Sending backe of the Arke.

r Com 3.22

He Storie of Elithe Priest, who succeeded Samson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who forctold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts; whose sinnes were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and pro-

phaning and polluting the holy places: though Leui Ben Gersen to extenuate this filthie offence of forcing the women by the sonnes of Eli, hath a contrarie opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites under the swords of the Philiftims; of whom there perilhed in the first incounter 4000, and in the fecond battell 30000. footmen; among whom the fonnes of Eli being flaine, their 20 father (hearing the lamentable fuccesse) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of Ithamar the sonne of Auron, before whose time it continued successively in the race of Eleazar the eldest brother of Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the second, Phinees the fonne of Eleazar the third, Abifue the fonne of Phinees the fourth, his fonne Bocci the fift, Ozethe sonne of Bocci the fixt, and then Eli, as Tolephus and Lyranus out of divers 1. King. c. 2.27. Hebrew authours have conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Pricfthood continuand 1. Chron. 6. ed after Eli to the time of Salomon who cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock and Achimaas and their fucceffors. The Arke of God which Ifrael brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as Danid witnesseth, God 20 greatly abhorred Ifrael, fo that he for looke the habitation of Shilo: even the Tahernacle where he dwelt among men, and delinered his power into captinitie &c.

Now as it pleased Godat this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was reprefented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people fo did he permitthe Chaldrans to destroy the Temple built by Salomon; the Romanes to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to ouerthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more con-

fidence in the facrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would have observed his Lawes, and served him onely : which when socuer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivitie they had no Arke 40 at all, nor in the times of the Macchabees: and yet for their pietic it pleased God to make that familie as victorious, as any that garded themselues by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enfigne; David witneffed when he fled from Absalon. For when the Priests would have carried the Arke with him; he forbad it, and caused it to be

returned into the Citic, vling these words. If I shall finde favour in the eyes of the Lord, hee will bring mee againe: if not, let him doe to me as feemeth good in his eyes.

The Troians beleeved that while their Palladium or the image of Minerua was kept in Troy, the Citic should neuer bee ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against Saladine carrie into the field, as they were made beleeue, 50 the very Croffe whereon Christ died, and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But Chrisostome vpon Saint Matthew ( if that bee his worke) giueth a good judgement, speaking of those that ware a part of Saint Johns Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preservative. Si tibi ea non prosunt in

auribus quomodò proderunt in Collo? If those words doe not profit men in their earcs ( to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached ) how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Croffe, but the reuerence of the Father that gaue the one for a memoric of his Couenant : and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemptition that could or can profit them and vs. either in this life or after it.

CHAP-15. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which ever they obtained, carried the Arkeof God with them to Azotus, and fet it vp in the house of Dagon their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from about to the ground, and lay under the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and fet it vp, and fet it againe in his place. And it fell the fecond time, and the head brake front the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing that it had nor power, nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the hands (by which wee execute strength) were fundred from the armes. For God and the Deuillinhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at fuch time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and fent him into the world, that all the Oracles wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had neuer beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a virgins bodie, shining vpon the earth which had beene long obscured by Idolatrie, all those fouleand flinking vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great God Pan, as hee stileth him : where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration : yet finds he none out but friuolous. For not onely this olde Deuill did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the

whole rable became speachlesse. Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victorie, God strook them with the gricuous disease of the Hamorrhoides of which they perished in great numbers. For 30 it is written that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall consent ordered that the Arke should be removed from Azotus to Gath or Gethanother of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to proue, as it seemeth whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly : but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and hee (mote the men of the Citie both (mall and great, &c. And being not yet fatisfied, they of Gath lent the Arke to Ekron or Accaron, a third Citic of the Philiftims : but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slaine thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie. In the end, by 45 the adule of their Prices, the Prince of the Philistims did not onely resolut to return the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the God of Ifrael, remembring the plagues which

had fallen on the Lyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his feruice by strong hand. Wherefore confelling the power of the God of Ifrael to bee almightie, and that their owne Idels were fubicet thereunto, they agreed to offer a finne offering, vling these words: 50 yee shall give glorie to the God of I fract that hee may take his hand from you, and from your C.6.0 9. Godsand from your land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemie doth approue our cause? according to Aristotle; Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus. So did Pharao confesse the living God, when he was 50 plagued in Egypt: and Nabuchodonofor, and Darius, when they had feene his mira-

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hamorhoides, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to bee chosen, fuch as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to bee framed; but they

durft not drine or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make triall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had ftrucken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards Bethfhemesh and into the territoric of Israel: then they should re-Solue that from God onely came their late destruction. For the Philistims knewe that the milch kine which drew the Arke, could not be forced from their calues, but that they would have followed them wherefocuer; much leffe when they were left to themfelues would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world if calues be removed from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and defartes by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauailed directly towards Bethfhemelh: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, 10 of one Jolua of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistimes perceived, they returned to Ekron: After which, God spared not his owne people the Bethshemites, in that they presumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commanndements and had beene taught accordingly: he strooke them more gricuously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seventie. From hence the Arke was carried to Kirriath-iearing and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written that it remained twentie veere in the charge of Eleazar his fonne, vntill Dauid brought it to Hierusalem.

2. Sam c. 6.62 1.Chron.c.12. a See in this booke chita. 5 1. in the margent.

4.62

Now whereas it is faid, that in the meane while the Arke was in Nob. Milbah and Galesta, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Arke: 20 or at least, it was for the a present occasion brought to these places, and anone returned to Kiriath-jearim.

Of SAMVEL and of his Government.

Hefe Tragedies ouerpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of Ifrahad three sounes Gerson, Cheath, and Marani: Cheath had Amram, and Izaar: of Amram came Moses and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore: and of

the familie of Chore, Samuel. His father Eleana a Leute, was called an Ephratean, not cyvhich regi. that the Leuites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of c Mount Ephraim, like as Iesse, Danids father was called an Ephratean, because borne at Ephrata, or Ephrata, as ep. Bethelem. Hannah his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers s, whence for and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren diffinction we in respect of the bleffing of God both to Abraham that his seed should multiply, as reade Ruib, 1.2. the Starres of Heauen, and the fands of the Sea, as in the beginning to Adam, In-Bothleshemo to crease and multiply, &c. and in Deuteronomie the seauenth; There shall bee neither male AD bude, the towne nor female barren among you.

Samuel was no fooner borne, but that his mother according to her former vowe dedicated him to God, and his feruice, to which the delinered him euen from the dugge. For as the first borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed till they were fine yeeres old for fine sheekles, and betweene fine yeeres and twentie is in Mount E- for twentic sheekles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Leuites should be called to serue about the Tabernacle, till they were fine and twen-Edwards is put tie veeres old.

> Saint Peter reckons in the Actes the Prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom viually this name of a Prophet was given, 50 and yet did Mofes account himselfe such a one, as in the 18. of Deuter. The Lora thy Godwill raise up unto the a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called Seers; as, Before time in Ifrael, when a man went to feeke an answere of God, thus hee fake; Come and let us goe to the Seer:

phraths, which phraim, whence Pf. 132.v.6. for Silo, which was in the phraim.

Ephratha which

is Betbleem in

Inda, Gen. 35.

19. from the

region of E-

Verf.15. I. Sam 4. CHAP. 16. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isac, and Jacob: yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; not that Cod had altogether with-drawne his grace from Ifrael: but as the Chaldaan Paraphraft hath it, those sam.12. reuelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherin Samuel judged were Maspha or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Beniamin neare Inda: also booke, 6.12.5.1 Gilgal, and Bethel, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the affembly and preparation for Warre at Mispain the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie and marched 10 towards the Citie: at whose approch the Israelites strucken with scare, and with the memorie of their former flaughters and seruitude, befought Samuel to pray to God for them: who was \*then performing his facrifice when the Philiftms were in view. \* Philiphere-But God being moued with Samuels prairies (as he was by those of Moses, when Is-parison Same rael fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia ) It pleased him the secol Kang with thunder and temposit to dissers and hours desirable Amin of Reme, that with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armic of the Philistims, when as hee according to the prophecie of Hanna, Samuels Mother. The Lords aduerfaries shall be was faciliting destroied, and out of heaven shall be thunder upon them, &c. Iosephus affirmes that a part that the eneof the Philistims were swallowed with an earth-quake; and that Samuel himselfeled mics approchthe Israelites in the profequation of their victorie. After which Samuel crecked a dimated, and \*o Monument in memorie of this happy fucceffe obtained by the miraculous hand of tweed, 150 God, which 10fephus called lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezor, or the flone of affiliance: \*\*assispentials.\*\* and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the Israelites recouered divers Cities of their owne formerly loft, and held long in possession of the Philissims, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be affaulted from diuers parts at once; having the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel for the 30 case of the people gaue audience and judgment in divers places by turnes, as hath beene elfewhere faid.

# CHAP. XVI. Of SAVL.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.



V τ when age now beganne to ouer-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to vider-goe the burthen of fo carefull a gouernment, he put off from himfelfe the waight of the affaires on his Sonnes, loel and Abijah, who judged the people at Beersbeba, a Citic, the very vtmost towards the South of Iudea. And as the place was inconvenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the justice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of couetousnesse the more it (walloweth, the more it drieth, and defireth, finding taft in nothing but gaine; to recouer which they did

set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and judgment to the best Chapmen. Which

when the Elders of Ifrael observed, and faw that Sannel as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not fo well discerne the errours of his owne, they praied him to consent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might be indeed as other Nations were; who might allo leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable fucefife which followed the rule of Eli his sonnes, when those of Sannel by their first bloffomes promised to yeeld fruit no leffe bitter, they saw no way to put the gouernment from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choise of a

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from 10 God: which furely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to dehort them : which when he perceited to bee ouer-feeble, hee delitered unto them from Gods reuelation, the inconveniences and miferies which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intollerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne scruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not only not grieuous, but by the vaffalls of all Kings according to their birth and condition defired: it be- 20 ing very agreeable to Subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no leffe proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: He will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his seruants; with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Textfarre otherwife, as teaching vs what Subjects ought with patience to beare at their Sourraignes 30 hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of Deuteronomic, where God fore-sheweth this change of gouernment from Judges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many thinges vnto the Kings, as many wines, conetoufneffe, and the like; he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer Ifrael, should write the Law of Deuteronomie, or cause it to be written and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all daies of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the wordes of this Law, and thefe ordinances for to doe them : that he may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes. But to take away any other mans field, fay they, is contrarieto the lawes of God: in the same booke written. For it is said, That which 40 is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou masest line. Now if it bee not permitted to carrie away grapes more than thou canst cate out of an other mans vineyard, but forbidden by God : it is much leffe lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the ow-Dest. 33. v.34. ner, and give it to an other. Neither are the wordes of the Text (fay they) fuch as doe warrant the Kings of Ifrael, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vaffalls. For it is not faid that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sonnes: and againe, this shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby fore-shewing what power seucred from pietic, (because it is accountable to God only) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in Achab, 50 who tooke from Naboth both his Vineyard and his life, contrarie to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, That his

people should be judged with righteous judgement. Wherefore though the King had

offered vnto Naboth composition, as a Vineyard of better valew, or the worthin

money which he refused: yet because he was fallly accused and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law) how grieuosly Aebab was punished by God, the Scriptures rell vs. Neither was it a pleastificing for Aebab against the all-sightcous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Israel. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a luing Law, even as Dand tellificht of himselfte. Possifi me neaput gentium: For this of S. Augustine is very true. Simulata impocentia, non est innacentia: Simulata aquitas non est aquitas the consent of parties of Aebabplature precatum in que est insquitas & frimalatio; Faincal imacentee, and fained equitie are neither the one nor the other. but the fault or offence is three doubled.

10 in which there is both iniquitie and diffirmulation. Such in effect is their disputation who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrarie side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knownerousl; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of the true law of free Monaches, which Treatise may not presume to abridge, much less here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that it practise doe show whe greatness of authoritie, cuen the best Kings of Inda and Israel were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoener they pleased in the greatest thinges; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their owne bretheren to be saine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though Daniel consolidation of So sense for the death of Prind, yee Salamon killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed with him as any offence.

That the flate of Issued in Outcome this change of gouernment, it was not only fore-told by Mossian Deuteronomic, but prophecial of by Issue in this Scripture. The Goals, Septer shall not alepart from Inda, 67c. It was also promised by God to Abrabam for a Goals, blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the Goals, Starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceede of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the Patterne of his fole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuerfall: and the excellencie thereof in respect to all other gouernments, hath beene by many indicious men handled and proued, I shall not neede to ouer-paint that which is gar-

30 nilhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Indges enery man hath observed what civill Warre I freel hat; what outragious flaughters they committed upon each other; in what miscrable ferviewde they lined for many yeares; and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne. Territories, or recover fome parts thereof formerly lost. The Cansanites dwelt in the best values of the Countrie. The Ammonitarie held much of cilead outer Industrie the Philisms the Sca-coasts; and the Lebusties Hierafalem it selfe, till Danids time: all which that King did nor only conquer and stabilish, but hee mastered and subsected all the Neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and wastalls. But whether it were for that the Israelite were moued by 40 those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to liue under a Colonard, or whether by this meanes they fought to be cleared from the sonnes of Samuel, they be-

ther by this meanes they fought to be cleared from the fonnes of Samuel, they became deafe to all the perfeadions and threats which Samuel vfed, infifting you this point that they would have a King, both to indge them and defend them: where when Samuel had warrant from God to confent, hee fent every man to his owne Citic and abiding.

II.
 Of the election of Save.



Fter that Sanuel had difmiffed the affembly at Mizpah, he forbare the election of a King,till fuch time as he was therein directed by God.who fore-told him the day before, that he would prefent vnto him a man of the Land of Beniamin, whom hee commanded Sanuel to annoint. So

Samue

Samuel went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainement of Saul (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiles) and saul also hauing wandred divers daies to seeke his Fathers Asses, at length by the aduise of his fernant transiled towards Ramath, to finde out a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his bealts. In which journey it pleafed God (who doth many times order the greatest thinges by the simplest passages and perfons) to elect Saulswho fought an Affe, and not a Kingdome : like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheepe of Jethro; and after to make choise of David the yongest of eight sonnes, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beatts, and changed his sheep-hooke into a Scepter, making 10 him of all other the most victorious King of Inda and Ifrael. So Iohn and Iacob were taken from casting their nets, to become Fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apofiles, a dignitic that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe: but permanent and cuerlafting in Gods endleffe Kingdome.

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God thewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the fame whom he had foretold him of that he should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much leffe knowing the Flonour which attended him : asked Samuel in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt, 29 Samuel answered that himselfe was the man be sought, and praied Saul to go before him to the high place, where Samuel fetting him according to his degree, aboue all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the Kingdome. and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two men should incounter him by Rabels Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asses were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of looling his beafts, to doubt the loffe of his sonne: that he should then meete three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a companie of Prophets : and that he should be partaker 30 of God: spirit and prophecie with them : and that thereby his condition and dispofition thould be changed from the vulgar into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reperenced number, who by dinine repelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without feare the errours of their Kings, and wrought mira-Chritin Wal 41, cles; of which number were Mofes, Iofua, Samuel, and after them Gad, Nathan, Alias, The Prim Elias, Elifeus, Ifay, Ieremie, and the rest; for these Prophets faith S. CHRYSOSTOME, and Thumin in tenas, enjours, sign, teremic, and the rest; for these Prophets latter S.C. (Revisorrone, the ornaments Commistempora perturnant, praterita, prafentia, & futura: but they were of those of of the High whom S. Faul speaketh of 1. Cor. 1 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts expounded 40 Priet were in-ferted within the Scriptures and the Law.

the pectotal, At At fifteth Samuel affembled the people that hee might prefent Saul to them, which therfore who as yet knew nothing of his election : neither did Saul acquaint his owne Vncle was deplication, therewith, when he asked him what had past between e him and Samuel: for either they were pla. end in the pe- he thought his chate not yet affured, or elfe that it might be dangerous for him to Gorall over a reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall confent. When the Tribes were af-eath the hare remarks at Mizpeth, the generall opinion is, that hee was chosen by lot. Chimbi Priest. It is thinkes by the answere of \*Vrim and Thumim: that is, by the answere of the Priest, plan that they wearing that mysterie vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the pretious flones casting of lots was not only much vsed among the Ienes, but by many others, if not 50 nor any thing by all Nations. The Land of promife was divided by lot: God commanded lots to made by the Artificers. See be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a si-Exed c.38. gure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. Cicero, Plantus, Pansanias, and others have remembred divers forts of lots,

vied by the Romanes, Gracians, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds of honours; and in thinges to be vinder-taken; the two first kindes were called diviforie; the third diuinatorie; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kindes howfoeuer they may feeme chancefull; are yet ordered and directed by God : as in the Prouerbs. The lot is east into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord. And in like fort fell the Kingdome of Ifrael on Saul, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue Samuel former knowledge of his election : from which election Saul with-drew himselfe in modestie, as both Iosephus constersit, and as it may be gathered by his former answeres to Samuel, when he acknowledged himselfe 10 the least of the least Tribe. But Samuel inlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the refl by the shoulders. And Samuel made them know that he was the chosen King of Ilrael, whereupon all the multitude fabited him King, and praied for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all effates there are fuch) who did not acknowledge him by offering him prefents as the manner was : of whom Saul, to avoide fedition, 1. Sauc. 12.

### ð. III.

of the establishing of SAVL by his first victories.

tooke no notice.

O fooner was Saul placed in the Kingdome; but that hee received knowledge that Nahas King of the Ammonites prepared to beliege labes Gilead : which Nation lince the great ouer-throw given them by tephia, neuer durst attempt any thing voon the ifriesites, till the beginning of Saul his rule. And although the Ammonites did illwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer those Territories which first the morite, and then Ifraet disposses them of which they made the ground of their innation in tephta's time; yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage 30 than at this present. For first they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly they were remembred that the Philistims had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed great care and pollicie that they should have no Smithes to make them fwords or speares : neither was it long before that of the Bethshemesites and places adioyning, there perithed by the hand of God more then 50000 and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it selfe inuited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers : Jabes Gilead being one of the nearest. Belides it may further be conjectured that the Ammonites were imboldened against labes Gilead, in respect of their weakenesse, since the Israelites destroied a great part of them, for not Indiati 40 ioyning with them against the Beniamites : at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their yong women, and gaue them to the Benjamites and therefore they were not likely to have beene increased to any great numbers : And if they had recourred themselves of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himselse with the opinion, that Israel having for long time been difarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroied. But contrariewise when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would give them no other condition to ransome themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be vtterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath beene spoken: Saul, both to valew 50 himselfe in his first yeares raigne, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maides taken from the Gileadites, and given to the Beniamites, gave order to affemble the forces of Ifrael hewing a yoke of Oxen into peeces, and fending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus. That who soener came not forth after SAVL and after SAMVEL, fo should his Oxen be served: threatning the people

by their goodes, and not by their lines at the first. Seuen daies had Saul to affemblean Armie, by reason that the Gileadises had obtained the respite of these seuen daies to give Nahas the Ammonite an answere : who, could they have obtained any realonable condition, were contented to have feuered themselves from Israeli and to become Vassalls and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while Saul affembled the forces, which repaired vnto him at Bezee, neare Iordan, that he might readily paffethe River; which done he might in one day with a speedy march ar-

rine at labes, under the Hills of Gilead.

The Armie by Saul led confifting of three hundreth and thirtic thousand; he returned an answere to those of tabes, that they should assure themselues of succour 10 by the next day at noone. For as it feemeth Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch hee surprized the Armie of Nahas the Ammonite. And to the end that he might fet on them on all fides, he divided his force in three parts, putting them to the fword, vntill the heate of the day, and the wearineffe of Sauls troupes, inforst them to give over the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of Jabes promifed the next morning to render themselues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happy fuccesse the people were so farre in lone with their new King, that they would have flaine all those Ifractites that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly 29 men, as they are violent louers of the profeerous, and base vasfalls of the time that flourisheth: and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.

Sam.II.

After the Armieremoued, Samuel summoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King; and here Samuel vsed an exhortation to all the affembly, containing precepts, and a rehearfall of his owne Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After Saul had now raigned one yeare before hee was established in Gilgal or Galgala, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 2000. chosen men, of which he affigned 1000, to attend on Ionathan his sonne at Gibeah, the Citie of his 30 natinitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in Micmas; and in the Hill of

### ð. IIII.

Of SAVLS disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philisims and Amalekites, which caused his for nall rejection.

TO NATHAN with his finall Armic or Regiment, that attended him, 40 taking a time of aduantage, furprized a Garrison of Philistims: the fame, as some thinke, which Saul past by, when he came from Rama where he was first annointed by Samuel, which they thinke to haue beene Cariath-iearim: because a place where the Philistims had a Garrison 1. Sam. 10. is called the Hill of God, which they understand of Cariath-icarim:

but Iunius vnderstands this Garrison to have beene at Gebab in Benismin neare Gibha where Ionathan abode with his thousand followers. How socuer by this it appeareth that the Philistims held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territorie of Ifrael: and now being greatly inraged by this surprize they affembled 30000 armed Chariots, and 6000. Horfe, where-with they inuaded In- 50 des, and incampedat Machmas or Michmas, a Citie of Beniamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Hierusalem, and in the midst of the Land betweene the Sea and Iordan. With this fuddaine invalion the Ifraelites were strucken in fo great a feare, as fome of them hid themselues in the caues of the mountaines, other fled ouer Iordan

into Gad and Gilead : Saul himfelfe with fome 2000, men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at Galgala in Beniamin, not farre from the passage of 10/11a when hee led Ifrael ouer Iordan. Here Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the comming of Samuel seauen daies; but when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he prefumed (as some expound the place 1.Sam. 13.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrarie to the Ecclesiastical lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commaundements : others expound the word obtalit, in this place, by obtulit per Sacer dotem, and so make the sinne of Saul not to have been any intrulion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commaundement. in not flaying according to the appointment 1. Sam. 10. 8. fecondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vppon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatfocuer was his finne, notwithstanding his excuses he 155am.c 13was by Samuel reprehended most sharply, in termes vnsitting his estate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene giuen to Samuel so to doe, from God himselfe, at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from Saul and his posteritie. Persist.

After this Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul when he had taken view of his armie found it to confift of 600, men : for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but Saul and his sonne Ionathan only. For the Philistims had not left them anv Smyth in all Ifrael, that made weapons; belides they that came to Saul came haftily, and left fuch weapons & armour as they had, behind them in the garrifons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should bee able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour labes Gilead with 300. and thirtie thousand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, saue onely in the hand of Saul and Jonathan his sonne. But howfocuer, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the Philistims, and all those craftesmen carried out of the land that made weapons : there being left vnto

the Ifraelites onely files to sharpen and amend such stuffe as serued for the plough. and for nought elfe yet that they had some kinde of armes it is manifest, or els they durst not have attempted upon the Philistims as they did. And it is not faid in the Text that there was not any fword in all Ifrael, but onely that there was not any found amongst those 600. Souldiers which stayed with Saul after Samuels departure: 1. Sam. 13.12. and it feemeth that when Samuel had publiquely reprehended Saul, that his owne guards for fooke him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie fouldiers. and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fled from him before

With this small troupe he held himselfe, to his owne Citie of Gibeah, as a place of more strength and better affured vnto him, then Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the Philistimes should thus disarme the most part of the Ifraelites, how soener in the time of Samuel much had bin done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by fword or speare, but by thunder from heaven and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of Israel, no meruaile if they could not in a short peace vnder Samuel bee replanted againg. For this tiranny of the Philistims is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder Samuel: and yet vnder him it is to bee thought that by their craftes they To proceeded in the pollicie, not fuffering their artificers to teach the Ifraelites, and fo even to the times of Saul kept them from having any store of armour. The same policie did Wahuchodonosor vse after his Conquest in Iudea : Dyonisius in Sicilie; and many other Princes elsewheere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the Israelites might repaire in Gilead, for ouer Iordan the Phili-

Exod.17.

left hand with flones: & with a fling it was that David himfelfe flew the gyant Goliah.

While the State of Ifrael flood in these hard termes, the Philislims having parted their armic into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; Jonathan strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a 10 mountaine, whereon a companie of Philistims were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by the fuccesse) beeing incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though hee were discouered before he came to the hill toppe, and in a kinde of derifion called vp by his enemies : yet hee so behaued himselfe, as with the affiftance of God hee flewe twentie of the first Phinflims that hee incountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and lealousie, they slaughtered one another in itead of enemies: wherupon those Hebrewes which became of their partie, because they seared to be spoiled by them, tooke the aduantage of their dethruction, and flew of them in great numbers. And laftly Saul himselfe taking know- 20 ledge of the rout and diforder, together with those Israelites that shrouded themfeliues in mount Ephraim, fet vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victoric ouer them. Heere was that prophecie in Deuter onomie fulfilled by Ionathan, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thouland and two of them ten thouland.

This done, the small armie of Israel made retrait from the pursuit. And though Saul had bound the people by an oath not to take foode till the cuening, vet his for Ionathan being infeebled with extreme labour and emptineffe, tafted a droppe of hony in his pailage: for which Saul his father would have put him to death, had not the people delinered him from his crueltic.

The late miraculous victorie of Saul and Ionathan, seemes to have reduced vnto the Philiflims remembrance their former ouerthrowe likewife miraculous in the daies of Samuel; fo that for some space of time they held themselues quiet. In the meane while Saul being now greatly encouraged, undertooke by turnes all his bordering enemics; namely the Mosbits, Ammonits, Edomits, and the Arabians of Zobah, against all which he prevailed. Hee then assembled all the forces hee could make, to wit, 210000, men, and receiving the commaundement of God by Samuel, hee inuaded Amales, wasting and destroying all that part of Arabia Petrea, and the defart, belonging to the Amalekits, from Hautlah towards Tigris vnto Shur, which bordereth Agypt in which warre he tooke Agag their King prisoner. But whereas he 40 was instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all other attempted I/rael, when they left Agypt in Moles time : he not withflanding did not only spare the life of Agag, but referred the best of the beastes and fpoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in facrifice to the liuin, God. Therfore did Samuel now a fecond time make him know, that God would cast him from his roiall eftate to which he was raifed, when he was of base condition, and as the Text both it, ittle in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in Saul for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, had there bin no former precept to that effeet; yet feeing Saul could not be ignorant how feuerely it pleafed. God to injoyne the Mraeites to reuenge themselves vpon that Nation, he was in all vnexcusable. For God had commanded that the Ifraelites (hould put out the remembrance of AMALEC from under heaven. For the crueltie which the predeceffors of this Agag vsed against the Ifraelites, especially on those which were ouerwearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, & his Nation about 400. yeres afterward;

CHAP. 16. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent : himselfe having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of Samuel witnesse: Asthy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be child- 1. Sam. 15. 33. leffe among other women; at which time Samuel himselfe (after he had bin by many bootleffe intreaties perfwaded to flav a while with Saul) did cut Agag in peeces before the Lord in Gilgal, and soone after he departed to Ramath, and came no more to see SAVL untill the day of his death.

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Of the occurrents betweene the relection of SAVL and his death.

Ow while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a King for Ifrael, among the fonnes of Isbai: which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) feared in a fort to performe, till it pleafed God to direct him, how he might avoide both the suspicion, and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wifedome he fought to avoide the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then doe those men militake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, doe no o-20 ther wife avoide the perills and dangers thereof, than as men flupified in the opinion of fate, or deltinie, neglecting either to begge counfaile at Gods hand, by praicr, or to exercise that wisedome or fore-fight, where-with God hath inriched the mind of man, for his preferuation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct Samuel, to avoide the furie of Saul, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the fonnes of Islai, Samuel by God directed, made choife of Danid, the vongests having refused Eliab, the first borne; who though he were a man of a comly person and great firength; yet vnto fuch outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God feeth not as aman feeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. Hee

30 alfo refuling the other fixe brethren, made choise of one whom his Father had 1.5amate altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him the Lord faid to SASIVE L. arife and anoint him, for this is he: which done, Samuel departed and went to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to feeke the life of David in which bloudy mind he continued till he died, ouercome in battaile by the Philistims.

The Philifims having well confidered (as it feemes) the increase of Saul his power through many victories by him obtained, whileft they had fitten ftill and forborne to give impediment vnto his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to Ifrael might be repaied with aduantage, if ever opportunitie should serve their often iniu-40 red neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all Warlike prouisions, the Philistims had reason to thinke themselves equall, if not superiours to Ifrael. The fuccesse of their former wars had for the most part been agreable to their owne willies; as for late difasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, whereby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so neare to the Armie which King Saul drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battaile, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while. 50 not joyning in groffe, but maintaining fome skirmilhes, as refuling both of them to paffe the valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of seare they had on both. fides; especially the Philistims, whose late attempts had beene confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was that they fought to decide the matter by fingle combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any

ftroake from heauen were to be feared. Goliah of Gath a ftrong giant; fearing neither

God nor man, vndertooke to defie the whole hofte of Ifrael, prouoking them with

despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to

hand, offering condition, that the partie vanquilhed in Champion, should hold it felfe as ouercome in groffe, and become vaffall to the other. This gave occasion to

young David, whom Samuel by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a fa-

mous entrance into publicke notice of the people. For no man durft expose him-

selfe to encounter the great strength of Goliab, until David (fent by histather of an

crrand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without

haughtic gyant, and after with his owne fword ftrooke off his head. Hereupon

the Philistims, who should have yeelded themselves as subjects to the Conque-

rour, according to the conenant on their owne fide propounded, fled without flay;

and were purfued and flaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie

the Philistims were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their

people discouraged from infetting the Territories of Ifrael. But David, by whom

God had wrought this victoric, fell into the gricuous indignation of his mafter

Saul, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such

time as the spirit of God departed from Saul and came you David, he then became

uid in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own

conquest taken from Goliah; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg murthered

this abimelech, and 85. Pricets of Nob, but also he destroyed the Citie and Smote with

the edge of the fword both man and woman, both childe and fuckling; both Oxe and Affe,

and sheepe. And he that had compassion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an enemy

to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contra-

rie to the Commaundement and ordinance of God, both by Moles and Samuel had

not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords feruants the Priestes of Israel. Yea he would have flaine his owne sonne Ionathan, for pitying and pleading

Daniels innocencie, as also once before for talking the hony, when his fainting for 20

1.5am.16,v.13. acruell Tyrant, faithleffe and irreligious. Because the high Priest Abimelech fed Da- 20.

other armes offentine or defentine than a fling, wherewith hee overthrewe that

). V I.

CHAP. 17. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

Of such as lived with SAMVEL and SAVL; of HELLEN and HERCVLES, and of their issues : upon occasion of the Dores, with the HERA. CLIDAE, entring PELOPONESUS about

N the second yeare of Samuel according to Eusebius, was Dauid bornes after Codoman later, and in the ninth yeare : after Bunting in the tenth For David, faith he, was thirtie yeares old when he beganne to raigne: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the fortie years. which are given to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh of Samuel.

Aneas Silvius the fonne of Polthumus beganne his raigne over the Latines in Alba. who governed that State 3 1. yeares. There are who place before him Latinus Silnius, as brother to Polibumus, calling him the fifth from Aneas, and fourth King of Alba, wherof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of Samuel, Dercilus sate in the Throne of Aliria, being the one and thirtieth King; hee ruled that Empire 40. yeares. In this age of Samuel the Dores obtained Peloponnesus, and at once with the Heraclida, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof 228, yeares before the first Olympiad, according to Diedorus and Eratosthenes. For all Greece was anciently pofferfied by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the Ionians, Doorians, and Lolians: at length it was called Helles, and the people Hellens, of Hellen. the fonne of Deucalion, Lord of the Countrie of Pthiotis in Theffali. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till fuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and fundriegreat victories obtained, the iffues of Hellen had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of Hellen, who had raigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not bee amisse to recount the Pedigree of

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification : or perhaps for his knowledge in Astronomie and Philosophie.

Japetus begat Prometheus, and Epimetheus : of whom all men haueread that haue read Poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion : and Epimetheus, Pyrrha. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrharaigned in The falle, which then was called Pyrrha (as Cretenfis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrhathe Queene. In Deucalions time was that great floud of which we have fooken elfewhere. Deucalion begat Hellen : whose sonnes were Xuthus, Dorus and Folus: of Dorus and Folus, the Dores and Folians had name. The Foles inhabited Baotia. The Dores having first inhabited fundrie parts of Thessale, did afterward feate themselves about Parnassus: and finally became Lords of the Countries about Lacedamon: Xuthus the eldest some of Hellen, being banished by his bretheren, for having diverted from them to his owne vse some part of their Fathers goods, came to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of King Erietheus, hee begat on her two fonnes, Achaus and Ion. Of these two Achaus, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into Peloponne fus: and feating him felfein Laconia, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leaving an Armie recoursed the Kingdome of his grand-father in Thesfalie.

Jon being Generall for the Athenians, when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attied, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby fuch loue and honour of the people, that 50 they committed the ordering of their State into his handes. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialia: In which Countrie Solinas then raigning, thought it fafer to give his daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So

AU.12.21.

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hunger made him forget his fathers vireasonable commination. The companions of crueltic are breach of faith towards men, and impietic towards God. The former he shewed in denying David his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as Daniel had twice spared his life in the Territory of Ziph, and Saultwice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impictic towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For wheras when he fought counsel from God he had been alwaies victorious : from the Oracle of the Deuill this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with 40 his neerest and faithfullest servants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sonnes (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the wals of Bethfan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Tabes ftolne their carcafes thence and interred them. This was the end of Saul, after he had governed Ifrael, togither with Samuel 40. yeres, and by himselfe after Samuel 20. yeeres, according to Cedrenus, Theophilus, & Iofephus. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of Samuel, Saul did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25, chapter, it is written

that Samuel died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of Dauid, Nabal, and Abigail, after which the death of Saul quickly enfued. An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which David afterward obtained, for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the Syrians, and their adhærents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philiftims.

Jon married Helice, and built a Towne called by his wives name in Ægialia, where he and his policritic raigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the Dores affifting the Nephewes of tiereales, inuaded Pelapannefus, and ouer-comming the Achaens poffeffed Laconia. and all those parts which the dehai had formerly occupied. Hereupon the Achai driven to feeke a new feate, came vnto the lones, defiring to inhabite Agialia with them, and alleadging in vaine, that Ion and Acheus had beene brethren. When this request could not bee obtained, they sought by force to expell the Ionians, which they performed; but they loft their King Tifamenes, the fonne of Orefles, in that

Thus were the Iones driven out of Peloponnefus, and compelled to remove into Atties, from whence after a while they failed into Alia, and peopled the Wellerne coast thereof, on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the lones into Alia hath beene mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140 yeares after the warre of Troy, and 60, yeares after the descent of the Heracide into Pelepannesia. These Heracide were they of whom the Kings of Sparts issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeares. Of their Father Hercules many strange thinges are delinered vnto vsi'y the Poets, of which fome are like to have beene true, others perhaps must be allegaritally 20 vnderstood. But the most approued Writers this ke that there were many called Hercules, all whose exploits were by the Greekes ascribed to the sonne of Alemena, who

is faid to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the Nemaan Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent Hydra, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the o-uer-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore aline, which hanted mount Erymanthus in Arcadie : The fift was the cleaning of Augus his Oxe-fiall in one day, which hee performed by turning the River Alpheus into it: The fixt was the chafing away of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis: The feuenth was the fetching a Bullirom Crete: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which 30 Diomedes King of Thrace fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the Queene of the Amazons: The three last were, to fetch Gerions Beenes from Gades; the golden Apples of the Hefferides; and Cerberus from hell. The Mythologicall interpretation of these I purposely omit as both over-long to be here set downs, and no leffe perplexed then the labours themselues. For some by Herenles understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Confiancie, interpreting the Moniters, Vices, Others make Hereules the Sunne, and his travailes to be the twelve fignes of the Zodiac. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well affured, that the expolition cannot have more valikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke Elis, Pylus, O Echalia, and other Townes, being affifted by fach as either admi- 40 ted his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that he slew many Theenes, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from Hercules Libyeus. But fure it is that many Cities in Greece were greatly bound to him : for that lie (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of Greece (Athens excepted) requited the vertue and deferts of Hercules, with constant protection of his children, perfequuted by the King Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was sonne of Sthenelus, and grandchild of Perfess; he raigned in Mycene, the mightiest Citie then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon Hercules, who was bound to obay him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneffe hee had committed vpon his owne Children; but as others fay, because hee was his Subject and Seruant : wherefore there are who commend Eury#heus for imploying the strength of Hercules to so good a purpose. But it is generally

agreed by the best writers, that Hercules was also of the stocke of Perfeus, and holden in great iealousie by Eury/theus because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous feruices, wherein hee was imployed, fo that hee grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many wives and Concubines aboue threefcore children. These children Eurysibeus would faine haue got into his power, when Hercules was dead : but they fled vnto Cerx King of Trachinia, and from him (for he durft not withftand Eury libeus) to Athens. The Athenians not onely gauethem entertainment, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountred Eryftheus. Iolaus the brothers sonne of Hercules, who had affisted him 16 in many of his trauels, was captaine of the Heraclide. It is faid of him, that being dead, be obtained leaue of Pluto to line againe till hee might reuenge the injuries done by Eary fibe as whom when he had flaine in battell, he died againe. It feemes to merginat whereas he had led Colonies into Sicilie, and aboad there a long time forgotten thee came againe into Greece to affift his colins, and afterwardes returned backe. When the Peloponnesians understood that Eurystheus was slaine, they tooke Arress the some of Pelaps to their King : for hee was rich, mightie, and favoured of the people. Against him the Heraclida marched under Hyllus the sonne of Hercules Burto avoid offusion of bloud, it was agreed, that Hyllus should fight with Echense Kang of the Tegesta a people of Areadis, who affifted Atress, with condition that if Hyllus were victor, hee should peaceably enjoy what hee challenged as his right: otherwise the Heraclida should not enter Peloponnessis in 100 yeeres. In that combat Hyllus was flaine, and the Heraclida compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under Arillodomus (as the best authoritie shewes, though some haue faid, that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the Dores, whom they planted in that country, as is before thewed, having expelled the Achai, ouer whom the iffue of Pelops had reigned after the death of Eury/theus fouregenerations.

). VII.

Q. VII.

Of H o M E R and H E S I o D, and many changes in the world, '
that happened about this ago.

Bout this time that excellent learned Poet Homer lined as many of the best Chronologers affirme. He was by race of the Maones, descended (as Functius imagineth) of Berofus his Anamaon, who gaue name to Functions file that people. But this Functius imagineth Homer the Poet to have bene 11.00D. long after these times, rashly framing his Ara according to a Archilo. a This author

chus in the tract, or rather fragment detemporibus; & makes feuen more of this name rofus and o-40 to have florished in divers Cities in Greece. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversitie thers, first at of opinions, both of the time and of the natiue Citie of Homer. According to this with Fryar An-Archiloctus, Functius findes Homer about the time of Minasse King of Inda, and Nu- nins his Comma of Rome. Hee was called Melefigenes from the place of his birth, and at length ment at dat-weep is invited. Homer, because blind men follow a guide, which lignification among others, is in the fade. verbe oungar: for this Homer in his latter time was blinde. \*Clemens Alexandrinus re- Mander f. 147. verbe tonger: for this thomer in his latter time was builded. "Clemens Alexanderins 10- placeh Homer cites many different opinions touching the question of the time when Homer lived, in the 13-pe-So also b Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Assyrius in his Oration ad gentes. Paterculus rec- neration in kons that Homer florished 950. yeeres before the Confulfhippe of Marcus Vinutius the time of Samuel. which Mercator casteth up in the worlds yeere 3 0 46. and after Troy taken, about \*Stromatum1,9 50 260. yeeres and about 250. yeeres before the building of Rome, making him to by Med. Allic. I. have florifhed about the time of Jehofaphus King of Inda. But Clemens Alexandrinus 3.411.11(10.11).

and Tatianus aboue named mention authours that make him much auncienter. The difference of which authours in this point is not vinworthic the readers confideration, that by this one instance hee may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the

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errours in the computations of auncient time: feing in such discribite of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For Crates the Grammarian (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports) gaue becing to Homer about 80. yeeres after Troy taken, necre the time that the Heraclide returned into Peloponnesus; and \*Eratoschenes after Alternational Table
Troy 100 yeeres. Theopompus 500 yeeres after the armic of Greece failed into Phryporthis opinigia for the warre of Troy. Euphorion makes him contemporarie with Gyges, who beon rerum Plat.

gan to reigne in the 18. Olympiad (which was 45. yeeres after Rome was built) and

softbias faith, that hee was 90. yeeres before the first Olympiad: which hee seeks to proue by the times of Charillus and his sonne Wicander; Philocorus placeth him 180. after Troy: Arillarchus 140. in the time of the feating of the Colonies in Ionia. Apol- 10 lodorus affirmes that hee lived while Agefilaus governed Lacedamon; and that Lycurgus in his young yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the Ionian plantations, came to

Morin vita Ho, vilit him, necre 240. yeeres after Troy taken. Herodotus findes Homer florishing 622. veeres before Xerxes enterprise against the Gracians: which Beroaldus accounteth at an 168. yeeres after the Trojan warre. Eusebius seemes to make him to have beene about the time of low King of Inda 124. yeeres before Rome built: though elfwhere in his Chronologie he notes, that some place him in the time of Samuel, and others in the end of David, and others in other ages. In his Euangelicall preparation where out of Tatianus Affyrius he citeth fundry opinions touching the time when Homer lived, hee reckoneth many other Greeke writers more auncient than Homer; 20 as Linus, Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Ariftaus, Orpheus, Mufaus, Thamyras, Amphion, and others.

NoFt. Attic.l.3;

Now whether Homer or Hesiodus were the elder, it is also much disputed. Aulus Gellius reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes affirme, that Homer preceded Hefiod: and on the contrarie, that Luc. Accius the Poet, and Ephorus the Historian make Hesiod of an elder time than Homer. Varro leanes it vncertaine which of these learned Varro de imag. fablers was first borne : but he findes that they lived together some certaine yeeres, wherein he confirmes himselfe by an Epigram, written vpon a Treuit, and left by

Strom.5.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 260. yeeres before Rome built: while 30 call cannal the Silui reigned in Alba, about a 140. yeeres after the fall of Troy. b Euthimenes, a This number findes them both 200. yeeres after Troy taken, in the time of Acastus the sonne of rects, & reads Pelias, King of The Jaly. For my felfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued : neither would I offend the reader with the opinions, but onely to shewe the EMINYM. IN CITY. apudClem. Alex. vncertaintie and disagrement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiofitie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his Iliades with the word Menin; as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof Lucian faining himselfe to have beene in hell, and to have spoken with Homer, there asked him the cause why he beganne his booke with that word : who answered, That he began in that fort, 40 because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that Senyes, or after Macrobius Senemires, ruled Egypt at this time: for Tanepher fabris was his successour who preceded Vaphres, father in law to Salomon.

Ext & Call, in

About the end of Sauls government, or in the beginning of Davids time according to Cassiodorus, the Amazones with the Cymmerians inuaded Asia, Latinus Syluius then ruling in Italie. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of Troy (which fell 103, yeeres before Dauids time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations : but there forung vp. somewhat neerely together, fixe Kingdomes into greatnesse not before crected. In Italie, that of the Latines: in the South part of Greece, those of Lacedamon, 50 Corinth, and the Achai. In Arabia, Syria Soba, and Damascus, the Adads made themsclues Princes, of which there were tenne Kings, which beganne and ended with the King of Israelin effect : and somewhat before these, the State of the Israelites having now altered their forme of Gouernment, began to flourish under Kings, of

CHAP.17. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

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which David, in a fewe veeres, became mafter of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had fubicated the Indians, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject, and grieuous slauerie; to wit, the Edumains, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Ituraans, and the rest of the Arabians, with the Philistims, Jebulites, Gelburites, Machathites, all which acknowledged David for their Sonergione Lord, and paid him tribute.

> CHAP. XVII. Of DAVID.

of DAVIDS effate in the time of SAVL.



HE hazards which David ranne into while he was yet onely defigned King, and living as a private man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of Golish in the viewe of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to Saul and so highly affected of Ionathan the sonne of Saul. that hee loued him as his owne foule : In fo much as when Saul fought to perswade his sonne, that David would affuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause.

30 Ionathan could neuer be perfuaded, neuer forst, nor euer wearied from the care of Davids life, and well doing. It was not long after this figual act of Davids, but that Saul became exceeding jealous of him, though hee were become as his houshold feruant, and his Efquire, or armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an euill spirit. was aduifed to procure fome cunning Mulitian to play before him you the harpe; whereby it was thought that he might finde case, which came to passe accordingly. He entertained David for this purpole, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Commaund among the men of warre. But the lealous tyrant foone waxed wearie of his good affections, and fought to kill David, being thereunto moved onely through enuic of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middest of his ra-40 uing fit, at which time hee threw a speare at David that was then playing on his

harpe to dochim eafe. Censorinus remembreth one Aselepius a Physitian, who practifed the curing of conferred to the Frenzie, by the like Musick; and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from paffion. That Pythagor as did alfo, the like by fuch a Kinde of harmonie, Seneea in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of Saul came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, how socuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Mulitian than to the King.

Saul having failed in fuch open attempts, gave vnto David the Commaundement 50 of 1000, foldiours, to confront the Philistims withall. For hee durft not trust him as before about his person fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his batred towards him, hee promifed him his daughter Merab to wife : but having married her to Adriel, hee gaue to David his younger daughter Michel, but with a condition, to prefent him with an hundred foreskinnes of the Philistims: hoping rather (in re-

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\* Ir fremeth

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2.S.(2).I.

fpect of the valour of that Nation, that the Philiftims would take Danids head, than he their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now Davids victories begat new feares and icalousies in Saul, hee practifed with Ionathan, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purpofes were ftill frustrated. After all this bee fought to murther him in his owne house, but Michel his wife deliucred him. So Danid fought Samuel at Ramah, and being purfued by Saul, fled thence vnto Nob in Reniamin to Abimilech, then to Achis the Philiftim, Prince of Geth : where to obforce himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill affured among the Philiflims he couered himselfe in the Caue of Adullam: and after conveying fuch of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him into Moab, 10 he hid him felfe in the defarts of Ziph, Maon, and the hilles of Engaddi, where hee cut off the lap of Sauls garments, and spared his life; as he did a second time in the defart of Ziph, after his passage with Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired to Achis of Geth the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred with which his mafter Saul was knowne to profecute him. I mièn in pf.d.

Of Achis Dauid obtained \* Siklag in Simeon pretending to inuade Iudaa : but hee bent his forces another way and strooke the Amalekites, with other enemies of Ilrael, letting none line to complaine vpon him. Achis supposing that Danid had ned signature that this time, for it drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himfelfe affured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade Ifrael, fummoneth Dauid to affift him, who diffembling his 20 1 of Same 27. intent, femeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the Philishim Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore hee Siglag pertaiwithdrew him selfe to Siklag. At his returne he found the towne burnt, his two norb your the wines with the wines and children of his people taken by the Amalekites : Hereuupon his fellowes mutined, but God gaue him comfort, and affurance to recouer all againe: which he did.

This armie of the Philistims commaunded by Athis, encountred Saul at Gilbon, if which hee and his three fonnes were flaine. The newes with Sauls Crowne and bracelets were brought to Dauid at Siklag, in his returns from being victorious over Amalech, by a man of the fame Nation, who answed (though fally) that himfelfe 25 at Sauls request had flaine him. David, because hee had accused himselfe, made no foruple to cause him to be flaine at the instant; and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong cuidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that enery man ought to bee beleeved of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is heldin the lawe; INF degrafil. Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an enidence of the crime, waleffe some other proofe informe the conscience of the Indge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodiarcorum l. siconfessio, etineap, de panis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Glosse reconcile these two pla- 40 ces in this fort. Si quis iniudicio sponte de seipso consiteatur, & postcà mancat in confessione, id off latis. If any man in indepement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseure in his confession, it is enough. That David greatly bewailed Saul it is not improbable, for death cutteth afunder all competition and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Israel also fell, could not but stirre up forrow and moue compassion in the heart of Danid.

The victorie which the Philistims had gotten was so great, that some townes of the Ifraclites, even beyond the river of Iordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may feeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious 50 as were the Philiflims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and feeke to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediatly breaking out betweene Danid and the house of Sanl, wherein Inda was divided from the rest of Israel, gaue them hope of an easie victorie ouer both; and thereby cau-

fed them to attempt nothing at the present, least by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should confume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

CHAP.17. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

# Of the beginning of DAVIDS reigne, and the warre made by ABNER for ISBOSETH.

Fter the death of Saul, Abner, who commaunded for Saul in the war, fought to advance Isbofeth (or Ieboftus according to Iofephus) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of Ilrael; for Mephiboleth the first fonc of Jonathan lived. Against this Joner, and Ishofeth, David made a defensive warre, till Abner past Jordan, and entred the border of Ju-

da; at which time hee fent loab with fuch forces as hee had, to relift Abner: Isbojeth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebron. The armies encountred each other neere Gibeon, where it seemeth, that Abner made the offer to trie the quarrel by the hands 20 of a few; like to that Combat betweene the Lacedemonians, and the Argues, remembred by Herodotus, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. I he like triall by a farre leffe number was performed by the Horatif and Curiatif for the Romanes and Latines. The fame challenge Goliab the Philistim made, whom David flew: a custome very auncient. Edward the third offered the like triall in his owne person to the French King, and Francis the French King to Charles the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this warre of David with the house of Saul, to wit, so many of Beniamin, and as many of Inda: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to challenge the victoric. But the quarrell staid not here: for the armie of Juda prest Abner 30 in groffe, and brake him. Three hundrethand fixtie men of Abners companions

were flaine, and but twentie of Iuda; whereof Alabel the brother of Ioab was one: who when hee would needes purfue Abner, and by Abners perswasions could not a Sama. be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne vpon him, wounding him to death, with the stroake of his speare. For though Ashel were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild Roe, and as tolephus reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have maistered Abner (who as Afahel perswaded himselfe, had by being o- Ecolo. perthrowne and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; That the race is not to the fwift.

That this civill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of Samuel the (econd Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made Version probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reflech fill in dispute, and some of the Rabbines conceive that Isboseth had then reigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the partie of Isbofeth after this, and till such time as there grew icaloufie betweene him and Ishofeth for Sauls concubine: neither did the death of Ishofeth instantly follow; but how long after the murther of Abner it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

Q. 11 I.

Of the death of A BNER flainely IOAB, and of ISBOSETH
by RECHAB and BNANAH.

1.5.00.3.27.

Bner, reconciled to Danid, was anone by Ioab murdered; for Ioab could not endure a companion in Davids favour, and in the commanlement of his forces, by which hee was growne so powerfull, as Daaid forbare to cal him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himfelfe. Iam this day weake, and thefementhe fonnes of ZERVIAH bee too

hard for mee. In this fort David complained after Abners death; and to make it cleare 10 that hee hated this fact of 10ab, hee followed him with this publicke imprecation; Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subicit to vicers, to the leprofie, to lameneffe, to the fword, and to ponertie, &c. For could any thing have withflood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Ioab might greatly have indangered Davids effate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore David openly bewailed, so that all I/rael perceined him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of fuch importance, that the Kings themselines were faine to give them great respect, as bath bene alreadie showed more at large. This office Josh held in the armie of Juda, & thought 26 himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to Danid in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduerfitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemie should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature fo icalous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward flew Amaja his owne kinfman, and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdaine to see him joyned with himselse ascaptaine of the hoste of Inda; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and fuch a one as had flaine his brother, and beene beaten himfelfe in battell. But howfocuer loab did hate or despise Abner, David esteemed highly of him as ofa Prince, and agreat man in Ifrael, excusing the ouerlight by which hee might seeme to have perished, by affirming that hee'died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished. But as a man falleth be fore wicked men, fo (faid hee) diddeft thou fall. And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor vant of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand de ftroyeth vnawares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to consusion. For all vnder the Sume are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsocuer 1/2 boseth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death, hee despatred greatly of his chate, and with him all I/rael were posses with great feare: insomuch as two of Isbofeihs owne Captaines, Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isbofeth, and presenting his head to Danid, received the same reward that the Amalekite lately did, for pretending to have flaine Saul. Isbofeth being dead, all the Elders of Ifrael 40 repaired to Danid at Hebron, where he was the third and last time annointed by ge-

d. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of DAVIDS Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philistimes, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of



nerall confent.

Hen David was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise TO was vpon the lebusites, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walles with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which David soone after entred: all their other forces not with standing. For having maistered the fort of

CHAP.17. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Zion (which was afterward the Citie of Danid) hee became Lord of Hierufalem, without any great daunger, expelling thence the Iebulites, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of Moles and Iolua, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise. Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some thinke that it was meant by the Idols of the Iebusites: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with If are and Isrcob: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreftling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is till that Couenant) be broken David ought not to moleft them. But for my felfe I take it with tolephus, that they to armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in fcorne of Danids at-

tempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeres against althe Children of Ifrael, Iolia, the Indges, and Saul: did not doubt but to defend it also against Danid. When he had now posses himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatoric Embassadours & presents from Hiram King of Tyre: he entertained divers other concubines & maried moe wives, by whom he had ten fons in Ierufalem, and by his former wives he had fix in Hebron where he reigned 7, yeres.

The Philillims hearing that Danid was now anointed king as wel of Inda as of Ifrael, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountred by Dauid at two feuerall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of 2. Sam. 5 20 the Giants, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which hee called the place

Then David affembled 30000 choice Ifraelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house of Abinadab in Gibea, to the Citie of Dauid, which businesse was interrupted by the death of Fzzah the sonne of Aminadab, whom the Lord slewe for prefuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to flay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with factifices, musicke, dances, and all signes of joyfulnesses, in which David himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon Michol derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorne. That hee was unconcred as a le in the eyes of the maidens his feruants; namely that hee forgat his regall dignitie in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, ng as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes : not that she diffiked Daniels beha-(as I take it ) though the made it the colour of her derifion. But rather the aant griefe, which this spectacle stirred vp, beholding the glorie of her hufto whom thee was delinered laftly by force, and remembring the miferable fher father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the sonne of had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wives and concuines imbraced fince his possession of Ierusalens, made her breake out in those despitfull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, Dauid confulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had fied bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest, homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaft. The warres which David had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church : yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who thinke by bloudfled and terrour of their warres, to make themselues in greatnes like to the Amigh. tie, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or 30 feeke the bleffednesse promised by our Saniour vnto the peacemakers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of Daniels founding, yet was his religious intent fo well accepted, that hereupon hee received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happie promife of the euerlasting throne; that should be established in his seede.

2.5 mm s.

2.S.m.3.

of the death of Abner flaine by Ioab, and of Isboseth by Rechaband Baanh.

2.5.02.3.27.

Baer, reconciled to David, was anone by Ioab murdered; for Ioab could not endure a companion in Dauids fauour, and in the commandement of his forces, by which hee was growne fo powerfull, as Daaid forbare to cal him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himfolfe. Iamthis day weake, and these menthe somes of ZERVIAH beetoo hard for mee. In this fort David complained after Abners death; and to make it cleare 10

2.Sam.3.39.

201.29.

2.Sam.3.

Ver/.34.

that hee hated this fact of Ioab, hee followed him with this publicke imprecation; Let the blood fall on the head of IOAB, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subiett to vicers, to the leprofie, to lameneffe, to the fword, and to ponertie, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Ioab might greatly have indangered Davids effate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischaunce therefore David openly bewailed, so that all Israel perceived him to bee innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of fuch importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath bene alreadie showed more at large. This office load held in the armie of Inda, & thought 20 himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to Danid in kinred, and had beene partaker of all his aduerlitic; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemie should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so icalous of his dignitie and place, that hee afterward flew Amala his owne kinfman, and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdaine to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of Inda; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and fuch a one as had flaine his brother, and beene beaten himfelfe in battell. But howfocuer Ioab did hate or despise Abner, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in Ifrael, excusing the ouerlight by which hee might feeme 20 to have perished, by affirming that hee died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as aman falleth before wicked men, fo (faid hee) diddeft thou fall. And certainly it is no errour of wit, nor vant of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyeth vnavares, or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to consusson. For all vider the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsocuer Isboseth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all I/rael were possess with great feare: infomuch as two of Isbofeihs owne Captaines, Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isbofeth,

repaired to David at Hebron, where he was the third and last time annointed by geà. IIII.

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10 armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of Danids attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeres against althe Children of Ifrael, Iolia, the Indges, and Saul: did not doubt but to defend it also against David. When he had now possest himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatoric Embaffadours & prefents from Hiram King of Tree; he entertained divers other concubines & maried moe wives, by whom he had ten fons in Ierufalem, and by his former wives he had fix in Hebron where he reigned 7, yeres.

The Philiflims hearing that David was now anointed king as wel of Inda as of Ifrael, they thought to try him in the beginning, before hee was fully warme in his feat. And being encountred by Dauid at two fenerall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of 2. Sam. 20 the Giants, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which hee called the place

Badperazim.

Then Danid affembled 30000 choice Ifraelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house of Abinadab in Gibea, to the Citie of Dauid, which businesse was interrupted by the death of Vazah the sonne of Aminadah, whom the Lord slewe for presuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeeres it was with great solemnitie brought into the Citie with facrifices, musicke, dances, and all signes of joyfulnesses, in which Dauid himselfe gladly bare a part. Hercupon Michol derided him for dancing before the Arke, and afterward told him in scorne. That hee was unconered as a

30 foole in the eyes of the maidens his feruants; namely that hee forgat his regall dignitie both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes : not that she disliked Danids behauiour (as I take it ) though the made it the colour of her derifion. But rather the a-boundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the gloric of her hufband to whom shee was delinered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the sonne of Is at had built this his greatnesse, together with the many new wines and concubines imbraced fince his possession of Ierusalem, made her breake out in those despitfull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, Dauid confulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had fled bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all dereft, homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that hee would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaft. The warres which David had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church : yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands (hould lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceine themselues, who thinke by bloudflied and terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnes like to the Amigh. tie, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodnesse, or

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4.5.00.5.

## The enerthrow of the Philistiens and Moabites.

2.5.22.3.2.1.

Ooneafter this David overthrew the Philiflims, which made them al-Together powerleffe, and vnable to make any inuation upon I/rael in Malte. For it is written, accepit franum Amgaris emanu Philishhaorum; which place our English Geneua converts in these words. And DAVID Stooke the bridle of bendage out of the hand of the Philislims. The latine of

Junius giteth another and a better fense; for by that bridle of Amgar was meant the firong Citie of Gath, or Geth, and so the Geneua hath it in the marginal note. This 10 Citic of Gath was the same which was afterward Dio-Casaria, set on the frontier of Palessima at the entrance into Judea and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invasions, which being taken by Dasid and demolished, there was left no such frontier towns of equall strength to the Philistims on that part. The hil whereon Geth or Gath stood the Hebrewes cal Amms. whereof and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Plinie in his first booke, and thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of Chro.

the fecond of

1.Sam.13.

There was no nation bordering the Jenes that fo greatly afflicted them as the Philistims did, who before the time of Saul, (to the end they might not sharpen any wea- 20 pon against them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities & villages of that kind, but inforst them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke what soeuer they needed; fo as the Ifraelites till this time of Danid were feldome free from paying tribute to the Philiflims.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the Meabites and Arabians came between. In the first of which he was indangered by Ilbbi-benob, the head of whose speare weighed 200. shickles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time Abifini fuccoured Danid and flew the Philiftim, 255 Mil 1, 11.7. whereupon the Councellors and Captaines of Danid (least the light of Ifrael might by his loffe be quenched) vowed that he should not thence foorth hazard himself in 20 any battaile. The second and third incounter and operthrow of the Philissims was at Gob a place neere Gefar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better assured of the Philistims by the taking of Geth, hee intuaded Month, from whom not withflanding in his aduerlitiche fought fuccour and leit his parents with him in truft. But whether it were the same King or no it is not kowne.

The Rabines faine that Moab flew those kinsfolkes of David, which lived under his protection in Sauls time, but question lesse Daniel welknew how that Nation had bin alwaies enemies to Ifrael, and tooke all the occasions to vexe them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of Deuter. God commaunded Ifrael not to feeke the peace or prosperitie of the Monbits, which Danis well observed, for he de-40 stroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his armie by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of Adadezer the sonne of Rehob King therof. The place is set downe in the description of the holy land to which I referre the Reader.

### ø. VI.

# The warrewhich DAVID made upon the Syrians.



T is written in the Text: DAVID smote also HADADEZER &c. as hee 50 went to recover his border at the river Euphrates. Now whether the words (as he wen to to recouer his border )be referred to David or Hadadezerit is not agreed upon. Innius thinkes that the article (he) hath relation to Dauid, who finding Tohu opprest by Hadadezer, ouerCHAP.17. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

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threw the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion. that this recourse hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if David had intended any such enterprize towards Euphrates he was in farre better case to have proceeded after his victorie than before : feeing that (Adadezer being taken) he had now left no enemie on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines upon him at his returne.

Againe, sceing David was either to passe through a part of Arabia the defart, or by the plains of Palmyrena, his army confifting of footmen, for the most, if not all : Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to cary his prouisions through those to vicultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached Euphrates or any part therof. But we find that Danid returned to Hierusalem, after hee had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian armie, not bending his course towards the riuer Euphrates, but feeking to establish his purchases alreadie made. Wherby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King Dauid, that was going to inlarge his border as afore is faid.

The king of Syria Damascena, and of Damascens, wherof that region is so called, hearing that Adadezer was ouerthrowne by the Ifraelits, fearing his owne estate, & the loffe of his owne Contry which adjoyned to Syria Zobah of Hadadezer, fent for an army of Aramites or Syrians to his fuccour: but these, as it apeareth, came too late for 20 Adadezer, and too fonne for themselves : for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of Damafeus, Tofephus (out of Nicholaus an ancient Historian) calleth Adad;

who was also of the same name & family as all those other Adads were: which now began to grow up in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguilhed by the Affyrians, as is shewed heretofore. David having now reduced Damaleus under his obedience, left a garrifon therin, as he did in Edom: haning alfo fackt the adiovning cities of Betah, and Beratt, belonging to Adadezer, of which Cities Ptolomy calleth Betah, Tauba: & Berathi he nameth Barathena. Tohu or Thoi whose contro of Hamath joined to Adadezer (as in the description of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) fent his fon Ioram to congratulate this successe of David: partly because he 20 had war with Adadezer, and partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented Danid with vessels of gold, filuer, and brasse, all which together with the golden sheilds of the Aramites, and the hest of all the spoiles of other Nations Danid dedicated vnto God at his returne. Iunius translated the words (clypeos aureos) by vmbones, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the boffes only. The septuagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden chains. But because Roboam made shields of brasse in place of these of Adadezer, at such time as Shicab the Agyptian fackt the Temple of Hierusalem, it may be gathered thereby, that those of Adadezer were

This done David sent Embassadours to Hanum King of the Ammonites to con-2. Sam. to gratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David in the time of his affliction under Saul, had beene relieved by Nahalb, the father of Hanum. But this Ammonite being ill aduised, and ouer-icalous of his estate, vsed Dauids messengers so barbaroully, and contemptuoully (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments ) as hee thereby drewe a warre vppon himfelfe, which neither his owne firength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand souldiers of the Amalakites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaffalles of Adadezer twentie thou-Mankabihe Sand, and of Muchah and Ishtob thirteene thousand ( for which hee disbursed North part of a thousand talents of filuer) yet all these great armies together with the strength membred in a thousand ments of muci yet at these ground man and of growth the mountainty of of the Ammonites, were by Joah and his brother Adylhai cally broken and put to Pontsia, ruine: and that without any great loffcor flaughter at that time. And it is write country need to the country need to ten that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, Gadvader the the one holding themselves within the wals, the other in their defarts adioyning, rockes of artill Ioab was returned to Hierulalem.

golden shields.

Hadade-

\* Sec c.18.5 x.

Hadadezer hearing that Ioab had difmiffed his armie, affembled his forces againe, and fent for all the companies that he could leuie out of Melopotamia, who vnder the command of Shabach paffed Euphrates, and incamped at Helam, on the South fide Hidam or the thereof. Danid hearing of this new preparation, affembled all the ableft men of Ifrael Heliam or the-liam which Pin- and marched towardes the Syrian armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; tony calleth de to wit, at Helam, a place no leffe diftant from Damafens, towards the Northeast, than Hieru(alem was towards the Southwest. Now Danid (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrales (which was the farthelt-off journey that ever he made because he was now Lord of Damaseus, which lay in the midway, He also possess himselfe of \* Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterward 10 strongly fortified, and this Citie was but one daies journey from Helam, and the riuer Euphrates. So had he two fafe retraites the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damafeus. In this incounter between Dauid & the Syrians, they loft 40000 horsemen, and 700.chariots, together with Shobach Generall of their armic. The Chronicles call these 40000, souldiers footmen, and so summers it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of I/rael confifting of footmen, could hardly have flang htered 40000, horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000. in the first of Chron. the 9. in which number, as I conceine, all the fouldiers that ferued in them with the conductors are included : so as there died of the Syrians in this warre against David, be- 20 fore he forc't them to tribute; 1 00000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and befides all those that loab flew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites before Rabba. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Inda often; but the kings of Israel they impourished, even to the last end of that State.

Dayid having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians from the partie and confederacie of Ammon: He fent out Ivab the Licutemant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territoric, and to beliege Rabbah, afterward Philadelphia, which after a while the Ifraelites mastered and possest. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with pretious stones, David set on his owne head, and carri- 30 ed away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though David stayed at Hierufalem, following the warre of Vriah-his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremitie and readie to be entred : yet Ioab in honour of David forbare the last affault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people he vsed extreeme rigor (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with harrowes some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kils, in which he baked tile and bricke.

### d. VII.

of DAVID stroubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

Vr as victorie begetteth fecuritie, and our present worldly selicitie a forgetfulneffe of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King , change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his Lawes and Commaundements. For having now no dangerous apparant enemie (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord ) liee beganne to be adulfed by his owne humaine affections and vaine defires. For hee was not only fatisfied to take Prials wife from him, and to vie her by flealth: but hee imbrodered his adultery with Prials flaughter, giving order to his truftic feruant

Toab to marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gave an assault 2.5400,11.15. vpon the suburbes of Rabba, when there was not as yet any possibilitie of pregalling. And that which could no leffe displease God than the rest, hee was content that manv others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with Vriah, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse; and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe forrowes began againe to spring; and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God

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to to take the witnesse of Danids owne mouth against him, as Danid himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to haue flaine Saul, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when Nathan the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour, in the person of another, to wit of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereauer being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that fuch a one shold die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon Danid, for his life, which remission the Prophet Nathan pronounced: yet he deliuered him Gods inflice together with his mercic in the tenour following; Now therefore the fivord first neuer depart from thy very grante, house, &c. Because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast flaine V RIAH with the

20 Iword of the children of Ammon. Soone after this David loft the child of adulteric which he begot on Bersheba. Secondly, his owne sonne Anunon being in loue with his halfe lifter Thamar, by the aduife of his Colin german the fonne of Shimeah Daaids brother, posses ther by force : which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careleffe and despightfull manner. Two yeeres after which foule and incestuous act, Absalom caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in reuenge of Thamars rauishment alone: but having it in his heart to vsurpe the Kingdome; in which, because he could not in any fort be affured of Ammon, he thought his affaire greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his owne lifter, and then despised her; the other after

20 a long diffembled malice, first, made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and lived vnder the favegard of Talmai King of Gellur, neere Damssew, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. 2.549,171 Thirdly, when Ab/alom by the invention of losb, (but chiefly because of the great affection of Dauid towards his fonne) was brought againe: first to the Kings fauour, 2.52m14. and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against David his father, seeking by the pretence of common inflice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment

40 The company which Absalom gathered at the first were but 200. men: which 2.Sam.150 he carried with him from Hierusalem to Hebron; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when Achitophel repaired vnto him, and many troopes of people from all places, he proclaimed himfelfe King, and was by the people(whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that David doubting to be fet upon on the fuddain, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Hierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprise: but incamped in the fields, & defarts with some 600.0f his gards, and few elfe. The priefts he left in Hierulalem with the Arke of God from whom he defired to bee advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed Husb a his trustie friend, and ser-

50 uant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and councels of Abs- 2. Sam, 15, loms partie and confederacie, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of Achitophel, a revolted Counsailor, whose practises hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to betray his maister Mephiboleth the sonne of Ionathan : And Shimei of the house of Saul (the fire Tt3

of whose hatred Danids prosperitie had sinothered, but his adversitie illightened) holding himselfe vpon the advantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at Dauid, and most despightfully cursed him to his face : but Dauid attending no priuate reuenges, forbadde Abilbai to pursue him for the present, yet lest him among 3.Sam.16. others in the rolle of his reuenge, to his sonne Salomon. Absalom being now possest of Hierufalem, was aduited by Achitophel to vie his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Ifrael might affure themselues, that hee was irreconciliable to his father : whereof being perfivaded they would then refoluedly adhere to Ablalom and his cause, without seare of being given vp vpon a reconciliation betweene them. This faluage and impious (though craftic counfaile) Achitophel indeed vr- 10 1,Sam.17. ged for his ownerespect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed Ab/alom against his father. And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had directly forctold Danid: I will raife up enill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wines before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neigh-

bour, and hee shalls envish thy vines in the selfs of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all speak, and before the Sunne. Hee also gaue adults to Absidons, that himself with an armie of 12000, men might be imployed at the inflam for the surprising of Danid, which had willingly beene imbraced by Absidons, had not Isushi Danids kitchfull serunnt given counter-adults, and swayed it persuanding Absidons, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of 1814, 20 to pursue his father: then by such a troope, which Danids valour, and those of his attendants, might either indaunger or resist. This delay in Absidons, and advantage

of time gained by Datid, was indeed, after God, the loffe of the one and delinerie of the other. Whereupon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the occasion fore shewed) the fixees fixed five the other within followed, disposed of his owneels and then for soke both the partie and the care of Ablahom, and of his owne life.

Dauid being advertised of this enterprize against him marched away al night, and past Iordan, possessing himselte of Alabanaian in the tribe of Gad: the same wherein Islosfath himselse in the warre against Dauid after Sauls death scated himselse. To

which place there repayred vnto him Shobi, the sonne of Nabash the Ammonite, 30 whom Dauid loued, the same which Inspect callect Shiphar. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this Shobi was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to Hamm, whom Dauid for his stathers sake established in the Kingdome, after Hammon our throw. In thanklinhest whereof her relieved haudin this his extremitie. There came also to Dauids also this extremite.

bar, Gardian in former times to Mephibolheib, and among others Barzillai the Gileadite, who willingly fed Dauid and all his companie.

In the meane time both the King and Abhiatom prepared to fight, Abhiatom made Amafa Commanuder of the armie of histoly the faine place which Toub below with Dautal 3 an office next the King him felts, like vnto that of the Manors of the Palace aunutal 3 an office next the King him felts, like vnto that of the Manors of the Palace aunciently in France. Daud, perfivaded by hiscompanie, flayed in Mithanaim, and
disposed the forces he had to Toub, Abhinain, and Histo, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that is flied out of the port of Mahnaim, that they should spare the life
of Abhaim. But Toub, besides that hee was very crued by nature, remembred that
Abhiatom had lately disposed of his Gouernment to Amasa, and therefore the victoric being obtained, and newes brought him that Abhiatom hung by the haire of his
head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to return and kill him,
hee himselfe with his owne servants dispatch him. It appeared also by the sequel
hat took affected Monia by whom hee afterward acknowledged, Danad yet living;

and fearing the difposition of Abfalom, he imbraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to Daussid, he mourned and forrowed, not onely as a man that had lost a sone, but as one that had outlined all his worldly ioyes, and seen every delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and re-

ward after fo great a victorie, couered themselues also in the Citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon 10th presenting himselise before Dausis, persenvaded him to dissemble his forrow for the present, and to shew himsels to the armie. For first he told him that he had dissountenanced his faithfull serunas, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more daungerous to a king, than not onely to not acknowledge fo great a lowe and constancies his people, who being but sew in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake-buton the contrarie grieue and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all 1 have bought their peace of Assistance an acaie rate. Secondly, hee viged that it was generally beleened, that he loued his enemies and bated his friends, and that he witnesselves have been successed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull scruants, but would more have over distributions and approved value of the success o

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lour gotten.
Latily hee vsed this prevalent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publikly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returner concluding with this fearefull threatning. And that will bee \*Samis, worse vono three than all the entitled the souther from thy youth bitherto. By these our-

hoold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vitered with a good intent) Itals raise seed Danus, from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Ciric among the people, whom hee assured of his loue and affection of percally Amasa who communed the armie of Assistant, to whom hee promised the office of Lieutenanthippe; the same which Assistant had given him, and which Inst now enjoyed. For Danid doubted that if Amasa were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now vnder his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards Ior Lan homeward, where in his paffage hee pardoned Shimel, who had lately reuiled him to his face; but this remiffion was 2. Sam, 2.5. but externall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of Mephiboffeeth his excuse, 20, whom Zit; shad formerly fally accused and betrayed.

He all 6 intreated B w zillai the Gleadite, his late liberall hofte, to follow him to Ierafalon, that he might reward his fertice done him, who exculing himfelfe by his 2.5am.1538, age, apopinted his fonne Chambam to attend the Kine.

At Gilgal on this tide tordan, all the tribes affembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in Danid, the armie brake and Danid returned to Jerusalem. But Sheba, the sonne of Bichri a Beniamite of the faction of the house of Saul, finding some discontentment among the Ifraelites, withdrewe them from David, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but Inda, bare still a good af-40 fection to the iffues of their first King. David imployed his reconciled Captaine Ama/a, to giue him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceiued that Amafa had interest in those revolts of Ifrael more than Ioab had. He receiued commaundement from Dauid to affemble the armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed : but being onward on his way, Abifhai Ioabs brother was fent after him, with Davids guard and best fouldiers, whom also Ioab accompanied and overtaking Amasa neere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, wherof hee fell dead, being no leffe icalous of Amasa than hee was of Abner, whom hee murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done he purfued Sheba, and finding him inclosed in Abel, affaulted the Citie with that fu-To rie, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off

The next act of Dauids, was the deliucrie of Sauls formes or kinsmen to the Gibeomites, whom those Citizens hung up in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. Dauid had knowledge

Sam. 2.20,37,

ric, that the Citizens by the periwalions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off sold before and, and fung it to Todo over the walls which done, he retraited his armie to trendem, and commanded as before all the hoft of Ifrael.

16 16 3.Sam,18.14, 3.Sam,18, knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites : and therefore hee willingly yeelded to give them this fatisiaction, both because hee had warrant from God himselfe, as also if we may judge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom hee and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molelted and endaungered; only he spared Wephihosheth the fonne of Jonathan, both for the loue hee bare to his father, as for his oath and vow

Now where it is written in the Text; The King tooke the two formes of RISPAH whom five bare unto SAVL, and the five formes of MICHOLthe daugh- 10 ter of SAVL, whom thee bare to ADRIEL, and delivered them to the Gi-

Junius cals this Michal the lifter of her that was Dauids wife, thee whom Saul maried to Phaltiel; but Michel here named had Aariel to her husband: the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to Dautd, when he flew Goliab in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that Mishelloued Daniel, which perchance Merab did not, whether Daniel had any humane respect in the deliucrie of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now whereas the General nameth Michol for Merab, the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here yed, having an eclipsis or defect, 20 and fignifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinned, as in the 19. verse of the fame 21. Chapter it is faid of Golial, whose speare was weightic as a weaters beame, when as by the same Eclipsisit must be understood by the brother of Goliah: Goliah himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of David, leaving no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forraine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commaunders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of Ifraccis not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Thirtie Captaines of thoulands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were live Coronels, whose valour was so ex- 20 traordinarie, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which feemeth to have beene given vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For Ab Shat the brother of Isab, who in the warre against the Ammonites and Aramites was Lieutenant and commaunded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the fecond order, notwithstanding his necreneffe in blood vnto the King, the flourishing chate of his owne house, and his well approued feruices. All these Coroneis and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may feeme to have beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readineffe for any occasion, considering that the numbers 40 which were mustered and drawne out, if need required into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea or thirtie times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauletime, & bin hardened with his aduerfities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their fenerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of S. ml; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with 10ab that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the 2. cfpeciall men of warre, and reckoned as Danie's worthies. The long reigne of Danie, as it is knowne to have confumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be geffed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths wee finde nowhere mentioned. For the fonnes of Zernia, who had beene too hard for Danid, were worne away, and onely loab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abilbu to stand by his side in his last extremitie.

By the actions forepassed in the time of Danie, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeeres, or thereabout, when the posteritie of Saul was rooted out, so that

hee enioyed about feauen yeeres of entire quiet and fecuritie, wherein it pleafed God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the fucceffion of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time also David having established all things in Juda and Israel, and the borders thereof, hee againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in oftentation of his power; in which hee imployed loab with other Captaines of his armie, who after nine moneths and twentie daies trauell, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to beare armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteene hundred thousand, besides Leui and Beniamin; whereof in Iuda and the Cities thereof fine hundred thousand, and in Israel 1.chros.c.21.

to eight hundred thou fand. For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfeto which he pleased; to wit, seauen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein hee should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: David made choyce to bowe himselfe under the hand of God onely, and left himfelfe subject to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished seauentie thousand. And hereby he hath taught al that line that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth vs this diuine reason. For his mercies are great.

2. Sam. 14:

of the last acts of David: Adonians faction: thereuenge upon Ioab and Shimei.

Aftly, when hee grew weake and feeble, and patt the acts and know-be ledge of women, hee was yet aduited to lie in the armes of a yong and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake was clatter of bodie, when he was in a manner bedrid, \(\triangle \triangle \trian partiethat inuincible, renowned and feared Ioab, with Abiathar the Priest, beganne manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now living of Davids sonnes, and a man of a goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulteric, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beds, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose)he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Berfabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promife, that Salomon her fonne should reigne after him ( Nathan the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of Adoniah his pre-40 fumption) the King calling vnto him Zadoe the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and Bemaiah the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to annoint Salomon, and to fet him on the mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state; which done, Salomon attended and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. Those tydings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his affistants, and for the safetic of his life he held by the hornes of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, Danid had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was 1. King to desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the 30 building of the Temple, which he fought by all meanes to aduaunce, and make the businesse publique. To bring these intentions to good effect hee summoned a Par-Jiament, confifting of all the Princes of Ifrael, the Princes of the seuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who repaired vnto Ierufalem.

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In this assembly the King stood vp, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he tooke occasson to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iaacob in his bleffing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choice of him amone all his fathers fonnes. In like manner he faid that God himfelfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his fonne, to conforme themselues viito all that God had commaunded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced hee the paterne of the worke according to the forme 10 which God himfelfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings propolition was so well approued by the Princes and people, that whereas he himselfe had given three thousand talents of golde, and seaven thoufand of filuer, they added vnto it seauen thousand of gold, and ten thousand of filuer, besides brasse, iron and iewels, heartily reioyeing in the advancement of so religious a worke. This businesse being well dispatched, a solemne feast with great facrifice was made, at which time Salomon was againe annointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the formes of King David. Salomon being thus established King, his father David 20 finding himfelfe even in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the fame courage and ftrength of minde, which himfelfe had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happie end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mightie words; Take heede to the charge of the Lordthy God, to walke in his waies, and keepe his statutes and his commaundements, and his judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses or. to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For this done (faith God himselfe) Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit upon the throne of

Secondly, hee aduised him concerning Ioab, who out of doubt had served David 20 from the first assault of Jerusalem to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, fauing that hee fastened himselfe to Adonijah ( his maister yet lining) and thereby yexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left crueltie vnreuenged, fo was it his will that Ioab should drinke of the same cuppe, whereof he had enforced other men to tafte, and fuffer the same violence which himselfe had vniuftly stroken others with all, qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit : for he had bereaued Abner and Amafa of their lives, having against the one the pretence onely of his brothers flaughter, whom Abner had flaine in the time of warre, and could not auoid him : against the other but a meere icalousie of his growing great in the fauour of David. And though Josh affured himselfe that Abner and Amasa being dead, 40 there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the pollicies of wicked men) raifed vp Benhaiah the Jonne of Jehoiadah, to pull him from the Sanctuarie, and to cut him in pieces. For David giveth this cause to Salomon against Ioab, that he flew the Captaines of the hofte of Ifrael, and shed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparant and just cause, it is not improbable but that David remembred the ill affection of Joab towards Salomon, which Joab made manifest by the votimely fetting vp of Adoniah, David yet living. Some other offence Ioab had committed against Dauid of which in these words he put his son Salomon in minde; Thou knowest also what I O AB the sonne of SERVIAH did to mee, &c. Now whether this were ment by the killing of Absalom, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when hee mourned in Mahanaim for Absalom; or whether it were the publishing of Danids letter vnto him for the killing of Vriah: thereby to differee Salomon as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue themselues excee-

ding in folently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot mille them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouerthrowne many a worthie man otherwise deseruing great honour and respect.

Hee also gaue order to Salomon, to ridde himselfe of Shimei, who not long before had cast stones at David and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promife David spared Shimei all the time himselfe lived, yet being dust and in the graue he flew him, by the hand of Salo men his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King Henry the seaucnth of England had his patterne, when hee gaue order to He n-

to rie the eight to execute Pool as soone as himselfe was buried, having made promise to the King of Spaine when hee delinered Pool vnto him, that while hee lined hee would never put him to death, nor fuffer violent hands to be elaid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of loab yeeld vnto Salomon any fuch great profite or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young Adad of Idumaa, and Rezin of Damafeus to vexe him : who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to creer- 1.King. 11. prize vpon Salomon, hearing that David flept with his fathers, and that loab the Captaine of the holt was dead. Now when David had reigned in all fortic veeres. to wit, in Hebron feauen yeeres, and in Ieru/alom three and thirtie, he died.

For his person, he was of smal stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces he fo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart. he was faid by God himfelfe to be a man according to his owneheart. The Plalmes which hee wrote with, ife his pietic, and his excellent learning; of whome Hieron to Paulinus. DAVID SIMONIDES nofter, PINDARYS & ALCAEVS, FLACCYS, quoque CATVLLVS, & SERENVS, Christum lyraper fonat, & in dechachordo Pfalterio abinteris fufcitatrefurgentem. DAVID (faith he lour SIMONIDES, PINDARYS, ALCAEVS, HORACE, CATVLLVS and SERENVS, he playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed P salter her afeth him oprising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, hee foretelleth Christ more lightformely and linely than all

The booke of the Pfalmes faith Glycas were divided, ordered and diffinguished by Ezekias: but whether all the Pfalmes were written by David it is diverfly disputed. For Athanafius, Cyprian, Lyranus, & others conceine diners authours, answering Hier will 134. the titles of the feueral Pfalmes, as Mofes, Salomon, and the reft hereafter named, and in in expligi that onely 73. Plalmes were composed by David himselfe, namely those which are intituled ipfus Dand. For the 50, and 72, with the ten that followe are beflowed on Asaph the sonne of Barachia, eleven other on the sonnes of Korah, and eleven are afcribed to Mofes, to wit, the 89 and the 10. following, and fo they are intituled in the old Hebrew copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) ftile them otherwife. The supposed nine authours of these Pfalmes which David wrate

40 not. Sixt: Senensis namethas followeth; Salomon, Moses, whom Aben Ezracontra- Vid. Sixt. Senen rieto Hierome, maketh one of Danids fingers) Afaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, I- Bib fantilia. Jol. dishum, and the three sonnes of Chore. But S. Chrisostome makes David the sole authour of all the Pfalmes, and to doth S. Augustine, reasoning in this manner. Al. 13.64. though (faith he) fome there are that ascribe those Plalmes onely vnto David, which are ouerwritten ipfius David, and the rest intituled ipfi David to others, this opinion (faith hec) Voce Euangelica saluatoris ipsius resutatur, vbi ait quòd ipse DAVID in Sivitu Christum dixerit effe suum Dominum quoniam Pfalmus 109. sic incipit. Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede à dextris meis &c. The voice of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it faith, that David him felfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the

50 109 Plalme beginnes thus. The Lord faid onto my Lord fit thou at maright hand, co. Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a paterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Storie and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Nathan and Gad, as it is in the first of Chron. 29.ver. 19. For the seuerall parts of the

I.King.2.

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bookes of Samuel which intreat chiefly of Dauid, were as it feemes written by thefe three holy men.

Conflaintine Manaffes hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the fieee. fought for fuccour from David, and that he flayed neuter in that warre. But it fee-In his annales meth that Manaffes did miscast the time twixt David and the Trojan warre. For it is of Greeke into generally received that Troy fell betweene the times of Abdon and Samfon Judges of Ifrael, about the worlds yeere 2848 and Danid died in the yeere 2001.

Q. IX.
Of the tressures of David and Salomon.

I streafures were exceeding great, For it is written in the 22. of the first

Fof14.

of Chronicles, that he left Salomon for the building of the Temple a hun. dred thousand talents of gold, & athousand thousand talents of silver, and of braffe and yron patting all weight, which is more than any King of the world poffett belies himfelfe, and his fon to whom he left it. For it amounted to three thousand three hundred thirtie and three cartload & a third of a cartload of filuer, allowing two thousand weight of filuer or fix thousand pound fterling to enery cartload, belides three fcore and feauenteene millions of 20 French Crownes, or of our money twentie three millions and a thousand pound; a matter but for the testimonie of the Scriptures exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him it doth not appeare, feeing that the Judges had not any treafure, nor any fourraigne power to make legies; but when they went to the warres. they were followed by fuch voluntaries as the feuerall tribes by turnes gaue them: feeing also that Saul who was of a meane parentage, and perpetually vexed and inmaded by the Philiflims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poffert by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiffe to confider how David within the space of not very 20 tnany yeeres, might amaffe up fuch mightie treafures. For though parlimonic be it felfea great reuenue, yet needes there must have beene other great meanes. It feemes that hee made the vitermost profit of all that hee had, that was profitable. Eusebius in his ninth booke and last Chapter de proparatione Euangelica, citeth the words of Eupolemus, who reporteth that David among other preparations for the Temple, built a Nauie in Atelanis (or as Villalpandus corrects it Achanis) a Citic of Arabia, and from thence fent men to digge for gold in the Island Prphe, which Orteliss thinkes, was Ophir, though Eupoiemus in his place of Eulebiss (erring perhaps in this circumstance) faith that this Island is in the red sea; from whence faith this Eupolemus they brought golde into sury. Pineda lib. 4. develus Salomonis c. 1. thinks that 40 Daniel did this way also enrich himselse, and citeth this testimonic of Eupolemus : and yet certainely David had many other waies to gather great riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest, from the Conacites and Philislims, besides those fruitfull vallies neere Jordan in Trachonitis and Bafan, and the best of Syria, and other countries bordering the Ifraelites. These demaines belike he kept in his owne hands. and with his infinite number of captines, which hee tooke in his warres, which were notable to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1. Chron. 17. that Ichonathan was ouer his treasures in the field. in the villages, in the Cities, in the townes; that Ezri was over the labourers, that tilled his ground; Simei over the vineyards; and Sabdi over the flore of the wine; Baal 50 Hanan over the olive trees, and Toalh over the store of the oyle, also that hee had heardmen that had charge ouer his cattell, both in the high lands, and in the plaines, ouer his theepe; camels, and affes. And this cuftome of enriching themfelues by husbandry and Cattell the auncient Kings every where held, both before

and after Dauids time. For wee reade of Pharas that hee spake to Isfeph to appoint fome of his brethren or of their feruants, to be Rulers ouer his cattell. We reade of Vzzia, that he loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dreffers of a.cheg. 26. Vines : likewise we reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Heards and flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite Augens and Admetus or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now

CHAP.17. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

concerning Danid it is not vnlikely, but that those captines which were not imploied in hulbandrie, were many of them vied by him in all forts of gainefull professions.

as the ancient Romans in like manner yfed their flaues:

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily fent him, by Tehu and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered : also the head money which was gathered per legem capitationis; By the law of capitation or head money, energy man rich or poore paying halfe a ficle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as fourteene pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand fine hundred and seventie thousand sighting men 1.Chron.atwere numbred by 10ab. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to haue beene perpetuall ( which opinion of theirs neuertheleffe

20 they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet David vpon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practize. And by these meanes might he be able to leave those huge treasures to Salomon. Yet it may seeme that of this great masse of gold and filter left by David, the least part was his owne in private, and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that he left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that he gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thoufand talents of filuer; a great fumme : but ho'ding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to confider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needes they must have been, having received continual encrease. without any losse or diminution ever fince the time of Moses and Iosush. The re-

20 uennues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defraied the daily expences, and maintayned the Priest and Leuites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and Number 1,27 the People which remayned at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the Countrie received benefit of the victorie, yet fo, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for every single

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given 40 to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootic. So in the spoile of Midian, thirtie two thousand women being taken, the armie had fixteen thousand of them for flaues, and the Congregation had other fixteene thoufand; but out of the fixteene thousand given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirtie for the Lordstribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twentie. By this meanes, the leffer that the Armie was which had exposed it felfe to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it confifted of many hands, they who remayning at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lordstribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased, either by 50 fome especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and filter, and other mettalls

found in Iericho, were consecrated vnto God; or by thankfulnesse of the Rulers and 10,6,19. People, as when after the victorie obtayned against the Midianites without the losse of one man, all Iewells, Bracelets, Eare-rings, and the like, were offered vp, as volun- Numb. 21.50. tarie prefents.

U.27. 0 28.

Now how focuer the Ifraelites were many times oppressed, and troden downe by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies neuergat possession of the Tabernacle that was in Shile. Wherefore it cannot otherwife be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must have beene exceeding great : as contayning aboue one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Ifraelites in the whole Land of Canaan; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtayned against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is cuident; feeing that before the time of Dauid and his Lieutenant loab, it is recorded that Saul and Abner, and before them Samuel, had vied to dedicate of the spoiles obtayned in warre, to maintayne the 10 house of the Lord : the like wherof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines in other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquest of David brought into the Land farre greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchafed, those of Iofua perhaps excepted : but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of filuer, may feeme rather to have beene made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to have beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

gold is 770. frêch crownes. 1. King. 10.14.

Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it is more manifest how he gathered them: for he received of yearely revenues with his tributes fixe hundred fixtie fixe Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also fixe rich Returnes from 20 the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voiage cuery three yeares, and he beganne that trade in the two and twentieth yeare of his raigne, and ruled fortie yeares. Besides this, all Indea and Ifrael were now mastered to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, the Syrians of Zobah, of Damascena. of 1. King. e. g.v. 20 Palmyra, of Iturea; all of Idemea, Moab, and Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Heuites, Iebusites, and other races of the Canamites, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of I/rael reduced by Danid, who af-

1.Chron.19.18.

ter fortie yeares raigne, and seuentie yeares of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of Danid. It is written by Iolephus 20 that there was hid in Dauids Tombea meruailous quantitie of treasures, in so much as Hyrcanus ( who first of the Chasmanai , or race of the Maccabees, called himselfe King ) one thousand and three hundred yeares after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himselfe of Antiochus then belieging Jerusalem, and afterward Herod opening an other Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the Peruvians and other Americans did the like, which being discouered by the Spaniards, they inriched themsclues by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That Salomon did burie so much treasure in his fathers grave, it would hardly be beleeved, in regard of the great exactions with which he was faine to burthen the people, not with standing altheriches 40 which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him : were it not with all confidered that his want of monie grew from such magnificent imploiments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of Danid the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of Plika) they remayned within these Peregranat, His-1961, D. N. Ch. thirtie yeares, and are like to remaine still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed vpon them.

Radz, Epift.2.

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ò. X.

Of the Philistims, whom DAVIDabsolutely maistered; and of fundry other contemporaries with



CHAP.17. S.10.

F the Philistims, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of Dauids time somewhat here may bee

They descended of Cassoim, who, according to Isydor and Infephus, 1std.19.19. was one of the fonnes of Milraim, and was furnamed Philiftim, as Efau 10 (d. 1. am. 17) was furnamed Edom, and Iacob Ifrael. There were of them fine Cities of pettic principalities; namely, Azotus or Afdod, Gaza or Aczaph, Afcalon, Geth or Gath, and Acca- 1. Sam. 6. ron. It feemeth that Calloim was the first founder of this nation, because of his kind-

red on either hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians. The first King of these Philistims, which the Scriptures have named, was that A- Genzo. bimelech which loued Sara, Abrahams wife.

The second Abimelech lived at once with Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time of famine, Abimelech then residing at Gerar in the border of Idames, which Abimelech fancied Isaac his wife: as his father had done Sara.

After Abimelech the second, the Philistims Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till Davids time: perhaps the government was turned into Ariflocraticall. For they are afterwards named Princes of the Philiftims, how focuer Achis be named king Jud 16.1. Sam. of Gath, the fame to whom David fled, and who againe gaue him Siklag to inhabit in 18.19.

After him wee read of another Achis who liucd with Salomon, to whom Semes trangiled to fetch backe his fugitive fervant, what time the feeking of his fervant was the loffe of his life. Jeremie the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of Palessin or Philistim. Amos nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a King of Gaza. The rest of the warres of the Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue of the Indges, of Saul and David, and therefore I shall not neede to collect the particulars in this

There lived at once with Danid, the third of the Silviy King of Alba called Latinus Siluius, who is faid to have ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere Codrus the last King of the Athenians died, to whom succeded the first Prince of those, who being called after Medon, Medontide, without regall name gouerned Athens during their life.

The reasons which moued the Athenians to change their government, was not drawne from any inconvenience found in the rule of Soueraigntie, but in honour of Codrus onely. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region betweene Phocis and the mountaine Oeta, fought counfaile from the Oracle, for their fuccesse in the warres against the Athenians, it was answered that then vidoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the Athenian King living. Codrus by some intelligence being informed of this answere, withdrewe himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common fouldier, entred the Campe of the Dorians, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in

Eupales the 21. King of Affyria, which others account but the 30. began to rule 50 that Empire, about the 12. yeere of David, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began Ixion the second King of the Heraelsde, the sonne of Eurysthenes in Corinth; and Agis the second of the Heraelida in Lacedamon: in honour of which Agu, his fuccessours were called Agida, for many yeeres after. He restored the Laconians to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of Helosin Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetual flauerie; wherof it came, that all the Mellenians, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called Helotes,

In like fort from the Selani came the word Slane. For when that Nation iffuing out of Sarmatia, now called Rullia, had feifed your the countrie of Illyria and made in their owne by Conquest, their victorie pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves by a new name, Slauos, which is in their language glorious. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardines, and not ripened their wits) when they were troden down, and made feruants to their neighbours; the Italians which kept many of them in bondage began to cal all their bond- 10 men Slaues, vling the word as a name of reproche: in which fense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the third King of Sparta, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of Danid, and fair that Scheffratus was the fourth King of Euleb, in Chron, this race, the fame whome Eulebius cals Labotes, and fets him in the thirteenth yeere

In the teach veere of Achestratus, Androdus the third fonce of codrus affifted by the Iones, built Ephelias in Caria, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of Sames to his territorie was flame by the Carians whose countrie he ysurped. He was buried (faith The Haft gate Paulanius) in one of the gates of Ephelius called Magnetes, his armed Statua being let 20 ward Macroclas Ouer him. Strabe reports that after Androclas had Subdued the Jonians (the next vpon the river province to Ephelus on the fea coast of Asia the lesse) he inlarged his Dominions vppon the Aoles, which joyneth to Jonia: and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities

Arith, spoke 6. of Ephelius and Erythraby the name of Bajilida in Strabe his owne time. Of the ex-\* see thin this pedition of the lones how they came hither out of Pelopone fus, I have \* spoken alrea-17.(h9.1 jot. die vpon occasion of the returne of the Heraclicke into Peloponefus, wherein with the Dores, they expelled the Aches, and inhabited their places in that land : though this of the Iones fucceeded that of the Herselida 100 yeeres.

The Citie of Ephelius became exceeding famous : first, for the temple of Diana therein built : which had in length 425, foote, and 220, in bredth, fullained with 20 7/m/12.58. 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen. and all the rest of choice marble possibly, the worke being first set out by Ciesiphon of Gnoffos. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which Timothie was Bishop; to whom, and to the Ephelians, Saint Paul wrote his lipiffles to intituled. The other Citie poffet by Androclus in Folis was also vinuerfully spoken of by reason of Sibylla, surnamed Erythraa: who lived feuen hundred and fourtie yeeres before Christ borne. Saint Augustine auoweth that a Romane Proconful shewed him in an auncient Greeke coppie certaine verses of this Propheteffe: which began (as Saint Augustine changed them into Latine) in these wordes. Ie (us Christius Dei filius Saluator, Ie sus Christ sonne of God the 10

> About the time that Ioab belieged Rabba in Moab, Vaphres beganne to 90uerne in Egypt, the same that was father in Law to Salomon, whose Epiffles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, are remembred by Eufebius out of Polemon. In the 21. of David, was the citie of Magnelia in Alia the leffe founded, the fame which is feated upon the river Meander, where Scipio gave the great overthrow to Antioches. In this territorie are the best horses of the lesser Ala bred, whereof

> > E! Magnetis equis, Miny e gens cognita remis.

Servin AEacid. About the fame time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcis in 50 3. Strabo. 1.5. Eubera according to Servius, with whom Strabo ioyneth the Cumeans of Aolis, faying that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other flould give name to the Citic. Of this Cuma was Ephorus the famous scholCHAP.18. S.1. of the Historie of the World.

Eusebius and Cassiodor finde the building of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 21. yeere of David, but much miltaken. For the father of Dide was Metinus the Sonne of Badezor brother to Iezabel, who married Achab King of Ifrael; and betweene the death of Danid, and the first of Achab, there were wasted about os.

In this time also Acastus lived, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, Enthis. chan. of which there were thirteene in descent before the State changed into a Magisfraie Hearding vit. of tenne yeeres. Some writers make it probable that the Aolians ledde by Graus, Honder Strab.

the grandnephew of Orefles, possess the Citie and Island of Lesbos about this time. In 1.14. 10 the 32. yeere of Danid, Hiram beganne to reigne in Tyre, according to infephus, who Antiq & Secont. faith that in his twelfth yeere Salomon beganne the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in to fephus, to mifreckon times, which in this point hee doth fo ftrangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest that Hiram fent meilengers, and Cedars to David, soone after his taking of Ierusalem, which was in the very beginning of Davids reigne over Ifrael, when as yet hee had reigned onely featien yeeres in Hebron, ouer the house of Inda. Wherefore it must needes be that Hiram had reigned aboue 30. yeeres before Salomon; vnleffe more Sam. 5. credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Iosephus, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the fame Hirans 20 which lived both with David and with Salomon, the Scriptures make it plainely

> CHAP. XVIII. Of SALOMON.

Of the establishing of SALOMON: of birthright, and of the cause of ADONIAHS death, and of SALOMONS wildome.



ALO MON, who was brought up under the Prophet Nathan, beganne to reigne ouer Juda and Ifrael, in the yeere of the world 2001. He was called Salomon by the appointment of God: hee was also called Iediddia, or Theophilus, by Nathan because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after Salomons annouting, difpatched Embassadours toward him, congratulating his establishment : a custome betweene Princes very auncient. Whence we read that David did in like fort falute Hanum King of the Ammonites, after his ob- 2. Sam. 10.

taining the Kingdome.

The beginning of Salomon was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For foone after Dauids death, hee caused his brother Adonijah to bee flaine by Benaiah 50 the fonne of Jehoiada, taking occasion from Adonijah his defiring by Bersheba, that the young maid Abilhag, which lay in Davids bosome in his latter daies, to keepe him warme, might be given him. What focuer hee pretended it was enough that Adomijab was his elder brother, and fought the kingdome contrary to the will of Dauid, whom God inclined towardes Salomon. And yet it is saide that a word is

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1 King.2.

enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw, may know whether it bee alvon or no: fo it may feeme that to the quick-fighted wildome of Salomon, this motion of Alonijahs, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had beene concubines to a King, might not after bee touched but by a King: whence Achitothe withed Abfalon to take his fathers concubines as a part of the royaltie. And David after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it feems was the depth of Isbofbeths quarrel against Abner, for having his fathers concubine. And some lignification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God

by Nathanto Danid; I have given thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives. And in the 10 1.5.111.29.30. words of Saul, upbraiding Jonathan that hee had chosen David to the shame of the nakednesse of his mother. Hercunto perhaps was some reference in this purpose of Adonial, to marrie with her that was alwaies prefent with David in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdome to Saloman. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that hee would learne fuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about Danids last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of Salomon.

As for the right of an elder brother which Adonijah pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the cuitomes of the lenes : yet the 20 1. King. 2.15. Kings of the Jewes were fo absolute, as they did therein, and in all elfe what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of kings) which taught them to ye this paternall authoritic in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of lacobs difficriting Reuben, and gining the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to loseph: of whom hee made two tribes. And Descrits.

Filtern exode ag- that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in Daniel, it appeares by

nofeto, diedo et the words of Berfabe and Nathan to David, and of Ionathan to Adonijah. For as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authoritie to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it nowhere ellius primogeappeares in the stories of the lewes. It is said indeed that the people made Saul King 20 niterum.1.Tire. at Gigal: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that hee was King T.Kingara 1000 long before no man can doubt. In like manner elswhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to bee expounded: as wherein the prohibition, that they 1.Sam 11.14. should not make themselues a King, it is said. Thou shalt make him King whom the

But to proceed with the acts of Salomon: at the fame time that he put Adonijah to death, he ridde himselfe also of Joab, and three yeeres after of Shimei, as Dautd had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar, who tooke part with Alonijah against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed Danid in all his afflictions, and because hee had borne the Arke of God before his father, he spared his life. 40 And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of Vaphres King of Egypt to wife : for so Eusebius out of Eupolemus cals him. Hee offered a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bad him aske what he would at his hands; SALOMON choofeth wildome, which pleafed God. And God faid unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither half thou asked riches for thy felfe, nor half asked the life of thine enemies, behold I have done according to thy words: by which wee may informe our felues what delires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coucting after long life, in respect of our selues, cannot but proceede of selse-loue, which is the roote of all impietie: the defire of private riches is an affection of couctoufnesse which God ab- 50 horreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the fword out of Gods hand and to distrust his Instice. And in that it pleased God to make Salomon know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers flaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from Danid, or

from the Law of God. But because Salomon desired wildome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleafed God to give him withail that which he defired not. And I have also given thee (faith God) that which thou half not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdome our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plantes and living creatures the Scripture tellifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of Salomons wildome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wildome, the Scripture telleth how foone he judged the controuerfie betweene the two harlors.

II.

Of SALOMONS buildings and glorie.

E then entred into league with Hiram King of Tyre, from whom hee had much of his materials, for the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father Dania, and another from God. For like as it is written of Dania' that Hecalled S A L O M O N his fonne, and charged him to build a

20 house for the Lord God of Ifrael : fo doth Toffatus give the force of a divine precept to 1.00226. these words. Behold; a sonne is borne unto thee, &c. Hee shall builde an house for Toss 1.6.in

Hee beganne the worke of the Temple, in the beginning of the 4 yeers of his L.Kin. L.G.V. reigne, at which time also hee prepared his fleete at Estongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supplie the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building, while his fleetes were paffing to and froit is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Aimagam trees brought from ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof 1. Chron. 28.20 the forme and example was given by God himfelfe) many learned men have writ-20 ten, as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Burralus, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, and others. to whom I referre the reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, Salomon employed thirtie thouland Carpenters, tenne thouland every moneth by course: he also vsed eightie thousand Masons in the mountaine, and seauentie thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Profesites, befides three thousand three hundred maisters of his worke, so as he paid and imployed in all one hundred eightie three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the Zidonians which were more skilful in hewing timber than the Ifraelites, may(as I think') be included. For Hiram caused his servants to bring downe the Ce-40 dars and Firres from Libanon to the fea, and thence fent them in raffes to Joppe or the 1.Kin.5.v.o. next port to Hierusalem. For in the second of Chronicles the second Chapter, it is plaine that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the overseers, were strangers, and as it feemeth the vastals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of Agypt. In re-1. Kin. 5.12. compence of all this timber and stone, Salomon gaue Hiram twentie thousand meafures of wheate, and twentic measures of pure oyle yeerely. Eusebius out of Eupolemus in the ninth booke of his preparation the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of Salomons Letter to Suron (which was the fame as Huram or Hiram) King of Tire in

50 R Ex SALOMON S V R ON 1, Tyri, Sydonis, at que Phenicia regi. Amico paterno falutem. Scias me à Deomogno D AV 1 D patris mei regnum accepiffe, cum ý, mihi pater pracepit tem plum Deo,qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te scriberem pracepit : Scriho igitur, o peto à te vet artifices atque fabros ad adificandum Templum Dei mittere

I Ing SALOMON to King SVKON, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phanicia King, and myje-thrys friend, fendeth greeting, You may underfland that I have received of the great God of my lather DAVID, the Kingdome : and when my father commaunded mee to build a Temple to God which crested beanen and earth, bee commaunded also that Isbould write to you. Invite therefore to you, and befeech you, that you would bee pleased to fend mee artiscers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God,

### To which the King Suron made this answere.

C VRON, Tyri, Sydenis, & Phaniciares, SALOMONI regisalitem. Lettis literis gra- 10 Dias eet Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministros q, ad convlendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia kominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudea, virum in rebus architectur e mirabilem. Curabis igitur vi necessarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

SVRON of Tyre Siden and Phanicia King, to King SALONON greeting: when I Secad your letters, I gaue God thankes, who hath infladed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that corpenters and workensen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have fent onto you four cleare thou fand men, and a Maifter builder a Tyrian, borne of a lewith woman, a man a mirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be provided 20 10f. Ant. 1.8. e. z. for them, and when the Temple of God is built that they come home to vs.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Insephastime as himselfe affirmeth, and to be feene, faith he, Tom in notices quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne asin the Train annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different tearmes, as the reader may finde in his antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene Salomort and thram either by melfage or by writing, it is fomewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than either Enpoleones or Tofepha fet it downe, but, so that in subthe 1.v.to the 9. france there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is faid to have written to Vaphres King of Egypts 20 and was answered as from Haram.

But whereas some Commenters upon Salomen finde that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vaphres King of Egypt, gaue Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eupolemon in Eufebius, I doe not finde any fuch addition of magnus in Eufebius in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in Jefethus in the eight booke and fecond chapter of the lewes antiquities : it being a vaine title vied by some of the Affrica and Perflan Kings and yield likewife by the Parthians, and many other after them, infomuch as in latter times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great Hermes the first which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities as much or more than for his mightineffe.

After the finithing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Ierufilem with a troble wal, & repaired Hazar which had benethe auncient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Iofualistime: fo did he Gaza of the Philiftims: he built Bethoron, Gerar and the Millo or munition of Hierusalem. For Pharaoh ( as it feemeth in fauour of Salomon) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar which the Canaanites yet held & put them to the fword and burnt their Citie. The place and territorie he gaue Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because Salaman was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the warre, that he entreated his father in lawe to rid him of those neighbours, which Pheraph performed. But he thereby taught the Agyptians to visite those partes a-gaine before they were sent for, and in his sonne Rehaboams time Sheshack this mans fucceffor did facke teru(alem it felfe.

Salamon at to built Aregiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan; and Balah in Dan : also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomics Thamoron in the defart of Inda ( or as InfeCHAP. 18. S.z. of the Historie of the World.

phus thinkes Palmyra in the defart of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vtmost border of Salomons dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of Dauids conquest when hee wanne Damaseus; it may seeme that Salomon therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best arte, that that age had. Infe- lofely 1.8. mm. phus cals this place Thadamora, by which name (faith hee) given by Salomon, the Syrians as vet call it. Hierom in his booke of Hebrew places cals it Thermeth. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by Adrian the Emperor it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building Salomen raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twentie talents of gold 10 received from Hiram feruants, Salomon offered Hiram twentie townes in or neere the vpper Galilee, but because they stood in an unfruitfull and marish ground Hiram re-

fuled them, and thereof was the territorie called Chabull. These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, Non quadgentes ibi habit.went : fed quia fub ditione regis gentilis erat, Not that it was possess by Gentiles (faith Nauclerus) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsocuerit were, it is true that Salomon in his 21. yeere fortified those places, which Hiram refuled. Further, he made a journey into Syria Zobah and established histributes; the first and last warre (if in that expedition hee were driven to fight) that hee made in person in all his life. Hethen visited the border of all his Dominions passing from 20 Thismen to the North of Palmyrena, and so to the Deserts of Idumea, from whence hee vilited Eziongsher and Eloth, the vttermost place of the South of all his territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I have described in the Storie of

ð. III.

Of SALOMON'S fending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about SALOMONS riches, and of PINEDAES conceipt of two strange passages about

Ere Salomon prepared his fleete of shippes for India with whom Hiram ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Marriners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom and was conquered

by Danie, did the Fleete passe on to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccus, aplace exceeding rich in gold: witneffethe Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the aboundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and reco-40 uer agreat quantitie from thence, and with leffe labour than they doe in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by thesesshippes amounted to source hundred and twentie talents, but in the second of Chronicles the eight, it is written source hundred and fiftie talents: wherof thirtie talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men, and foure hundred and twentie talents, which makes fine and twentic hundred and twentie thousand Crownes came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred fixtie and fix talents of gold, that fumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of salemons which were yearely, and which came to him belides these profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedie returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies then in 3. c & \$ 9.10 \* 1. yeeres; and that Thar is in Scripture is diverstimes taken for the Ocean; hath beene Lib.4.4 evens Salemana. 6.

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Onely it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of Pineda his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of Batica would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tarteffie, which is the Southwest corner of that Prouince, to be the 1 harfis from whence Salomon fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for love of his owne countrie, and because of some affinitie of sound between Tharsis and Tartessus. For whereas it may feeme strange that it should be three yeere ere they, that tooke shippe in the red sea, should returne from the East Indies to Ierusalem, this hath bene in part answered alreadie. And further the intelligent may conceiue of fundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages betweene lerufalem and the red fea, and perhaps also elswhere: so that 10 wee have no neede to make Salomons men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to Gales, round about all Affrick, that so they might bee long a comming

For the direct way to Gades (which if Salomon and the Ifraelites knew not, the Tyrisms which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterransea, and so ( besides many wonderfull inconveniences and terrible nauigation in rounding Africa) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene Ierufalem and the red fea through drie, defart, and theeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of terufalem at toppe, or some other hauen in Salomons owne Coun-

trie haug laden and valaden their thips.

But this direct course they could not hold (faith Pineda) because the huge Island of Atlantis in largneffe greater than all Africk and Afra being swallowed up in the Atlantic Ocean hindered Silomons thips from passing through the straits of Gibraltar: for this hee alleadgeth Plate in Timee. But that this calamitie happened about Salemonstime, or that thereby the Straights of Gades were filled with mudde and made vnpassable, that there could bee no comming to Gades by the Mediterran (ea: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scourcth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner. where this huge Island is supposed to have stoode : or that Salomons ships being in the red sca, should neglect the golden mines of the East Indies (which were infinitly 20 better and neerer to the red fea, than any in Spain) to feeke gold at Cady = by the way of compaling Affrica, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himselfe that hath also the rich Peruin the West, fortifieth in the East Indies and inhabites fome part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the fmall territorie which he there possessite considered) than in Peru.

Devebus Sald.

The same Pineda hath another strange passage round about all Africa, which elfwhere he dreames of : Supposing whereas Ionas failing to Tharsis the Citic of Cilicia As it appeares was cast out in the Mediterran fea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this whale in three dayes swimming about twelve thousand English miles, along the Mediterran feas, and fo through the fireights of Gades, and along all the buge seas round about 40 Africa, caft vp len, s vpon the shore of the red lea, that so hee might have perhaps fome fixe miles the thorter (though much the worse) way to Aimine. This conceipt hee grounds onely vpon the ambiguitie of the word Suph, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the red fea (as if wee thould call it mare algolum, the fea full of weeds) for the red sea. But in Ionas 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper fignification for weeds, and not as Pineda would have it, who in this place against his owne rule (which elfewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any neede. For this long voyage of the whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preferuation of Ionas in the bellie of the whale and therefore seing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it backe vnto him, keeping his ownerule which in 50 this place he forgets; Miracula non funt multiplicanda. And againe, Non funt miracula gratis danda, ncc pro arbitrio noua fingenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceffire, nor delinered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore to Icaue this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might

bee thought vnworthic the mentioning. But to proceede with our Storie of

The Queene of Sabaes comming from farre to Salamon, (as it seemes from Arabia falix, & not as fome think from Athiopia) and her rich presents, and Salomons reciprocal magnificence, and his refoluing of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the text. But herein Tolephus is greatly mistaken, who cals this Queene of Saba Nigaules, the fucceffour (faith hee out of Herodotus) of those thirtie and eight . Egyptian Kings which succeded Mineus the founder of Memphis; adding that after this Agyptian, and the father in Law of Salomon, the name of Pharach was left Mante 1.2

10 off in Agypt. For as it is elfwhere proued that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ætbiopia; fo were there other Pharaohs after the father in Law of Salomon. Yea, aboue three hundred yeeres after Salomon, Pharao Zyecho flew 10/has King of 2.Kin.c.2.6

It is also written of Salomon that hee kept in garrisons fourteene thousand chariots and twelue thousand horsemen, that he spent in Court every day thirtie measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, befides flags and fallow deare, bugels and foule; foure thousand stals of horses he had for his chariots and other ves, and for the twelve thouland holemen of his guard. For , the ten thouland stals in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so 20 many horses, whence in the second of Chronicles the ninth, it is written but source

thousand stals or teemes, and in every teeme ten horses, as Innius and the Genera vn- 1.King.4-31 derstand it. He was faid to be wifer than any man, yea than were Ethan the Exeahite, than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda, to which Junius addeth a fife to wit, Eze ak. For the Genera maketh Ethan an Expanite by Nation. Infephus writes them Athan. Æman, Chalceus and Donan the fonnes of Hemon. Hee spake three thousand Prouerbes, and his fonges were one thousand and fine, whereof either the most part perished in the Captiuitie of Babylon, or else because many actes of Salomons were written and kept among the publique Records of Civill causes and not Ecclesiafticall, therefore they were not thought necessarie to bee inserted into Gods

ð. IIII.

of the fall of SALOMON, and how long be lived.



20 booke.

Owas hee had plentie of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women, For belides his feauen hundred wines hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commaunded that none of his people should accompanie the daughters of Idolators) hee tooke wives out of Egypt, idom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell a doting, his wines turned his heart after o-

ther Gods, as Afteroth of the Zidonians, Mileom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemolh of Moab.

These things God punished by Adad of Idumes, Rezin of Damaseus, and by Ierobeam his owne feruant, and one of the mafters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his fonne Roboam, ten of the twelve parts of all the territorie hee had. Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis viitur, que infenon fecit. God in punishing sinners, vscth the sinnes of others, which hee himselfe P. Mart. in ret.

50 In the reigne of Salomon (as in tymes of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence and that great Indian voyage alreadic mentioned. Fourtie yeeres hee reigned: how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore bee found onely by conjecture The most likelie way to guesse at the truth in this case, is by considering the action,

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17.0-15.

of the yeares which they confumed, and confequently learne the true, or most likely yeare of his nativitie. Seauen yeeres David reigned in Hebron : in his eight yeere hee tooke Jerufalem, and warred with the Philistims, who also troubled him the yere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to have been in the tenth yere of David, and his intention to build the Temple in the veere enfuing, at which time he had fufficient levfure, liuing in reft. After this he had warres with the Philistims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needes have held him five vecres, considered that the Aramites of Damasco raised warre against him, after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; and that in every of these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because 2.5am.c.11.v.1 in those daies and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at conucnient feafons of the vecre, Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly uppon the footle of the enemies countrie, partly upon the private provision which every fouldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of David in which hee tooke Mephiboleth the son of Ionathan into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the vecre following to have begunne the warre with Ammon; but fomewhat late in the end of fummer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for loab after the victorie, returned immediatly to leru[alem] the causes and preparations for that war having taken 20 vp all the fummer. Davids perfonall expedition against the Aramites wherein hee brought all the tributaries of Hadadezer under his owne allegiance, appeares manifeltly to have beene the next veeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of fuccour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Monb and Iduman being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must have beene the 20, yeare of Davids reigne, and about the aftieth of his life, in which he fent forth loab to beliege Rabba, and finished the warre of Ammon: wherein also fell out the matter of Frishs wife. So one halfe of Dauids reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe he felt great forrow by the expectation, execution, and fad remembrace of that heavie judgement laid your him by God, for his foule and bloudie offence,

Now very manifest it is that in the veere after the death of that childe, which was begotten in adulterie, Salomon was borne, who must needes therefore haue beene nineteene veres old or thereabout, when he beganne to reigne at the deceafe of his father, as being begotten in the 21, yeare of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of Dauid, as may be collected out of enfuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere Absalom slewe his brother Ammon; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which feemes to have beene one yeres worke. 40 So the rebellion it felfe with all that happenned thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amasand the rest, may well seeme to have beene in the 20. yeare of Danids reigne.

Whether the three yeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeres of warre with the Philistims or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the tenne remaining yeeres of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three yeeres of famine, for foure yeares of warre, and for numbring the people, with the peftilence enfuing; as also for his owne last infirmitie, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistims, was but one yeeres worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Wob neere vnto Gezer and the last at Gath. This warre the Philistims undertooke, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Ifrael, and perhaps emboldened by Davids old age, for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwardes hindered by his men from expoling himfelfe vnto danger any more. So David had fixe or fenen yeares of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the ftirring spirit of Adonial found little fuctour in the broken partie of loab the fonne of Zernia.

of the Historie of the World.

At this time it might both truly be faid by Danid to Salomon. Thou art a wife man, 1. King. 62.79. and by Salomon to God, I am but a yong child; for nineteene yeares of age might \$63.27. well agree with either of these two speeches.

Neuertheleffe there are some that gather out of Salomons professing himselfe a child, that he was but eleuen yeares old when he beganne to raigne. Of these Rabbi so Salomon feemes the first Authour, whom other of great learning and judgement haue herein followed: grounding themselues perhaps vponthat which is said of Absolous rebellion, that it was after fortic yeares, which they understand as yeares 2. Sam. 15.7. of Dauids raigne. But whereas Reliaboam the sonne of Salomon was 41. yeares old when hee beganne to raigne, it would follow bereby that his Father had begotten him, being himselfe but a child of nine or ten yeares old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if Salomon (who raigned fortic yeares) were but cleuen yeares old when his raigne began. To avoid this inconvenience, lofephus allowes 80. yeares of raigne to Salomon; areport to difagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the 20 wordes of Tofephus, as if they included all the yeares of Salomons life. But by fuch reckoning hee should have beene 40. yeares old at his Fathers death; and confequently should have beene borne long before his Father had wome terusalem : which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeares remembred in Abfalons rebellion, may either feeme to have reference to the space betweene Davids first annointment, and the trouble which God brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to lofephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation) foure yeares; which passed betweene the returne of Absolon to Jerusalem, and his brea-

Снар.18. 6.5.

ò. V. Of SALOMONS writings.

Here remaine of Salomons workes, the Proverbs, the Preacher, and the Song of Salomon. In the first he teacheth good life and correcteth manners, in the fecond the vanitie of humane nature, in the third he fingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled the wisedome of Salomon, (which some give vnto Sa-

lomon, and fome make the elder Philo the Author therof) Hierome and many others AO of the best learned make vs thinke it was not Salomon that wrote it. Stylus libri fa- Hier, ad Crambpientia (faith HIEROME) qui SALOMONIS inscribitur, Gracam redolet elequentiam: finm. The stile of the booke of wisedome, which is ascribed to SALOMON, sauoureth of the Grecian eloquence; and of the fame opinion was S. Augustine, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes. Circumueniamus iusum quoniam insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous Sava. for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrarie to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c. and fo doth the course of all the following wordes point directly at 50 Christ. The Bookes of Ecclesiastes, Prouerbs, and Cantica Canticorum, Rabbi Moses S. Sen foldes

Kimchi ascribeth to Isay the Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report that Salomon wrateof the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the porch Reinescain 16. of the Temple, which they fay Ezechias pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by praier, repaired thither for their recourries.

Of Salomons bookes of Inuocations and Inchantments to cure difeafes, and expell cuill fpirits. Infephus hath written at large, though as I conceine, rather out of his owne invention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one Eliazarus, who by the roote in Salomons ring disposses divers persons of euill spirits in the presence of Velpalian, and many others, which I will not fland to examine.

Certainly fo strange an example of humane frailty hath neuer been read of as this King: who having received wildome from God him felfe, in honour of whom, and for his only fernice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: hee that was made King of I/rael and Indan, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue 10 of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom Siracides writeth in this manner. SALOMON raigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the San-Etuarie for ever; How wife wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a floud! The minde coucred the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and darke (entences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c. but thus he concludeth. Thou didlt bow thy loynes to Women, and wast over-come by thy bo- 20 dy thou didft flaine thine honour, and haft defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath whom thy children, and feit forrow for thy folly. cap. 27.

# Of the Contemporaries of SALOHON.

Eare the beginning of Salomons raigne, Agelaus the third of the Heraclide in Corinthy, Labotes in Lacedemon; and soone after Syluius Alba the fourth of the Sylvij, fwaied those Kingdomes: Laofthenes then go- 20 uerning Afyria: Agastus and Archippus the second and third Princes after Cockius, ruling the Athenians.

In the fixe and twentieth of Salamons raigne Hiram of Tyre died, to whom Baliafirms fucceeded, and raigned feuencene yeares, after Mercators accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his fonnes. Insephus gives him fewer yeares. Theophilus Antiochenus against Autolicus findes Bozorius the next after Hiram, if there bee not some Kinges omitted betweene the death of Hiram, and the raigne

Waphres being dead, about the twentieth of Salomon, Sefac or Shifak (as our Engliff Geneva termes him ) beganne to governe in Agypt, being the fame with him 40 whom Diodorus calleth Solachis; Iolephus, Sulac; Cedrenus, Sulesimus; Eulebius in the columne of the Agyptian Kings Smendes, and in that of the Hebrewes Sufac. Infephus in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in Herodotus, that hee afcribeth the acts of Sulae to Seloliris, which perchance Herodotus might have done by comparison, accompting Sesac another Sesostris, for the great thinges hee

Of the great acts and vertues of King Sefostris I have spoken already in the florie of the Leyptian Princes; only in this hee was reproued that hee caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when hee was disposed to bee seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which source. Such Eutropius, at such time as Sesos was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which Sefostris perceiving, asked him what hee found worthy the admiration in that motion ? to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instabilitie of all worldly thinges; for that both the

lowest part of the wheele was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the vpmost part was as suddainly turned downe-ward and vnderall; which when up, whether Seloftris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this Sefostris, and that he could not be taken for Sefac. I have fooken at large in that part of the £gyptian Kings preceding.

# CHAP. XIX.

Of SALOMONS Successors untill the end of IEHOSAPHAT.

Of REHOBOAM his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and TEROBOAMS Idolatric.



CHAP-19. S.I.

EHOBOAM the Son of Salomon by Nahamaan Ammonitelle, now fortie yeares olde, fucceeded his Father Salomon, and was annointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Ifrael were affembled: who attended a while the returne of Ieroboam as yet in Egypt, fince he fled thither fearing Salomon. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to Rehoboum, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father, Sicenim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet qu'am Ant. 13. 5.5. metui; So (hould his Empire (faith I ose PHVs) be more assured if hee desired rather to bee beloued than formed:

whereof he tooke three daies to deliberate before his answere, of whom therefore it could not be faid as of David, that he was wifer than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe hee knew not how to resolve, so had hee not the judgement to discerne of counfells, which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not only to continue on the backs of his 40 Subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them ; but (vaunting fally of greatneffe exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heauier, and more vnfupportable loades on them. But as it appeared by the fucceffe, those yonger aduifors greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of elemencie is no other than crueltic it felfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be yied for the helpe, and not for the harme of fubicets. For what is the strength of a King left by his people ? and what cordes or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue beene twisted and forged by loue only? His witleffe paralites could well judge of the Kinges disposition : and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all thinges elfe, it fufficed and inabled them fufto ficiently for the places they held. But this answere of Rehoboam did not a little adnance Terobosms delignes. For being fore-told by the Prophet Achish of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no fooner arrived, than elected King of Ifrael: the people crying out what portion have wee in Dauid? wee have no

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inheritance in the Sonne of illai. Now though themselues, even all the Tribes of If red, had conferred to Dauids annointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flein; yet now after the manner of rebells. they forgat both the bonds of nature, and their dutie to God, and, as all alienated refolued hearts doe, they ferued themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, Rehoboam fent Adoram, one of the Taxers of

2.5.

the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacific them; whom they inflantly beate to death with flones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from 1.King 12. 21. Siehem with all speede, and recovered leval dem, where preparing to invade Israel. with an hundred and foure-fcore thousand chosen men, Shemai in the person of to God commanding to the contrarie, all was flaied for the prefent. In the meane time leroboam the new King fortified Sechem on this fide, and Penuel on the other fide of Jordan; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also iowne the peoples heart, against to the House of David; and having in all likelyhood allo promifed the Agyptians to follow their Idolatrie; he fet up two Calues of gold for the Children of Ifrael to worthip, impioufly persuading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods, which delinered them out of Agypt and refuling the feruice of the Leuites, hee made Priefts fit for fuch Gods. It must needes be that by banishing the Leuites which served David and Salamon through all I/rael, Ieroba.m greatly inriched himselfe: as taking into his hands 20 all those Cities which were given them by Moses and Iolua, for as it is written. The Leuites lest their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c. This irreligious pollicie of Ierobasm (which was the foundation of an Idolatrie that never could be rooted out, vntill Ifrael for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned fufficiently when it first beganne; but the affections maintaining it, were fo ftrong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. Ierobaam could not bee moved now by the authoritic of Ahia, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claus a funder, according to the figne, which the man of God had given by the commandement of 30 God, who againe recourred and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obftinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the fafest course in pollicie to proceede as he had begunne. This impious invention of Ierobosm, who forfooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the pollicies of late Ages, obseruing well the practife of his Nation, being an Italian borne. Sie qui hodie (faith he) politici vocantur, & propria commoda, prasentes finitates sibi tanquam vitimum finem conflituunt, caufam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt : pro ipfa tuenda, promonenda, conseruanda, amplianda nihil non facien lum putant. Si iniuria proximo irroganda, si iustitia honestatifá, leges subuertenda si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denig omnia iura diuina, 40 & hum ma violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fus nefafg, relinquendum cenfent, cuncta ruant, omniapereant, nibil ad ipfos, modoid, quodere fua effe fibi perfuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigarene possit Deus; So they who are now called Polititians, propounding to themselues, as their vimost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit, are wont to alleage the case of late for sooth, as the principall point to be regarded for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state. they thinke they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to over-turne all lawes of inflice and honeflie, if religion it felfe must goe to wrack, yearf all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will trie all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe tornine, what care they, folong as they may have what they would; as 50 who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power

> Indeed this allegation of raggione del flato, did ferue as well to vp-hold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground

Amazia the Priest of bathel, counsailed the Prophet Amos, not to prophecie at Be- Amos.7.13. thel: For (faid he) it is the Kings Court. Vpon this ground even Jehn that had maffa- 2. Kines 10. 16. cred the Priests of Bad, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politique sinne of teroboam the sonne of Webat, which made Ifrae to sinne. It 2. Kingi 10.23. was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King Henrie the fourth to change his religion, yet the Protestants whom hee for sooke obeyed him, but some of the Papifts whom hee followed murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wife proceeding delude even shofe that know the foule face of impietie lurking under it, and behold the wretched endes that have ever followed it; where-10 of Ichu and all the Kings of Ifrael had, and were themselves, very great examples.

Of REHOBOAM his impictie; for which he was punished by SESAC: of his end and Contemporaries.



Hile Ieroboam was occupied in fetting up his new Religion, Rehoboams on the other fide having now little hope to recouer the Provinces loft, ftrengthened the principall places remaining with all endeuour: for he fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of Indah and Beniamin : 2, chron, +15 not that he feared Ierobeam alone, but the Agyptians, to whom Ie-

roboam had not only fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to inuade Indaa: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of Dauid and Salomon, which might now eafily bee had, feeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Indaans. So as by those two waies (of late yeares often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraine force, Ieroboam hoped to fettle himselfe in the seate of Ifrael, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatrie in a few yeares after rooted out with all his. Rehoboam also having, as he thought, by fortifying divers places affured his efface, for looke the Law of the living God, i. King 14. 123 and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euerichigh Hill, and vnder eue-

And therefore in the fifth years of his raigne, Sefas or Shifbas before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well Adad of Idumaa, as Ieroboam, were familiar and his infiruments, entred Indea with twelve thousand Chariots, and a chron. 12.30 three score thousand Horse, besides foote-men, which Josephus numbers at foure 10f. data. 8.c.4. hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations, Agyptians, Lubeans, Succeans, and Culites. The Lubeans were Lybeans, the next bordering Region to Agypt, on the West side. The Cusites were of Petraa, and of the Desart Arabia, which afterward followed Zerahagainst Asa King of Inda. The Succeans, ac- 2.cmm, 12. cording to Junius his opinion, were of Succoth, which fignifieth Tents : he doth fup- 2. Kings 14.

cording to lumino hisopinion, were or success, whilett figure it ents the dott hip a long to pose that they were the Troglodite, mentioned often in Plinie, Ptolomie, and other often. Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. Plin 1.6. c. 29. degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred English mile from the best and Ptol. Afec. tab. 23 Maritimate part of Agypt: and therefore I doe not thinke that the Succims or Succai were those Troglodita, but rather those Arabians which Ptolomie calls Arabes Agyptij or Ichthyophagi, which possessethat part of Ægypt betweene the mountaines called Alabastrini, and the red Sea farre nearer Agypt, and readier to be leuied then canarinas? those removed Sauages of the Troglodyta.

With this great and powerfull Armie, Selac invaded Indea, and (belides many other strong Cities) wanne terusalem it selfe, of which, and of the Temple, and 30 Kings house, he tooke the spoile, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which Salomon had made, in imitation of those which David recoursed from Adadezer, in the Syrian warre: these Rehoboam Supplied with Targets of braffe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his qualitie : whom Siracides calleth The foolishnesse of the people.

From

From this time forward the Kings of Agypt claimed the four raigntie of Indea, and held the lenes as their Tributaries : Sefae, as it feemes, rendring vp to Rehoboans. his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the wordes of God, where promiting the delinerance of Inda after their humiliation, he doth not with-Randing leave them under the yoke of Agypt, in these wordes. Neverthelesse they (to wit, the Judicans) Shall be his feruants, that is, the feruants of SESAC.

After this ouerthrow and dishonour Rehobour raigned twelve yeares, and his loffes received by Sefac notwithstanding, hee continued the warre against Veryboam all his life time. After his death Ieroboam gouerned Ifrael foure yeares.

Rehoboam lived \$ 8, yeares, and raigned 17, his florie was written at large by She- 10 meish and Hidden the Prophets, but the same perished with that of Nathan & the rest. With Reholoam, Archippus, and Terfippus, the third and fourth Archontes or Gonernours for life after Codrus, gouerned in Athens. Abdaffrartus or Abffrartus, in Twee. Doriffbus the fift of the Heraclida in Sparta according to Enfebrus (others make him the fixth) and Priminas the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines raigned Sylvius Alba and Sylvius Atys, the fourth and fifth of the Sylvi.

About the 12.0f Rehoboam Abdallrartus King of Tyre was murthered by his Nurfes fons, or foster brethren, the elder of which vsurped the Kingdom twelve yeares. Towards his latter times Periciades, or Pyrithiades, beganne to gouerne Affyria, the 24. King thereof; and not long after Affartus the fonne of Baleastartus recoursed 20 the Kingdome of Tyre from the V furpers.

Of the great battaile betweene IEROBOAM and ABIA, with a Corolarie of the examples of Gods judgements.



BIJAH the Sonne of Rehoboam, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raifed an Armie of foure hundred thouland with which he invaded Jeroboam, who encountred him with a double number of 22 eight hundred thouland; both Armies joyned neare to the Mount

Ephraim, where Ieroboam was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the Hrength

of Ifrael broken; for there fell of that fide fine hundred thousand, the greatest ouerthrow that euer was given or received of those Nations. Abijah being now mafter of the field, recourred Bethel, Jefhanah, and Ephron, foone after which difcomfiture, ler oboam died: who raigned in all 22, yeares. Abijah, the better to ftrengthen himfelfe, entred into league with Hefion, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may be 2. Chron. 16. 23, gathered out of the 2. of Chron. he raigned but three yeares and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by Iddo the Prophet; as some part of his Fathers were.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of Salaman in his Sonne 40 Rehoboam: first, by an Idolator and a Traitor; and then by the successor of that Agyptian, whose daughter Salomon had maried, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he ferued God, was by God affured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when hee for looke him, it was torne a-funder by his meanest Vaffalls; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian Sefac. For the fonne Abijah was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men, and with the same number he ouerthrew eight hundred thousand Ifraelites, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleafeth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleafed God to punish both Kings and their People : the fame being both before, 50 and at the inflant delivered by Prophets; fo the same just God who liveth and gouerneth all thinges for euer, doeth in these our times give victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kinges, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed

in the present: for which reason in these and other the afflictions of Israel, alwaies 2.Sam.27.1, the causes are set downe, that they might bee as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in Daulds time for three yeeres, For Saul and his bloudie house, &c. And David towards his latter end suffred all forts of affictions. and forrowes in effect, for Vriab. Silomon had tenne tribes of twelve torne from his fonne for his idolatric. Rehoboam was spoiled of his riches and honour by Sefac of Ægypt, because the people of Iuda made images, high places, and groues &c. And because they suffered sadomites in the land. Ieroboam was punished in himselfe & his posteritie for the golden Calues that he crected. Joram had all his sonnes slaine by the 10 Philistims, and his very bowels torne out of his bodie by an excertating flix, for murthering his brethren. Abab and lex abel were flaine; the bloud of the one; the bodie of the other caten with dogs : for the falle accusing and killing of Naboth. So also hath God punished the same and the like sinnes in all after times, and in these our daies by the fame famine, plagues, warre, loffe, vexation, death, figkneffe, and cala-

feeme to them to worke enery alteration that happeneth.

mities, howfoeuer the wife men of the world raife these effectes no higher than to

fecond causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares,

of A s h'andhi contemportries:

O Abyah fucceeded 1/s, who enloyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God; breaking downe in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated for strange gods, with their images, cutting downetheir groues, and taking away their high places. "He alfo sparring for not his ownermother who was an Idolete file with dearlies when the strange of the stra red not his ownermother who was an Idolatrefle, but depoling her 2 Chron 15, 16, from her regencie, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortilled many Cities and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings doe) for the troubles of war 30 in the leasure of peace. For notlong after hee was inuaded by Zerah, who then commaunded all the Arabians bordering Iudea, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of Asa, as (for any thing that I have read ) were never assembled of that Nation either before or fince. For it is written, that there came against the Indeans Zerah of Æthiopia with an host of tenne hundred thousand, and three hun- 2.Chron.149. dred Chariots, which Afa encountred with an armie of fine hundred and fource fcore thousand, leuied out of those two tribes of Iuda and Beiamin which obeyed him, and with which he ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both

of their Cities and Campe. That this Zerah was not an Athiopian I haue\*proved alreadic, and were it but the In the for-40 length betweene Athiopia and Index, and the strong florishing, regions of Egypt in mer booke c.d. teriacent (who would not fuffer a million of strangers to passe through them) it \$14,1000 c.8. were fufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these inuaders were Æthiopians. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the Iudeans in following their vi-Storie, as places belonging to Zerah, and that all men know that Gerar standeth viton the torrent of Befor, which David past over when he furprized the Amalekites or Arabians, this prooueth sufficiently that Zerab was leader of the Arabian, and that Gerar was a frontier towne standing on the vttermost South-border of all Iudaa, from all parts of Athiopia fix hundred miles. Also the spoiles which Asa tooke, as the

50 cattell, Camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed fine thousand, shew them to bee Arabians adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknowne Athiopians. And if it be obiected that these desart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answere, that it is as like that Arabia Petraa, and the Desart which compasse two parts of the holy land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of

the twelve, should arme five hundred and foure score thousand. Besides it answereth to the promise of God to Abraham, that these nations should exceed in number; for God foake it of Ilmael, that he would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelue Princes,&c.

Baafha a king of Ifrael began to reigne in the third of Afa, and fearing the greatnesse of Maafter his great victorie, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adadezer, to joyne with him against A/a; and to the end to block him vp, hee fortified Rama which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towardes Sa-

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This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of A- 10 1. Grow. 16. v. 1. Ja his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Baasha died in the 26. yeare of Asa, therefore could not Baasha begin this warre in the 25. of Asa his reigne, but in the 35, yeare of the divilion of Inda and Israels; for so many veeres it was from the first of Rehobeam, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of Asa. It may feeme strange that Asa being able to bring into the field an armie of fine hundred and fourescore thousand good souldiers, did not easily drine away Bansha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Ieroboam, and of Asa himselfe against Zerah being yet fresh in minde, which might well have emboldened the men of Inda and afmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the text, which caused Afa to fight at this 20 time with mony. It may be that the employment of fo many hundred thousands of hands in the late service against Zerab, had caused many mens private businesses to lie vndifpatched, whereby the people being now intentine to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be ynwilling to ftirre against the Ifraelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconvenience, which the building of Roma would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred A/a from adventuring himfelfe with the least part of his forces, and committing the fuccesse into the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, he tooke the treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian again Baasha, whose imployments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake of confederacie with Baalha. For 20 the Ilraelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inualion) nor his fucceffors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themfelues masters of that Kingdome. So Benhadad being now entred into Nephthalim without relistance, he spoiled divers principall cities thereof, and inforced Baasha to quit Rama, and to leave the fame to Afa with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the fame : which done, Benhadad who loued neither partie, being loden with the spoiles of Ifrael, and the treasures of Inda, returned to Damaseus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Afain that he now relyed on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and affistance of God, he not onely caused Hanani to bee imprisoned, but hee began to burden and oppresse 40 his people, and was therefore strooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his feete, wherewith after he had beene two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

s. Chra16.

z.Kin.15.

There lived with Asa, Agefilaus the fixt of the Heraelide, and Bacis the fift King of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacida. Aflartus and Astarimus were Kings in Tyre. Astarimus tooke reuenge on his brother Phelletes, for the murther of Ithobalus priest of the goddesse Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Atys and Capys ruled the Latines. Pyrithiades and Ophrateus the Allyrians: Terfippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis reigned in Agypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of Afa, left Cheops his successor that reigned fiftie sixe yeres, euen to to the 16.0f Ious.

GHAP. 19. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

Of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the raigne of As A.

N the raigne of Aa, the Kingdome of Ifrael felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former alleageance to the house of David, if the wisdome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesses of troobsom had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heavie vengeance laied upon it, by the

mouth of Ahia, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of Ifrael, for the finne of Salomon, and his raigne ouer the ten Tribes. One fonne leroboam had among others, in whom only God found fo much pietie, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Familie) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimonic of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein hee was most happie) the fauourable approbation of God himfelfe.

After the losse of this good sonne, the vngodly father was soone taken away: a miscrable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankefulnesseto God, that he durst not fuffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet for bearing to destroy those accursed Idolls that wrought his confusion. So loath hee was to forfake his worldly wisedome, when the world was readie to for sake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memorie excepted.

Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam, raigned in the second and third yeares of Asa, which are reckoned as two yeares, though indeede his fathers last yeare of two and twentie didrunne along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of Asa, whose third yeare was the first of Baasha; so that perhaps this Nadab injoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeare. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sen-

20 tence. It feemes that he little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his owne estate, hee armed all Israel against the Philifims, and besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to minde their grieuous loffe of fine hundred thousand vnder Ieroboam, counting it an vnluckie familie to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, hec exasperated them) flaine he was by Baafha, whom the Armie did willingly accept for King in his stead. Baasha was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of Ieroboam, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercie, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods 40 will to haue it so, it is cuident, by his continuing in the same forme of Idolatrie which Ieroboam had begunne. Wherefore hee received the same sentence from God that had beene laid vpon Ieroboam; which was executed vpon him also in the same fort. Hee beganne to infest Asa, by fortifying Ramah; but was discreted from thence by the Syrian Benhadad, who did waste his Countrie, destroying all the Land of Neph-

current, perhaps not one compleat. Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Armie against Gibbethon, the same Towne of the Philistims, before which Nadab the sonne of Ieroboam perished; but he sate at home the whilst, seasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gaue such advantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. Zimri, an ambitious man, remayning with the King at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behauiour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as Baasha had found, by doing as Baasha had done. Wherefore he did set vp-

thalim. Foure and twentie yeares heer aigned: and then dying, left the Crowne to

Ela his sonne; who enjoyed it, as Nadab the sonne of Ierobeam had done, two yeares

on Elain his drunkennesse, and slue him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himon Liam instrumenteners, and the limit Fretenery viole which race, he three infinitely felleking of Ifrael: and began his raigne with maffacring all the house of Baa/bay extending his crueltienot only to his children, and kinsfolke, but vinto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcomed according to Zimri his expectation. For the Souldiers in steade of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by Omri, whom they faluted King, they (quitting the fiege of Gibbethon) prefented themselves before Tirze; which in short space they may seeme to have forced. Zimri wanting ftrength to defend the Citie, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did fet fire on the Palace: confuming it and himselfe together to 10 ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to have raigned : accounting (as is most likely) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in the Campe. For Zimri was also an Idolater, Walking in the way of IEROBOAM; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherin to declare himselfe, than the raigne of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of Baasha, partly in seeking to have defended his owne life. After the death of Ela, there arose another King to oppose the faction of Omri; wherby it may seeme, that Zimri had made his partie strong, as being able to set vp a new head, who doubtlesse would never have appeared, if there had not beene readie to his hand, some strength, not valikely to refist and vanquish the Armie which maintayned Omri. How long this Tibni, the new Competitor of Omri, held out; I doe 20 not finde; only it appeares that his fide was decated, and fohe died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

A coniecture of the causes hindring the revnion of Israel with Inda, which might have beene effected by these troubles.

Ny man that shall consider the state of Israel, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wea- 30 ried with the calamities alreadie suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and revnite themselues with the mightie Tribes of Inda and Beniamin; or that Zimri and Tibni, with their oppressed factions, did not call in Ala, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man for saken: than to have recourse vnto a remedie, so sure, so readie, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answere (for his secret will is the cause of all things) vnleffe it could be proued, that he had forbidden Asto deale in that businesse, as he forbad Rehaboam to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the 40 restraint laid by God vpon Rehobosm, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Ifrael and Inda, so many yeares following: wherein Abia so farre prevailed, that he wanne a great battaile, and recoursed some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his owne Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly looke into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cash their eyes upon that Royall house of Danid, from which the succession of sine Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue beene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof: To thinke that Omri had preuented his Competitors, in making peace 50 with Asa, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For Omri was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him, which asit might serve alone to proue, that Afa, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which hee professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon

the familie and friends of Baasha, (As his mortall enemie) gives manifest reason. why Zimi, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of Inda in that quarrell. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnesse in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seeme to have never thought vpon the matter) to fubmit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amisseto examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of Ela; an idle drunkard; rather than of Nadab the fonne of Teroboam, who followed the warres in person; as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if wee looke vpon humaine reason) occa-

to fioned by defire of breaking that heavie yoake of bondage wherewith Salomon had galled their neckes. Their defire was to have a King that should not oppresse them: not to haue no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of Religious had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly choose teroboam in his stead, as a man likely to affoord that libertie vnto them, for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceined. For his affectation of popularitie appeares in his building of decayed townes, and in the infitution of his new denifed idolatry; where he tolde the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so farre as to Ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntarie, began to teafe, towards the latter end of his reigne,

20 and in the reigne of his fonne, when long time of pofferfion had confirmed his title. which at the first was onely good by courtescoff the people : or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole armic of all Ifrael joyned with Baafha, taking in good part the death of Nadab, and eradication of Ieroboams

Now the reigne of Baasha himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coft at Rama was cast away; the other fide of his Kingdome harried by the Syrians ; neither did he winne that one towne

30 of Gibbethen from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his some, who likewise appeares an unprofitable fluggard. Wherefore it must needes be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of Bsashs grew from his good forme of Civill goternment, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than Ieroboams buer meant to doe. And furely he that shall take paires to looke into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of Ifrael and Inda, in administration of instice, will finde it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auetse from the line of David; as to thinke all aduerlitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of Ioab and Shimei was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without

40 forme of judgement, they fuffered like vnto men innocent. The death of Adonijah was both without judgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings iealousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrarie instice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slaine Ieroboam (if hee could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appeares by his confident returne out of Agypt, like one that was knowne to have endured

wrong having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, Icharam did vpon his brethren, and vpon fundry of his greatest men; as also loash did so put to death Zacharish, the sonne of Iehoiada, who had made him King, even in the court of a chrosaint. so the house of the Lord: and MANASES did shed innocent bloud exceeding much, till he re-

plenished Ierusalem from corner to corner : and this was imputed to him as another falt; besides his sinne, wherewith hee made suda to sinne. Contrariwise, among the kings of 2.King. 21.16. Ifrael we finde no monument of frich arbitrarie proceeding, vinleffe perhaps the words of Ichoram the sonne of Ahab (which were but words) may be taken for an

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inflance, when he faid, God doe fo to mee, and more alfo, if the head of ELLSHA the fonne of SHAPHAT fall stand on him this day : whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more adoe, or to have him condemned as a falle prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were faine to eate their owne children, which he thought a fufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpole to deliuer them. The death of Naboth sheweth rather the libertie which the Ifraelites enjoyed, than any peremptorie execution of the Kings will. For Naboil did not feare to fland upon his owneright, though Abab were even ficke for anger, neither was hee for that cause put to death, as vpon commaundement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a judiciall forme, to which might give fatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the devile, though to God

2.King.10.4.

The murther of the Prophets is continually ascribed to Iezabel, an impotent woman, and not vnto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made, whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of Inda (fuch as are registred) prooue them to have yied a more absolute manner of commaund, than the Kings of the tenne Tribes. Neither doe their fufferings witnesse the contrarie. For of those which reigned ouer Iuda, from the division of the kingdom, to the captivitie of the ten tribes, 20 three were flaine by the people, and two were denied a place of buriall amongst their auncestors. Yea, the death of Abazia and his brethren, slaine by Ichu, with the destruction of all the royall feed by Athalia, did not (for ought that wee can reade) ftirre vp in the people any fuch thirst of reuenge, as might by the sodainnesse and vniformicie testificthe affection to be general, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes; vnleffe we should thinke that the death of Athalia, after feauen veeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memorie of her ill purchasing, than by the present sence of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whereon she had feifed. On the other fide, fuch of the kings of Ifrael as perished by treafon (which were featien of the twentie) were all flaine by conspiracie of the great men, who as- 30 pired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so farre from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Souereignes that (after Nadab) they did neuer forbeare to renenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good fuccesse of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of Ela and Zacharte, vpon Zimri and Shallum, who traiteroully got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the feauen remaine, whose ends how the people tooke. it may be doubtfull. Though indeed it is precifely faid of the flaughter, committed on Shabs children by Jehu, that the people durft not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same seare might be in them at the death 40 of Peka, whose historie (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more abfolutly, of the Kings of England, that neuer any of them perished by furie of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them. neither was there any motine viging fo forcibly the death of King Edward and king Richard when they were in prison, as feare least the people should stirre in their quarell. And certainely (how focuer all that the law cals treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the furic of the multitude hath quenched it felfe, with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, how soener wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soucraine, but 50 rather for bearing the aduantages gotten uppon his royall person; which if any man impute vnto groffe ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briareus, who, being loofened by Pallas, did with his hundred hands give affiftance to Jupiter, when

CHAP.19. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

all the rest of the Gods conspired against him; is very firly expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as fignifying, that Monarches need not to feare any courbing of their absolutneffe by mightie subjectes, as long as by wisdome they keepe the hearts of the people, who will bee fure to come in on their fide. Though indeed the Storie might very well haue borne the fame interpretation, as it is rehearfed by Homer, who tels vs that Pallas was one of the conspiracie, and that Thetis alone did marreall their practife, by loofening Briarens, For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without affiftance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuises of the greatest and shrewdest polititians; e-10 uery Sherife and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the

Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening rebell how mightie focuer, can againft

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in Iuda, makes it very likely, that the rule it felfe of gouernment there was fuch, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the fubiects, nor of confidence in their good affection, to the Kings. Vpon which reasons it may seeme that the multitude was kept vsually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that Athalia the si-Rer of Ahab, a stranger to the royall bloud of Inds, should by the onely authoritie of a Queene mother haue destroicd all the seede of Danid, and vsurped the King-

20 dom very neere seuen yeres without finding anie resistance. Yeawhen Iehoista the high Priest had agreed with the Captains & principal men of the land to set up Isash their lawful King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; he was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King DAVIDS, and werein the house of the Lord. But wee neede not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their dutie toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the tenne cribes did neuer seeke to 20 returne to their auncient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings. which died in the reigne of Ma, admitted a seauenth of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of Inda and Beniamin, under a more honourable, but more heavie yoake.

So, Ma having seene the death of seauen kings of Ifriel, died himselfe after one and fourtie yeeres reigne, leaving Iehosophat his sonne to deale with Ahab the son of omri, who was the eight king ouer the tenne tribes.

### VII.

Of IEHOSAPHAT and his contemporaries.



Ено s а р н а т, who fucceeded A/a, was a Prince religious and happie; hee deftroyed all the groues, altars, and high places dedicated to idolatrie, and fent fearchers to all places and people wanting instruction; hee recoucred the Tribute due vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims : from the one hee had fil-

uer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand to and foure hundred. The numbers of his men of warre were more than admirable: for it is written that Adnah had the command of three hun-2.chron.12. dred thousand, Ielohansm of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and Amasia of two hundred thousand; also that hee had, besides these, in Beniamin of those that bare shields, which wee call Targetiers, and of Archers under Elisada

two hundred thousand, and under the commaundement of Jehozabad a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together, make cleuen hundred and fixtic thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King, besides his garrifons.

That Inda and Beniamin, a territorie not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleuen hundred and fixtic thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. Ioab in Dawids time found fine hundred thousand : Rehoboam found but an hundred and foure score thousand: Abia foure hundred and eight thousand: As five hundred and foure-score thousand: Amaziah inrolled all that could beare armes, and they a- 10 mounted to three hundred thousand: Vzziah three hundred and seuen thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when newes was brought to Icho saphat that Moab and Ammon were entred his territorie to the west of Iordan, and that there numbers were manie, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that hee would have feared even the armie of Xerxes, if hee could have brought into the field cleuen hundred and three-fcore thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of Chronicles the scauentcenth, distributed to scuerall leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under Adnah, & the two hundred and sourscore thousand 20 under Iehohanam, were afterward commaunded and mustred by Amasiah, Eliada, and Icholabad: for the groffe and totall is not in that place let downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe as the aydes which Iehofaphat brought to Ahab did not flew that he was a Prince of extraordinarie power, fo the Moabites and Ammonites which hee feared could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which hee that commaunded least among Iehoshaphats leaders had under

This mightie Prince notwithstanding his greatnes, yet he loyned in friendship with Abab King of Ifrael, who had married that wicked woman Iezabel. Him Iofaphat vilited at Samaria, and caused his sonne Ioram to marrie Athalia, this Achabs 20

Ahab perswaded Iosaphat to affist him in the warre against the Syrians, who held the Citie of Ramoth Gilead from him, and called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites to foretell the successe: who promised him victorie. But Icho(aphat beleeued nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Ifrael. Hereupon Achab made answere that hee had one called Michaiah, but hee hated that Prophet, because hee alwaies foretolde of euill, and neuer of any good towardes him. Yet fent for Michaiah was to the King, but by the way the messenger praied him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise victorie vnto them as they did. But 49 Michaiah spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both Kings, which was that God asked who (ball perswade A H A B, that hee may goe up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his prophets, and bee in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini , sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that speake, but the spirit of your father speakes in you; so in a contraric kinde did the deuillin the prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab to his destruction. And as P. Martir vpon this place well observeth, these cuill spirits are the ministers of Gods vengeance, and are vsed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue and 50 deliuer from destruction of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrarie, it is by the cuill that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to performe the wil of their Creator licet non codem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a fecond fort of malignant natures, but they are enery-where visible. There are spirits, faith hee, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fure strokes. In the time of destruction they show foorth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Michains having by this his reuclation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit hee discouered, was strooken by Ziakiah one of Baals prophets, and by Achab himfelfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be referred and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But Mieliajaly, not fearing to reply, answered, If thou returne in peace the Lord bath no shoken lin me. Neuertheleffe Achab went onin that warre, and was wounded to death.

40 Iehosaphat returned to Ierusalem, where hee was reprehended by Iehn the Prophet for alifting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the Aramites or Damafaens, joyned with the Mashites, Ammonites and Idameans to inuade Indea: who passe Iordan, and encampe at Engaddi, and when lehosaphat gathered his armie, the Prophet Iahaziel toretolde him of the victoric, which should bee obtained without any bloud-shed of his part; and so when leholaphat approached, this affembly of nations, the Ammonites and Mosbites, differen ing with the Idam eans, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves: those of Ammon and Moab fet vpon the Idam.e.ms, and brake them vtterly, which done they alfo inuaded each other; in which broile Iehofaphat arriving tooke the spoile of 2. chron. 10.

20 them all without any losse of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this victoric, Jehosaphat forgetting that hee was formerly reprehended for affifting an Idolatrous King, did not with standing iowne with ochagas, the sonne of Achab, in preparing a Fleet to fend to Ophir, hoping of the like returne which Salomon had : but as Eliezor the Prophet foretold him, his shippes perished and were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprize was ouer-

Yet he taketh part with Iehoram the brother of Ochazias, against the Albabites. with which Kings of Juda and Ifrael the Edomites ionne their forces, not forgetting. it seemes, that the Moabites; affisted by the Anmonites, had not long before destroi-

The Moabites, subjects to David and Salomon, forfaking the Kings of Juda, gave themselues for vassals to Ierohaam, and so they continued to his successors till the death of Achab: but 10/aphat; notwithstanding the Idolatrie of his Colleague, yet as it feemeth, he was drawne into this warre both to bee auenged of the Capabites for their defection from Iuda to Ifrael, as also because they had lately joyned themfelues with the Syrians against Iofathat, and thirdly to punish their double rebellion who first forsooke Inda and now Ifrael.

Both Kingsresolued to passe by the way of Idumen, thereby the better to assure that nation, for wee finde that both Moub, Ammon and Edom were all in the field 40 together at Engaddi against Icholaphat: But whether they had then declared themfelues against Ichofaphat, it is not certaine, for in the 2. of Chroniel. 11, verf. 8, je is written that in the time of Ichoram, the fonne of Iofaphat, Edom rebelled, and therefore it feemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were flaine by Moab and Ammon, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, and to joyne themselves with the armie of Inda. For that they were numbred among the enemies of Iolaphat it is plaine in the 2. of Chren. the 20. and as plaine 6. 2. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King till Icholaphats death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards Moab, where ther it were by the extraordinarie heat of the yeere, or whether the Idumeans ha-50 uing a purpole to rebell missed the armie of Inda and Israel with intent to infeeble

them for want of water, true it is, that they fuffered the fame, if not a greater thirst than the armies of Crasus and M. Antonius did in their Parthian expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, veterly perished had not Elisha taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not onely Iehosaphat and his armie, but

Jehoram King of Israel an Idolator was relieved: the great mercie and goodnesse of God, having ever beene prone to faue the cuill for the good, whereas hee never destroyed the good for the cuill.

2 Kin.z. 2. Ceron. 20. Broch ser fanct.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how Moab burnt his sonne, or the sonne of the King of Edom, for facrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I have alreadie written in the life of Jehoram among the Kings of Ifrael. Jehofaphat reigned twentie five yeeres and died, he was buried in the valley of Ieho (aphat, and a part of the Pyramis fet ouer his graue is yet to be feene, faith Brochard. His acts are written at large by Jehn the fonne of Hanani.

There lived with Ieho Caphat, Ophratenes in Affria, Capetus and Tiberinus Kings 10 of the Albans in Italie: of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke

In Iehofaphats time also ruled Mecades or Mezades in Athens: Agelas or Agefilaus in Corinib; and Archilaus of the same race, of the Heraelida the seauenth in Lacedamon. Badeforus ruled the Tyrians; Achab, Ochazias and Ichoram the Ifraclites.

# CHAP. XX.

## Of IEHORAM the Conne of IEHOSAPHAT, and AHAZIA.

ò. I.

That IEHORAM was made King fundry times.



EHORAM the fonne of Jehofaphat King of Juda began to reigne at thirtie two yeeres of age, and liued untill hee was fourtie yeeres olde, being eight yeeres a King: but of these eight yeeres, which tehoram is said to have reigned, soure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with Ahab. left this Iehoram King in his stead, as Ahab did his sonne Ahazia. This appeares by the scuerall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two Iehorams kings 40 of Ifrael and Iuda, and to Ahazia the eldest sonne of Ahab. For Ahazia is faid to have begunne his reigne, in

2.Kis.1.17. 2.Kin.3.v.t.

the scauenteenth vere of Ichosaphat, Ichoram the brother of Ahazia succeeded him in the second yeare of IEHORAMthe some of IEHOSAPHAT King of Iuda, that is in the next yeere after that Iehoram of Iuda was deligned king by his father; it being (as wee finde elfwhere ) the eighteenth yeere of IEHOSAPHAT himfelfe, who went with the Israelite against Moab. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by Ieho faphat, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his sonne. But in the fift yeere of I E-HORAM King of Ifrael, which was the two and twentieth of Iehofaphat, the olde 50 king tooke vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldeft foune, who was at that time thirtie two yeeres olde, his father being fiftie seauen. Now forasmuch as I E H O S A P H A T reigned twentie fine yeares, it is evident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of Joram King of Ifrael. The like regard is to bee

CHAP.20. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

had in accounting the times of other Kings of Inda and Ifrael, who did not alwaies reigne precifely fo long as the bare letter of the text may feeme at first to a firme : but their yeeres were fometimes compleat, fometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others. with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leffe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons mooning tehosaphat either to assume vato him his sonne as partner in the Kingdome, whileft hee was able himfelfe to commaund both in peace to and in warre, the like having neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the feauenteenth of his reigne) vouchfated vnto him that honour, to refume it vnto himfelfe; or at least-wife to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill fower or fine yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may bee a meane to finde some light, whereby wee may more clearely discouer the causes of much extraordinarie businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Storie briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to ap-

Wee are therefore to confider, that this King Tehofaphat was the first of Re-20 hoboams iffue that euer entred into any freight league with the Kings of the tenne Tribes. All that reigned in Inda before him, had with much labour and long warre, tired themselues in vaine, making small profite of the greatest aduantages that could be wished. Wherefore Jehosaphat thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive betweene Ifrael and Inda, whereby each might enjoy their owne in quiet.

ight enjoy their owne in quiet.

This confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord,

Change of the confederacie made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long profeer, as not iffuing from the true roote and fountaine of all wifdom: across yet as a peece of found pollicie, doubtelesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arife, with mutuall fortification of both those

30 kingdomes against the vacircumcifed nations their auncient enemics. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewell that it might not easily bee lost, but continue as hereditaric from father to fonne, it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinitie, and thereupon was Athalia the daughter of Omriand fifter of Ahab King of Ifrael, ginen in marriage to Iehoram, who was some and heire apparant to the King of Inda. This Ladie was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queene Jezabel her brothers wife, that thee durft vindertake, and could throughly performe a great deale more in Ierusalem, than the other knew how to compasse in Samaria. Shee was indeede a fire-brand, ordained by God to confume a great part of the noblest houses in Iuda, ,40 and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdome, regardlesse of Gods pleafure, had brought berin.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian warre at Ramoth Gilead, wherin Iuda and Ifrael did adventure equally, but the profit of the victoric should have redounded wholly to Ahab: as godly Princes verie seldome thrine by matching with Idolators, but rather ferue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himfelfe, cannot be well affected to his feruants. Before their fetting foorth Ahab deligned, as King, his sonne Ahazia; not so much perhaps in regard of the vicertaine events of warre(for none of his predeceffors had ever done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet Michaid 30 (for he despised them) as inviting Iehosaphat by his owne example; to take the same

courfe wherein he prenailed.

Yуş

ð. II.

Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King I e II o-S A P II AT to change his purpose often in making his Conne I E H OR AM King.



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Anie arguments doe verie strongly proue Iehoram to haue beene wholy ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his for saking the religion of his godly aunceftors, and following the abhominable superstitions of the house of Ashab.

That the was a woman of intolerable pride, and abborring to liue a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter shee was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and voworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and lifter of two great Kings, not vpon base women and meere subjects. The Court of Ahab, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad, were matter sufficient to make an infolent man thinke highly of himfelfe, as being allied to honorably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crowne, whereof alreadie hee had, in a 20 manner, the possession.

How foone his vices brake out, or how long hee diffembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereuppon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And furely the doings of Jehosaphat about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the missouernment of his vingodly fonne. For the good old King was faine to make his progreffe round about the land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and ap-2. Coron, 19.04. pointing Judges throughout all the strong Citties of Juda Citie by Citie. This had bin 30 a needleffe labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by A/a, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Instice beene peruerted, by the power of such as had borne authoritie. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appeares by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; and by his commission given to one of the priestes in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general ouerseers.

This was not till after the death of Abazia the fonne of Abab; but how long after it is vncertaine. For Ichoram the brother of Ahazia beganne his reigne (as hath beene alreadie noted) in the eighteenth of Icho aphat, which was then accounted the second of Iehoram, Icholaphats sonne, though afterward this Iehoram 40 of Inda had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before hee reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So beecontinued in prinate estate, vntil the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignitie are not fet downe, yet wee may not thinke, that motiues thereto, appearing fubftantiall, were wanting. Ichoram of I/rael held the fame correspondencie with Iehofaphat that his father had done; and made vse of it. Hee drewe the Indean into the warre of Moab, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of Inda was againe ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition hee had beene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enter- 50 prize against Meab did not occupie so much time, as from the eightenth of Iehosaphat, in which yeere that nation rebelled against Ifrael, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the dailie negotiations betweene the two Kings of Inda and Ifrael, and the affinitie betweene them contracted in the person of Iehoram,

might offer fome good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certaine how the behaujour of the yonger fonnes, in their elder brothers differace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for feare of tumult after his death; or the deepe diffimulation, of Jehoram himselfe, might winne the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vivall in mischienous fell natures, to be as abiect and seruile in time of aduersitie, as insolent and bloudy upon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wife towards his brethren as caused their father to enable them not only with store of filter, and of gold, and of pretious thinges, (which kinde of liberalitie other Kings 2. Chromatic. to doubtleffe had vsed vnto their yonger sonnes) but with the custodie of strong Cities

in Inda, to affure them, if it might have beene, by vinwonted meanes; against vinwonted perills.

The doings of IEHORAM when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Labra.



Vt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequele. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger fonnes of Ieho(aphat found firong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the fummons of the King

their brother, then had he them without more adoe; if they flood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Ifraelitifb Kingdome against them, so that the apparent likelyhood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forfake them in the very beginning. Howfocuer it was, they were all taken and flaine, and with them for companie many great men of the Land; fuch belike, as 20 either had taken their part, when the T yrant fought their liues, or had beene appointed Rulers of the Countrie, when Iehoram was deposed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without for bearing to doe inflice, could hardly avoide the doing of many thinges, derogatorie to their yong Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrarie?

After this, Jehoram tooke vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto superstition and idolatrie, nor to proucke and encourage the people to that finne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, having fuch knowledge of God, and of his detelling that about all other 40 finnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is regi-

ftred, to have fet vp irreligion by force.

Whilest hee was thus busied at home, in doing what hee listed, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto, fince Davids time, beene gouerned by a Viceroy, did now make vnto themselves a King. Against these Iehoram in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which hee obtained victorie in the field, compelling the rebells to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof hee forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that hee had gotten in beating and killing fome of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now beganne the prophecie 50 of Isaac to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that Esau in processe of time should breake the yoke of Incob. For after this the Edomites could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of Iuda, but held their owne fo well, that when, after many civill and forraine warres, the Iewes by fundric Nations had beene brought low; Artipater the Edomite, with Herod his Sonne, and others of that race following them, be-

came Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepitage of Ifrael, and raigned as Kings, even in Ierulalem it felfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libra, a great Citic within Inda, which in the time of Iolia had a peculiar King, to rebell against Jehoram, and set it selfe at libertie. Libra flood in the confines of Beniamin and of Dan, farre from the affiftance of any bordering enemies to Iuda, and therefore fo valikely it was to have maintained it felfe in libertie, that it may feeme strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have beene taken, by their powerfull cruell, and throughly incenfed Lord. The Ifraelite held fuch good intelligence at that time with Inda, 10 that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it felfe vnto him : neither doe we reade that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subjection, but cona. chion, 21.104 tinued a free effate. The rebellion of it against Jehoram, was, Because he had for laken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only beene the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to doe as they did : For it was a Towne of the Leuites : who must needes be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrarie to Gods law, had not only fome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulfine authoritie to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vie of the Temple at Ierufalem (which being deuout men they might feareto loofe by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revol- 20 ted Tribes by any of the religious Kings, who rather inuited the Ifraelites thither, and gaue them kinde entertainment : vnder Idolaters they must have beene without it whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seemes that private reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than to fuffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall vilitation before remembred, wherein Iehosaphat reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Gouernours, and giving them especiall charge to doe instice without respect of persons, vsed these wordes: The Leuites shall be Officers before you: Be of good courage and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these phrases, it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than inst proceedings of his sonne; whom if the Leuites 30 did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that Libra was not hereupon destroied, year that it was not (for ought that wee can reade) fo much as belieged or molefted, may justly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mightic Armies which Ieho faphat was able to raife, being fufficient to haue ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might in one moneth have cast into it with shouells, by ordinarie

approches. But it seemes that of these great numbers which his father could have levied, 40 there were not many whom Iehoram could well trust; and therefore perhaps hee thought it an easier losse, to let one Towne goe, than to put weapons into their handes, who were more likely to follow the example of Libra, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of T yrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse be feared than to be loued; are faine themselues to stand in seare of those, by whom they might have beene dreadfull vnto others.

§. IIII. 50

ð. I I I I.

Of the miseries falling upon IEHORAM, and of his death.

Hefe afflictions not fufficing to make any impression of Gods displeafure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a prophecie in writing was delinered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children. his wives, and his owne body. Hereby likewife it appeares that hee

was a cruell Perfecutor of Gods feruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reproue him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and cuill Kings, but were faine to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to have 2.cbrox.21. 18, beene fent vnto him from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was translated, and Elizeus prophecied in his flead before this time, even in the daies of Iehofaphat. Wherefore 2.Kings c. 2. & it may be that Elias left this prophecie in writing behinde him, or that (as some coniecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that wee reade Elias for Elizeus. Indeede any thing may rather bee beleeued than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that Elias from heaven did send this Epistle, a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuiled by Eralmus, or of the Verle that was fent from heaven to St. Giles.

But who foeuer was the Author of this threatning Epiftle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible, as the fentence. For the Philistims and Arabians brake into Indea, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they flew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not prefumed since the time of David, to make any offenfine warre till now ; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territorie, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to have beene then as they are now, a naked people, all horse-

men, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than fuch as might make them fitter to robbe and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities fuch as were thick fet in Iuda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very flort space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be confidered; that this was when they had learned of the Romanes the art of Warre; and that the propisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skillfull in pursuing their conquest, and going onward in to Regions farre removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in Arabia it selfe 40 are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but vnable to

deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnes of their horses, than in any other meanes of relistance, where they are well opposed. And fuch, or little better, may they feeme to have beene, that spoiled Indea in the time of Iehoram. For their Countrie was alwaies barraine and defert, wanting manuall arts whereby to supply the naturalls with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistims. Out of this we may inferre that one halfe, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of Juda and Benjamin under Jeholaphat (wherein were involled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men ) had beene enough to have driven away farre To greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not

the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lacke of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes icloufie, as in Sauls time by the pollicie of the

It may feeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not

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his Palace in Jerufalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrie. where his wines and children at that time lay for their recreation; became we reade not that they did facke the Citie, or spoile the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootic, had they got polleffion thereof. Yet perhaps they tooke Ierufalem it felfe by furprife, the people being difarmed, and the Kings guardes too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was fo large and populous; and therefore having done what fooile they could. with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to conveigh

The flaughter committed by Iehn upon the two and fortie brethren of Ahazia, 10 or (as they are called elfewhere) fo many of his brothers Sonnes, and the cruell maffacre wherein all the Royall feede perifhed (only Ioas excepted) under the tyrannie of Athalia, following within two yeares after this invalion of the Philiffings, and Arabians, make it feeme probable, that the fonnes of Jeharam were not all flaine at once, but that rather the first murther beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heavie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, fmiting him with a grieuous difeafe in his bowells, which left him nor untill his guts fell out, and his wretched foule departed from his miferable carcaffe. 20 The people of the Land, as they had fmall cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend forrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of Inda, though his owne some succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had beene his Fathers cuill Angells. Athalia had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Some fuch Counsellors, of the house of A H A B, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it viscasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eies, with a stately funerall of a 20 man by them detefted : but rather chose to let the blame of thinges passed bee laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her felfe, and hers, which it now did concerne her to avoid. Such is the qualitie of wicked inftigators, having made greedie vie of bad imploiments, to charge, not only with his owne vices, but with their faults also, the man whose cuill inclinations their finister counsailes have made worfe, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of Jehoram fellout indeede in a butie time; when his friend and colin the Ifraelite, who had the fame name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could have had no better leifure to helpe Athalia in fetting of thinges according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the fame hindrance) to helpe her 40 husband, when he was diffressed by the Philistims. Yearather he needed and craued the affiftance of the men of Inda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not fped fo well the last time, that they should willingly runne thither againe, vnleffe they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purfuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumflances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reucaled will of God, accomplish neuerthelesse his hidden purpose; and without miraculous meanes, confound themselues in the seeming-wise deuises of their owne folly: as likewife to the end that all men might learne, to fubmit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to thinke, that they may fafely diffeenfe with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceipts which worldly wifedome dictateth vnto them: for in fuch kinde of vnhappie fubtilities, it is manifest that

Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne, but the iffue of them partly hath appeared alreadie, and partly will appeare, in that which immediately

### à. V.

Of the raigne of AHAZIA, and his businesse with the King of Israel.



CHAZIAS, or Ahazia, the fonne of Iehoram and Athalia, beganne his raigne ouer Inda in the twelfth yeare of Ichoram, the sonne of Ahab King of Ifrael, and raigned but that one yeare. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclu-

fion, than that of Torniellus, alleaging the Edition of the Septuagint at Rome. Anno Domini 1788, which faith that he was twentie yeares old in the beginning of his Kingdome, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to have beene yong: for hee was governed by his Mother, and her-Ministers, who gaue him counsaile by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewise up held the league made with the house of Ahab. Hee was much bufied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cosen the Israelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they wanne, but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Israel was faine to aduenture his owne perfon, which scaped not vinwounded. The Towne being wonne was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to bee made by Hazael King of Aram: which done, Jehoram King of Ifrael with-drew himselfe to the Citie of Izreel, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his woundes; and Ahazia returned to Ierusalem. It seemes that hee was but newly come home (for hee raigned in all feantly one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners fake, to vilit the King of Ifrael, who lay fore of his woundes. Belike Athalia was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindred, and therefore fought every occasion to thrust him abrode; for otherwise it was but a vaine peece of worke to to leaue his Kingdome, having no other businesse than by way of complement to goe fee one whom he had feene yesterday. Certaine it is that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavie judgement, which hee had laid by the mouth of Elias the Prophet, vpon the house of Ahab. And hereunto at this time had hee disposed not only the concurrence of all other thinges, which in mans eies might seeme to haue beene accidentall; but the very thoughts and affe-40 Ctions of fuch persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly be needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that wee diligently consider and examine.

How AHAZIA perished with the house of AHAB; and how that Familie was destroied by I E H v.



He whole Armie of Ifrael, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of Elizaus the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were fitting together, who calling out from among them Jehu, a principall man, tooke him apart, and annointed him King ouer Ifrael, rehearling vnto him the prophecie of Elias against the house of

Ithis who had vpon the finddainethis great honour throwne vpon him, was not flow to put himfelfe in polififion of it, but vfed the first heate of their affections to who ioyned with him, in setting on store the businesse which nearely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owner han Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the resolt might be carried to Izerel, whereby the King might hase had warning either to fight or site: this being forecase her marched fwirtly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King irbitram was now so well recouvered of his wounds, that hee could endure to rideableoad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasing, and toy made, especially by Queene Izezabes, who keep her state so well, that the brether of Abazia comming thather at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queene, as to visit the King.

Certaineit is, that fineethe rebellion of Moule against Israel, the house of Abab according to the Moule of Israel and the Moule of Abab according to the Moule of Mo

In the midft of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either confulting about profequution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Moib, Edom, and other rebells and enemics; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already well atchieued, and the Queene Mother drefling her felfe in the brauest manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discourred a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome : for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to bee readie against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged vpon fome notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not firre. Only the King 40 fent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meffenger comming to Iehn, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might bee. The feeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answere, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to bee satisfied, sent out an other, that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by Iehn. These dumbe showes bred some suspition in Iehoram, whome the watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew fo neare that they might, though not perfectly, be differened, and notice taken of Iehu himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loath to discouer any weakenesse, caused his Chariot to bee made readie, and issued forth with Abazia King of Iuda in his companie, whose presence added majestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to slee had been e more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that Ichu was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the

field of Naboth. Ichoram beganne to falute Ichu with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter anfiwere, his heart failed him; fo that crying our upon the treafon to his fellow King, he turned away to haue fled. But Ichu foone ouer-tookehim with an arow, where with he strookehim dead, and threw his carcaffe into that field, which, purchafed with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with bloud of the vninft possession. We will be the was arreited by a wound, which held him till death did fire yoon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where least bed might foone bee adnertifed of this calamitie, if thee did not with her owne cies behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for merice, whose indgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when shee least expected it. But shee, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her feller readie in all hast, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at the least to veter some Appelvitegme, that should expecsed her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did shee thinke upon the hungrie dogs, that were ordained to deuout her, whose paunches the stitum, with which shee besineared her cies, would more offend, than the foolding language where with shee armed her trongue, could trouble the caresof him that had her in his power. As selved we neares shee opened her 20 window, and looking out upon him, beganne to put him in minde of Zomri, that had not long invoyed the fruits of his treation, and murther of the King his Master.

This was in meere humane valuation floutly spoken, but was indeede a part of miferable folly, as are all thinges, how sow sever laudable, if they haue an ill relation to
63d he Lord of all. Her owne Emmches that shood by and heard her, were not affested so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much less was her ortemic
daunted with her proud spirit. When Jehn say that sheed did wit the little remainder
of her life in seeking to week him; her made her presently to vinderstand her owne
estate, by deedes and not by wordes. He only called to her serunats to know which
of them would be of his side, and soone found them readie to offer their service, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast ther
owne head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her

towne acad-long; which immediately they performed without all regard of ther greatness and clates, wherein shee had a sie who more shefore shined for gloriosistly in the cies of men; of men that considered not the judgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So persisted this accursed woman by the rude handes of her owne fermants, at the

commandement of her greated enemie, that was yellerday her fishied, but now her Lord: and thee perifihed miferably flrugling in vaine with backgroomes, who contumelioudly did hale and thrult her, while the rin infulting enemic fate on horfe-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by feornefully beholding the (hamefull manner of a) her fall, and trampling her bodie vnder foote. Her dead carcaffe that was left without the walls was demoured by dogges, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppreffion, with flow, but fure painment, and full intereft.

Abszis King of Inds flecing a-pace from Iehn, was ouer-taken by the way where he liked; and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdome of Samaria, was fuffered to get him gone (which he did in all hath) and feek his burial in his owncking dome; and this fauour hee obtained for his grand-fathers fake, not for his fathers, nor his owne. He died at Agiddo, and was thence carried to Ierufalem, where he was enterred with his Ancestors, having raigned about one yeare.

CHAP. XXI.

Of ATHALIA, and whose Sonne he was that succeeded onto her.

of ATHALIA her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences free might forge.

3.Chroit.11.9.



TER the death of Ahazia, it is faid that his house was not able to retaine the Kingdome : which note, and the proceedings of Athalia vpon the death of her Sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedigree of Ions, who raigned shortly after. For Athalia being thus dispoiled of her Sonne, 20 vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and flew them, that so shee might occupie the Roiall Throne her felfe, and raigne as Queene, rather than liue a Subicet. Shee had before hand put into great

place, and made Counfailours vnto her fonne, such as were fittest for her purpose, and readie at all times to execute her will: that shee kept a strong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by Iehoram, vpon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearefull to ftirre, whatfoeuer they faw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent socier it be, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the commeditie of goodly pretenses offering themselues; but rather scrapes together all that will any way ferue to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abfurd for vs to thinke, that Athalia when shee saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a manner, flaine by her husband, and afterwards his owne children destroied by the Philistims, beganne euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practife, into faire likelyhoods, those possibilities where with her hulbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might shee give him to vnderstand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilest as yet hee might, 40 for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of David, which now remained only in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had alreadie shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Iuda were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions hee laied vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could affure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not alreadie contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not only his Successiour, but also the reucrfioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might never bee subject to any rifeling, 73 but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to paffe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such persivations being viged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate solicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the icalous Tyrant thinke that the only way to frustrate all deuises of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire to the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queene-Mother, to vp-hold the first and eldest.

If Athalia tooke no fuch course as this in her husbands times, yet might shee doe it in her Sonnes. For Abazia (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the fecuritie of his halte-brethren or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wines, in respect of his owne high borne-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgate her selfe so farre in her wicked pollicie, that shee 10 loft all opportunitie which the weakeneffe of her hufband and fonne did afford, of procuring to her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faine some fuch matter, as boldly flee might: being fure that none would aske to fee her euidence, for feare of being fent to learne the certaintie of her fonne or hufband in another world. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order for her affaires before hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the suddaine death of her sonne. yet it was the wifest way to prouide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her hufbands iffue by other women was yong and vnable to relift. We plainly find that the Bretheren or Nephewes of Abazia, to the number of two and fortie, were fent to the Court of Ifrael, only to falute the children of the King, and the children 20 of the Queene. The flender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of tehoram that could be growne to any firength) makes it very fulpitious that their entertainement in /ezabets house would only have been more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of Jehn. Hee that lookes into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke

Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of Salomon is true: Is there any thing Ecological 30 whereof one may fay, behold this is new? it hath been ealreadie in the old time that was before vs. That a King might fled his brothers bloud, was proudd by Salomon vpon Adonia: that he might aliene the Crowne from his naturall Heires, David had given proofe: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practise, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why. Salomon flew his brother that had begunne one rebellion. and wasentring into an other. IE HORAM flew all his brethren, which were better than 2.Chro. 33, 10, 252 he: DAVID purchased the Kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Ieheram*, who had lost much and got-40 ten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if Ahazia fought to cut off the fuccession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to be answered with the wordes which Iehoiada the Pricst vsed afterwards, in de-

no leffe. Of fuch as have afpired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust

out the right Heires by pretence of Teftaments, that had no other validitie than

the fword of fuch as claimed by them could give, Historics of late, yea of many

claring the title of I O A S H. Behold the Kings some must raigne; as the Lord hath Said of the somes of DAVID. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that Athalia did pretend some title, what socuer it might bee, to the Crowne of Juda; vet is it most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all; but only got it by treacherie. murder, and open violence; and so shee held it fixe whole yeares; and a part of the feuenth, in good feeming-fecuritie.

Zz z

ð. I I.

Q. II.

How lenv from his time in Ifrael, fo that he could not molest

ATHALIA.

N all this time lehu did neuer goe about to diffurbe her; which in realon hee was likelie to defire, being an enemic to her whole House.

But he was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of whub, and reforming somewhat in Religion : afterwards in warres against the Aramite, wherein he was so farre ouer-

charged, that hardly hee could retaine his owne, much leffe attempt vpon others. 10 Of the line of Ahab there were seuentie liuing in Samaria, out of which number Jehn by letter aduised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themfelues to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident hee was, which they well viderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to relift him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had flaine, and being exceedingly afraide of him, they offered him their fernice, wherein they for eadily shewed themselues obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they fent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyeed by a fewanning as you him. After this be furprized all the Pricits of Real by a fubrilite, fairing a great facrifice to their God, by which meanes be drew them altogether in-20 to one Temple, where he flew them; and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impictic.

Concerning the Idolatric denised by Icroboam, no King of Israel had over greater reason than lehn to destroy it. For he needed not to frare least the people should be allured vnto the house of David; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crowne of Juda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdome by the vnexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying Baal out of Ifrael, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the finne of Ieroboam, that the Kingdome should remaine in his familie, to the fourth generation. But all this would not ferue; hee would needes helpe to peece 30 out Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greediegamester, who by stealing a needlesse Carde to assure himselse of winning a Rake, forfeits his whole reft. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more hee should offend by taking from them the yse of a superstition, so long practized as was that Idolatric of Ieroboam. Yet all these, how many socuer they were, had never once thought vpon making him King, if God, whom, to retaine them, hee now for fooke, had not given him the Crowne, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of Icha drew terrible vengeance of God vpon Ifrael, whereof 40 Bazael King of Damaseus was the Executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous 2. Roggs 8. 2.12. Prince we may finde in the prophecie of Elizaus, who fore-toldit, faying : Their livong Cities falt thou fet on fire, and their rong men falt thou flay with the fword, and So did not only the wickednesse of Ahab cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie vpon all the Land. For the furic of Hazaels victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, \*. Ning. 10.0.32 nor wearied with one invalion; but he smote them in all the coasts of Israel, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the River of Iordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (For in these daies the Lord to begsame to losth (frael,) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of Asab, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the Ci-

ties which his Father had wonne: whereas now they were faine to make wofull thifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in feruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are in flead of the cafe and pleas fure to themselues propounded by contrarie courses, ouer-whelmed with the troubles which they fought to avoide, and therein by God whom they first for fooke, for faken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wildome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

### ð. III.

Of ATHALIAHS Government.

Hefe calamities falling vpon Ifrael, kept Athalia fafe on that fide, giving her leifure to looke to thinges at home; as hauing little to dea broad, validie it were so that she held some correspondencie with states who had done the like. And some probabilitie that shee did so may who had done the like. And some probabilitie that shee did so may

be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde that this wicked ATHALIA and her children brake up the house of God, and all thinges that were 2, Class, 24.27. dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon BAALIM. Such a facriledge, though it proceeded from a defire to fet out her owne Idolatrie, with fuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eies, was not likely to want fome faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring; in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the tast of

that which was formerly thence extracted for his fake.

Vnder this impious government of Athalia, the denotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and ferued (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himfelfe, how focuer the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrarie. For the pouertie of that facred Tribe of Leui, must needes have been exceeding great at this time; all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly loft, the oblations and other perquifites, by which they flued, being now very few, and small; and the store laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robberie. Yet they up-held in all this miserie the seruice of God, and the daily facrifice, keeping duly their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those daies wherein their entertainement was farre better.

## d. IIII.

Of the preservation of I o As.

E H O I A D A then occupied the high Priest-hood, an honourable, wife and fifter to Abszán, a godlie Ladie and vertuous, who e piecie makes

50 it feeme that Athalia was not her Mother, though her accesse to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more casily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be fuch as flee was. By her care toals the yong Prince that raigned foone after, was conneighed out of the nourferie, when Athalia destroied all the Kings chil-

dren, and was carried fecretly into the Temple, where as fecretly hee was brought vp. How it came to palle that this yong child was not hunted out, when his bodie was milling, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his eCape, I will not fland to examine: for it was not good in polltice, that the people should heate say, that one of the children had auoided that cruell blow; it might haue made them heartken after innovations, and so be the left conformable to the present gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to bee call away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him suck, who foolifsly doubting that shee her selfe should have been slaine, was sled away with 10 him into some debolate places, where it was like enough that shee and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, castily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will loofe the thankes due to their original tidings.

### &. V. Whose Sonne I o a s was.

†. 1.
Whether IOAS may be thought likely to have beene the Sonne of
AHAZIA.

2.Kings 11. 2. & 2. Chron, 22. V,11. Ow concerning this to the, whose some he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caufed much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the some of A HAZIA, since plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebray language might give that title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that he was his Succession.

I neither by my felfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to an fiverethe difficulties, appearing in the contraine opinions of them, that thinke him 30 to hance beene, or not, the naturall Sonne of Maria. He was there as it is faid, that the bongle of A II A 21 A was not shie to retaine the Kingelows. Some doe inferre that this holf was not properly called his Sonne, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore faceceded him, as a forme in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by Athalia, doth cry well agree. For thee perceiving that the Kingelown was to fall into their handes, in whom thee had no intereft, might eafily finde cause to feare, that the tyramic excreted by her husband, at her infligation you for many noble Houses, would now bee reunged you her felfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of 40 12-26 teaching her what might happen to an other Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for sheethat had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more case, and lesse much hau to won her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie sheemight haue

This argument is very flrong. For it may feeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessite vegeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane pollicie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

done her pleasure, and beene the more both obased by others, and secure of her

owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherefore it was not needfull, that shee

should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the child of her owne some, of whose life shee

might have made greater vse, than shee could of his death: whereas indeede, the

loue of grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little leffe than that of Mothers to

That I o As did not defeend from NATHAN.

Byt (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to sheet how it might have otherwise beeney the pedegree of this sould is, by them which think him not the some of Absais, set downe in such fort that it may verie utilly be suspensed. They say that he descended from Nathan the some of Danid, and not from Salomon; to which purpose they bring a Historic/I know not whence) of two samilies of the race of Danid, saying that the line of Salomon held the kingdom with 10 this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of Nathan should succeed it. Concerning this Nathan the son of Danid there are that would have him to bee Xi-than the Prophet, who as they thinks, was by Danidadopted. And of this opinion was Origen, as also S. Angustine sometime was, but afterward here evoked it, as was meet; for this Xathan is reckoned among the sons of Danid, by Bathshna the daughter 1.64mon, of Lammidand therefore could not be the Prophet. Gregorie Nasansen (as I inde

Him the Prophet, who as they thinke, was by Danidadopted. And of this opinion was origin, as also S. Angelline fometime was, but afterward he ereuboxed it, as was meets for this Nathan is reckoned among the fons of Danid, by Bathiflina the daughter of Ammiel, and therefore could not be the Prophet. Gregorie Nazianzen (as I linde him tiet by Peter Marty) and after him, Erafinus, and Feber Straphelis, In theil kiewife held the fame of Inafh, deriving him from Nathan. But Nathan, and those other brethren of Salomon by the fame mother, are thought, you goog od likelihoods, to have beene the children of Yria the Hittite: and so are they accounted by fundrie 20 of the fathers, and by Lyra, and Andrens, who follow the Hebrew expositors of that place in the first of Champiels. The words of Salomon edition is not before the children of the Champiels.

place in the first of Chronicles. The words of Salomo calling himselfer the only begotten of his mother, doe approoue this exposition: for wee read of no more than two fons which Bathlians or Bathlibead ald beare vito Daniel, where of the one, begotten in adulteric, died an infant, and Salomon only of her children by the king did line. So that the rest must needs haue bin the children of Priz, and are thought to haue beene Daniels onely by adoption. Wherefore, if Toza had not beene the sonne of Abazia, then must that pedegree haue beene false, wherein S. Mathew deriueth him lineally from Salomon; yea, then had one to not befeld Sanionri filted from the loins of Daniel, according to the slesh, but had onely beene of his line by courteste of the 30 Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might have beene. As for the authorizin of Pables, which had the aware many late writers into the oninion that had was not a Pable, which had the aware many late writers into the oninion that had was not a Pable which had the aware many late writers into the oninion that had was not a Pable which had the aware many late writers into the oninion that had was not a Pable which had the aware many late writers into the oninion that had was not a pable was not a pabl

of Phila, which hath drawns many late writers into the opinion that Logily was not of the policities of Laglawas, it is enough to fay that this was Fria Annius his Phila of for no other edition of Phila hath anic fuch matter, but Annius can make authors to fpeake what he lift.

† 111.

That I o a s may probably be thought to have been the form of I E H O R A 51.

full Tragedies, and the progenie of Nathan succeeded in place thereof; like enough

it is that some remembrance more particular would have beene extant, of an euent

t. II.

fo memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent

by the Genealogie of our Lord; as it is recounted by S. Luke, but the preferuation of

the house of Duaid, mentioned in the bookes of Kings and Chronicles, was performed

in the person of schools as in whom the rotall braunch of Salomon, the naturall, and not onely legall iffue remaining of David, was kept alive. Wherefore it may bee

thought that this 10sfb, who followed Athalia in the Kingdome, was the yongest

fonne of tehoram, whose life Athalia, as a stepdame, was not vnlikely to pursue. For

it were not easily understood, why the preferuation of Danids line, by Gods especiall

mercie in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when be-

t. IIII.

Voonwhatreafons ATHALIAmight feeke to destroy IOAS, if be were her owne grandchilde

TF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be faid that Athalia was not onely blinded by the passions of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worshippe of Badim, but purfued the accomplishment of some naturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-childe, and the rest of the bloud royall. For whether it were so that A bails 10 (as proud and cruell women are not alwaies chaft) had imitated the libertic of Iczabether lifter in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by Jehu to her some or whether the had children by fome former husband, before thee was married vnto Iehoram (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of Omri, and fifter to Abab) certaine it is that thee had formes of her owne, and those old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to lettle the Crowne vpon her owne children, the did feeke to cut off, by wicked pollicic, all other claimes. As for Ions, if the were his grandmother; yet the might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, least when he came to yeeres, it might withdraw him from her denotion. And hereof (be-20 fides that women doe commonly betterslove their daughters husbands, than their fonnes wives) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne; for the made him fpend all his time in idle journeies, to no other apparant end, than that the might rule at home; and he liuing abroad, be oftranged from his wife, and entertaine fome new fancies, wherein Iezabel had cunning enough to be his tutoresse. But when the fword of Jehn had rudely cut in funder all these fine denises, then was Athalia faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all fure. Otherwife, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to toas, wee neede

not feeke into the reasons mooning her to take away his life; her owne hatred was

cause enough to dispatch him among the first,

d. VI.

Adagression, wherein is maintained the libertie of wsing con. secture in Hiltories.

H v s much concerning the person of Jeas, from whom as from a new roote, the tree of Danid was propagated into many branches. In roote, the tree of Dand was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I confider the nature of this Hiftoric, and the diucrlitic beweene it and others, the leffe, me thinkes,
I neede to suspect mine owne presumption, as descruing blame, for curiolitie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of conjecture. For all Histories doe giue vs information of humaine counfailes and euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can affoord; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times failily. This we often finde in prophane writers, who afcribe the ill fuccoffe of great vindertakings

to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the perfermance as vehemetly, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiffion. Hereat we may the leffe wonder, if we confider the answere made by the jewes in Agypt vnto Ieremic the Prophet reprehending their idolatrie. For, how focuer the 10 written Law of God was knowne vnto the people, and his punishmens laid vpon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed: yet were they so obstinatly bent vnto their owne wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they rold the Prophet roundly, that they would worthin the Oncene of incarien; as they and

fides Abszia himfelfe there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another 10 place they are called) fonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwardes a. chron, 22, v.8. were all flaine by Ichu; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little leffe than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one onely did escape. Certainely that inhumane murther which leliorans committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged voon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philiftims and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwardes profecuted by tehn, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie indgement laid vpon Jehorani

3.c/wwn.21.14. and all his children, only jehoahas his youngest fonne was exempted; whom there- 20 fore if I should affirme to be the same with Joan, which is called the some of Ahazia, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have beene. For it was the youngest some of Ichoram in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be Ahazia, feeing that hee was twentic yeeres old at the least ( as is alreadic noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eightenth or twentieth yeere of his fathers age. Now, I know not whether of the two

is more valikely, either that Iehoram should have begotten many children before he was eighteene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wives and children, he should voon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget 30 no more in twentie yeeres following : each of which must have beene true, if this were true that Ahaziawas the fame leboahas, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts ariling from the causeleffe crueltie of Athalia, in feeking the life of Io.is, are eafily cleared, if Io.is and Iehoahas were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was senen yeeres old when he began to reigne; which if wee understand of yeeres compleat, hee might haue beene a yeere old at the death of Iehoram, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his ficknesse. Neither is it more absurde to fay that hee was the naturall sonne of tehoram, though called the sonne of Ahazia, than it were to say, as great authors have done, this difficultie not with flanding, that hee was of the posteritie 40

of Nathan. One thing indeed I know not how to answere; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of Jehoshas, that foundeth much more neere to Jous, than to Ahazia, in an English care, doth in the tiebrew (as I am informed by fome, skilful in that language) through the diverlitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that Abazia himselse be also called Azaria, and must have had three names, if hee were the same with Ieloahas; in which manner Ions might also have had severall names; yet because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will not prefume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniec- 50 ture, but leave all to the confideration of fuch as have more abilitie to judge, and lei-

† IIII.

2 chron.22.6.

fure to confider of this point.

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their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had vsed to do; For then (faid they) had we tore 4.4.2. 17. plentie of victuals, and were well, and felt no earlt : adding that all manner of miferies were befallen them, fince they left off the feruice of that Queene of Heaven. So blinde is the wildome of man, in looking into the counfaile of God, which to finde our there is no better nor other guide than his owne written wil not peruerted by vaine

But this Historic of the Kings of Ifrael and Juda hath herein a fingular prerogatine about all that have beene written by the most sufficient of meerly humane authours; it fetteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of Abab to his ouer-forwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his so his familie, to the fecuritie of Ieroboam in Izreel; nor the victories of Hazael, to the great commotions raifed in Ifrael, by the comming in of Iehu; but referring all vnto the will of God. I meane, to his reuealed will; from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this storie, by many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histos. Phil. Sid. in bis ries that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthin Apullar lee-Gentleman Sir Philip Sidnie, that Hillorians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly infufficient to difcouer the 20 passions, which did set them first on foote. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed : for to take out of Linie euery one circumstance of Claudius his journey against Afdrubal in Italie, fitting all to another businesse, or any practise of that kinde, is neither Historicall nor Poeticall) to search into the particular humours of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the inftruments by which they wrought, from whence they doe collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every businesse; and so figuring as necre to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they indiciously consider the de-

fects in counfaile, or obliquitie in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give affurance, howfocuer it may 300. giue fatiffaction. For the heart of man is vnfearchable; and Princes, howfoeuer their intents be feldome hidden from some of those many eyes which price both into them, and into such as line about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtill miste, they conceale the trueth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblinion, when the preparations which they begate, are conuerted to another vse. The industrie of an Hiltorian, having fo many things to wearie it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it for beareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where fundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that sceme farre greater. So 40 comes it many times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or Townes, begin with a few strawes, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discouered, having fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is that the warre commenced by Darius, and pursued by Xerxes against the Greekes, proceeded from defire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howfoeuer the enterpize of the Athenians upon Sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell : yet Herodotus telleth vs, that the wanton defire of Oucene Atolla, to haue the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first moue Darius to prepare for this warre, before he had received any injurie; and when he did not yet fo much defire to get more as to enjoy what was alreadie gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether Herodotus be more justly reprehended by fome, or defended by others, for alleadging the vaine appetite, and fecret speech of the Queene in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following: this I may boldlie affirme, (hauing I think, in enery effate fome sufficient witneffes) that

matter of much confequence, founded in all feeming upon fubfiantiall reasons, have iffued indeed from fuch pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well fearch out.

Therefore it was a good answere that Sixtus Quintus the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to vilite him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner citate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vie his old libertie of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he verie much wondred how it was possible for his holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning polititian, to attaine vnto the Papacie; in compaffing of which,

10 all the fubtiltie (faid he) of the most craftic braines, finde worke enough; and therfore the more I thinke you the arte of the conclaus, and your vnaptneffe thereto. the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus to satisfic the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and feene by what folly this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is mooued; the Pope faid true. For the wifeft of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration; worke more closely, and earneftly, than right reason either needes or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that fupreame governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was 20 faid of Inpiter.

> Quiterram incrtem, qui mare temperat Ventolum, er vrbes, regnagae triflia Dinolane, mortalefane turmas. Imperio regit vnus equo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-fwolne streames. The civill Cities, and th'infernall realmes, Who th' hoft of heaven and the mortall band, Alone doth gouerne by his iust commmaund.

Then shall we finde the quite contrarie. In him there is no vncertaintie nor change; he forefeeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; Hee neither deceineth nor can be deceined, but continuing one and the fame for ever, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that law, which hee hath prescribed and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriners, and the profperitie of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction : yea, this broad and headlong paffage to hell, is not fo delightfull as it feemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, belides the poilons which infect the foule, many cruell thornes 40 deepely wounding the bodic, all which, if any few escape, they have onely this mi-

the feruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicitie, yeelding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth eafilie counternaile all afflictions what focuer: though indeed those brambles that fometimes teare the skinne of fuch as walke in this bleffed way, doe commonly laichold vpon them at fuch time as they fit downe to take their case, and make them wish themselves at their journies end, in presence of their Lord whom they faithfully ferue, in whose prefence is the fulnesse of ior, and at whose right hand are pleafures for euermore.

ferable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But

53 Wherfore it being the end and scope of al Historie, to teach by example of times past, such wisdome as may guide our delires and actions, wee should not meruaile though the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda and Ifrael, being written by men inspired with the spirit of God, instruct vs cheifly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know, as the meanes to attaine vnto true relicitie, both here, and hereafter, propounding

pounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wildome. Had the expedition of Xerxes ( as it was foretold by Daniel) beene written by some Prophet after the captinitie : wee may well beleene that the counfaile of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole, or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of Darius, the desire of his wife, and the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the leffe true, though they might have beene omitted, as the leffe materiall : but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injurie to the facred writings, as long as hee had forborne to derogate 10 from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or litle different, is the bufineffe that I have now in hand; wherin I cannot be-Iccue that any man of judgement will taxe mee as either fabulous or prefumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearfeth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he deprace the text, that feeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reafon those things, which authoritie alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in every mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the libertie, which I have yield in conjectures, and may hereafter yie when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor misbefeeming an Historian.

### à. VII.

### The conspiracie against ATHALIA.



HEN Athalia had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Inda, and had found neither any forraine enemic, nor domesticall aduerfarie to disturbe her possession, suddainly the period of her glorie, and reward of her wickednesse meeting togither, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of 20

the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to bee concealed, and it had beene very vnfitting that his education should bee simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safetie it was requisite, ) when his capacitie required to have beene indued with the stomach and qualities meete for a King. All this Iehoiada the Priest considered, and with all the great increase of impietie, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spreade it selfe ouer all the Countrie, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore hee affociated vnto himselfe fine of the Captaines, in whose fidelitie he had best affurance, and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, hee made a Couchant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of 40 the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely, that they should repaire to Ierusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the businesse: the pro mise of the Lord vnto the house of David was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful and likelie to fucceed as they defired.

But in compassing their intent some difficulties appeared. For it was not to bee hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good iffue; neither were the Captaines, and other affociates of Jehoiada able by close working, to draw together fo many trustic and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Leuites, as had fini- 50 fled their courses in waiting on the Dittine service at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleafure. So by admitting the new commers, and not difcharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would bee

able to deale with the Queenes ordinarie Guard, and that was enough, for if the tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leutes were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents were beflowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King Dauid had left an Armorie to the place, which was now emploied in defence of his iffue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come wherein this high designe was to to be put in execution; Iehoiada deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard vnto the Kings person; produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vfing all ceremonies accustomed in fuch folemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the Queene was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seeme; for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loose the benefit of hearing what is to bee feared, whilest yet it may bee preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of incuitable mischiefe.

All Ierusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. 20 Some carried home the newes, others ranne forth to fee, and the common joy was fo great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court; were the people running and praifing the King. Athalia hearing and beholding the a.chron. 23, 126 extraordinarie concourse, and noise, of folkes in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much vnvfuall paffion in their lookes, did prefently conceine, that somewhat worthie of her care was happened; though what it might bee shee did not apprehend. How soeuer it were, shee meant to vie her owne wisedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that shee thought it some especials solemnitie vsed in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and 20 of other denout men, about the towne, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that thee little thought vpon her owne Tragedie; although Infephus would make it feeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, 3 her came to the 1. Chronos; 12. people into the house of the Lord (which was neare to her Palace) and that when shee & 13. & 1. looked and faw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or Regentions great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, sheerent her clothes, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that shee was quietly going, without any miltrust or feare, to take her place, which when shee found occupied by another, then shee begun to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby shee saw that shee must perish. But that shee 40 came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as Iosephus reporteth) and that her companie being beaten back, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had shee truely knowne how things went, shee would surely have gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crowne, by which shee gatit, and hitherto had held it. Certainely if it were granted, that shee, like a new Semiramis, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madneffe in her, to enter the place alone, when her affiftants were kept out; but if shee perceiuing that neither her authoritie, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let in her guard, would neuertheleffe take vpon her to command the death of the new 50 King, calling a child of feuen yeares old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom shee saw to be armed in his defence, may wee not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had sheevsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is

enough to fay, that the godly zeale of Ieloiada found more casie successe, through her indiferction, than otherwise could have beene expected; so that at his appointment flee was without more adoe carried out of the Temple and flaine, yea fo, that no bloud faue her owne was shed in that quarrell; her small traine, that she brought along with her, not daring to fland in her defence.

### ). VIII.

The death of ATHALIA, with a comparison of her and IEZABEL.

Oft like it is, that Abalia had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rafhnesse of her Nephew Jehoram the Ifraelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throat of danger, gaping vpon him, only through his eager defire of quickly knowing what the matter meant; yet fice her felfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap,

and having lived fuch a life as lezabel had done, was rewarded with a futable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse, and a Murdreffe. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that lexabel is more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia as ambitious: So that each of them 20 furviuing her husband about eight yeares, did spend the time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vling tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughtie minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchafte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, received fentence from the mouth of one that had lived vnder her subjection; in execution whereof, lexabel was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; Athalia flaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of Athalia having (though not much) the more leifure to vexe her proud heart; that of Iexabel, the more indignitie, and shame of 20 body. Touching their buriall, Iezabel was denoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet Elias; what became of Athalia wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that shee was buried, as hausing not perfecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument; for shee was a Church-robber. The service of Baal creeked by these two Queenes, was destroied as soone as they were gone, and their Ghaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who flue them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which point Athalia had the greater honour, if the Syrian ( who feemes to have been eher good friend ) pre- 40 tended her reuenge, as any part of his quarrell to Iuda. Concerning children, all belonging to Iezabel perished in few daies after her: whether Athalia left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; shee had sonnes lining after shee was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were flaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthie of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of Athalia had beene in Ierusalem when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearely, and beene regifired, as well as the death of Mattan the Pricft of Baal, That Law by which God forbad that the children should die for the fathers, could not have faved these vngracious Impes, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that 50 enery man shall die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors & advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of Bad with the spoile of it; likely it is that they should not have escaped with life, if Ieboiada the Priest could have gotCHAP.22. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

ten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, fo the securitie of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very carneltly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her affiftants in that particular bufineffe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following Hazael in his warres against Jelm) absent from Ierusalem; whereby Ielioiada might with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of I o as and A m as 1 a, with their (ontemporaries; where somewhat of the building of C a.r.t h a g e.

ð. I.

Of IOAs his doings whileft IEHOIAD A the Prieft lined.



Y the death of Ashalia, the whole Countrie of Iuda was filled with great joy and quietneffe, wherein 10as a child of feuen yeares old or there-about, began his Raigne, which continued almost fortie yeares. During his minoritie, Lee lined under the protection of that Hono rable man leholada the Priest, who did as faithfully gourne the Kingdome, as hee had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him vnto the Throne of his auncestors. When hee came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of te-

holada two wines, and begat fonnes and daughters, repairing the family of David which was almost worncout. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of 40 the Temple. It was a needfull pecce of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vigodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vphold the Femple, whome the Temple had vpheld. This businesse he followed with so carnest a zeale, that not onely the Leuites were more flacke then he, but even Iehoiada was faine to be quickned by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by Moles, partly out of the liberalitie of the people: who gaue fo freely, that the Tem-2, Chim, 24, 114. ple, befides all reparations, was enriched with veffels of Gold and Siluer, and with all other Vtenfiles. The facrifices likewife were offered, as vnder godly Kingsthey had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated.

Aaa 2

# The death of IEHOIADA, and Apollasie of IOAs.



33 Vt this endured no longer than the life of iehoiada the Priest: who hauing lived an hundred and thirtie yeares, died before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of Juda, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to

eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselues, and all their iffue. Yet his honourable Funerall feemes to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being faid, They buried him in the Citie of DAVID. As for the King himfelfe, who did owe to him no leffe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if hee had thereby beene discharged of some heavie debt.

For after the death of Iehoiada, when the Princes of Inda beganne to flatter their King, he soone forgate, not onely the benefites, received by this worthic man his old Councellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himselfe, the author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith Jehoram and Athalia had so infected the Countrie, in 20 fifteene or sixteene yeares; that thirtie yeares, or there-about, of the Raigne of Ieas, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleare it from that mischiefe. The King himfelfe, when once hee was entred into these courses, ranne on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the service of God: and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeede, that hee regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of deuout Priefts. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was onely counterfaited, wherein like an after vpon the ftage, he had ftriuento expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeed

### ò. III.

# The causes and time of the Syrians invading Iuda in the dayes of $1 \circ {\tt A}$ s.



Yt God, from whome he was broken loofe, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not callly be shaken off. Hazael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philiftims, addressed himselfe towards Jerusalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope

of a rich bootie, did inuite him. He had an Armie heartned by many victories, to hope for more, and for ground of the warre (if his ambition cared for 40 pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of Inda had affifted the Ifraelites, in their enterprifes vpon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead . Yet I thinke he did not want some further infligation. For if the Kingdome of Juda had molefled the Aramites, in the time of his predeceffour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour Ifrael, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreame miserie, to the furie of Hazael himselfe. Neither is it likely, that Hazael should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and flirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemie, before hee had affured the conquest of Ifrael, that lay betweene Ierufalem and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunitie had not promifed fuch easie and good fuccesse, as might rather advance, than any way diffurbe, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I 50 hold it probable, that the fonnes of Atbalia, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promiting (as men expelled their Countries viually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his fide; and not to remaine, as loas did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Ifrael, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had

# CHAP.22. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

cause, for the rooting out of Ieiu his posteritie, who, like a bloudie Traitor, had veterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole house of Ahab, to which he was a subject. If this were so, Hazzarl had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of Inda. Howsoeuer it were, we find it plainely, that low was afraid of him, and therefore tooke all the hallowed things, and all the Golde . Elegions. that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paide into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the affurance of this, for the pollibilitie of not much more. So Hazael departed with a

to rich bootie of vnhappie treasure, which, belonging to the lining God, remained a small while in the possession of this mightie, yet corruptible man, but font him quickly to the grave. For in the thirtie leventh of Io.s., which was the lifteenth of Ichoahaz he made this purchase; but in the same or the very next yeare he died, leauing all that he had vnto his Sonne Benhadad, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of Hazaelis, by some, consounded with that warre of the Aramites upon Inda, mentioned in the fecond Booke of Chrondes. But the reasons alleaged by them that hold the contrarie opinion, doe forcibly proone, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloudfred or fight; 20 in the later, to as tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, hee loft all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, Hazael himselfe was prefent; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwife, the King of Aran then reigning (who may feeme to have then beene the Sonne of Hazael) is faid to have beene at Damafeus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of Inda; The second was a fmall companie of men, which did animate 1011 (in 2.611011, 24,25) vaine, for God was against him) to deale with them, as having a very great Armie.

Now concerning the time of this former inuation, I cannot perceine that God forfooke him, till be had first forfaken God. There are indeede fome, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of Hazael was in the time of Ielioiada the Prieft, be-30 cause that storie is joyned vnto the resauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of Icholada had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the fecond Booke of Kags, or if the Apoltalie of Ions, or any other matter implying fo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his owne will and pleasure, neither was he more valuation the affluctions of Isb that righteous man, or the death of Influs that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid vpon Pharaoh, or his judg-19/10 that gody temg, four in the pagues which he had open romann, or instrug-ments upon the houle of Mob. But it appears plainely, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent fertice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were vied in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of TEH O I AD A, Coone 2. Chrom. 1416. 40 after whose death, if not immediatly vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly colless)

in the fix, or thirtie f. nenth yeare of this Io.w his Raigne, the King failing away from the God of his Father, became a foule Idolater.

And indeede we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God fometimes to lay upon his feruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of non-terminated by your market many waters and the many case many the men, have always tended onto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Samts being precious in the light of PfA.1545, the Lord) are to their great aduantage. But with cuill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen, and more ftrict account; permitting vfually their faultes to get the flart of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Ama-50 rites) till their wickednesse be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to runne on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie, So hath he dealt with many; and fo it appeares that he dealt with Loas. For this vuhappie man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strough to exceede the wickednesse of all that

Aaa 3

went before him, and to leave fuch a vilainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

Nndry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from

their superstition, Zach wia, the sonne of Iehoiada the Priest, was stirred

è. IIII. How Z a c 11 A R I A was murdered by I o A s.

up at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wicked- 10 neffe, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, wherof they flood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so honourable, and sonne to a man so exceeding beloued in his life time, and reverenced, that if 10,15 had reputed him (as Ahab did Elias) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honeftie, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have vied at least some part of the refpect that was due to fuch a person : On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecounteable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should have placed Zacharia in the most heartic and affured love of Iow, yea though he had beene otherwife a man of very fmall marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that 20 the message of a Prophet sent from God, should bee heard with reuerence, how fimple focuer he appeares that brings it. But this king low, having alreadie fcorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with Zacharia, like as the wicked hufbandman in that parable of our Sauiour dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who faid, this is the heire, come let vs kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours. By killing Zacharia he thought to become an absolute Commaunder, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plaine truth, how great focuer that mans deferuing were, that did fo, yea though Gods commaundement required it. So they conspired against this Holy Prophet, and floned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any 30 forme of open law, as was practifed upon Naboth; or whether furprifing him by aany close treacherie, I doe neither reade nor can conjecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement; though the manner of his death, being fuch as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactours, may argue the contrarie. Most likely it is, that the Kings commaundement, by which he fuffered, tooke place in flead of Law; which exercise of meere power (as hath beene alreadie noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of Juda.

How I o a s was flamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.



His odious murder, committed by an vnthankfull fnake vpon the man in whose bosome he had beene fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his owne time, and his memorie detefted in all ages; fo had it the well-deferred curfe of

the bleffed Martyr, to accompanie it vato the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell downe fwiftly, and heavily vpon the head of that vngratefull monfter. It was the last yeare of his raigne; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to liue how he lifted, without controulement. When that yeare was expired, the Aramites came into the Countrie, rather as may feeme to get pillage, than to performe any great a-

# CHAP. 22. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

Etion; for they came with a small companie of men: but God had intended to doe more 2, chron. 24. 26 by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That Ioss naturally was a coward, his bloudie malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proofe fufficient: though otherwise his base composition with Hazael, when hee might haue leauied (as his sonne after him did muster) three hundered thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needes be valiant and make his people know, how from of disposition their King was, when he might have his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of ropers, he tooke a verie

10 great Armie; fo that wife-men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making thew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose his person to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oftentation, and no perill to be feared; he going forth fo strongly appointed, against fo weake enemies. Thus might wife men thinke, and laugh at him in fecret; confidering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh, not onely at this vaince lorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites and King Io.15 met, whether it were by some folly of the 20 leaders, or by fome amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatfoeuer meanes it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Armie of Inda received a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed; the Princes of Juda, at whose perswasion the King had become a rebell to the King of Kings. As for Ions himselfe (as Abulensis and others expound the Storie) hee was forely beaten and hurt by them, being, (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented to wrine our of him an excessive ransome.

And furely all circumstances doe geatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) faith, they exercised upon Ious ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which are us. 30 that they had him in their handes, and handledhim ilfauouredly Now at that time. Jours the Son of Jehoahas raigned ouer Ifrael, and Benhadad the Son of Hazael oner the Syrians in Danafeus; the one a valiant vndertaking Prince, raifed up by God to restore the State of his miserable Countries the other inferior enery way to his father. of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other event than fuch asafter followed, might have given to the King of Inda good cause to bee bold, and plucke up his spirits, which Hazael had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehenfion of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope, that by terrifying him with 40 fome show of warre at his doores, it were calle to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good fucceffe hereof, alreadie related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following warres against the King of Israel, sheweth plainely the weaknesse of all earthly might, relifting the power of the Almightie. For by his ordinance, both the kingdome of Inda, after more than fortie yeares time of gathering firength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of enemies; and the Kingdome of Ifrael, hauing so beene troden downe by Hazael, that onely fiftie horsemen, tenne Charriots, and tenne thousand footmen were left, preuailed against his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious Acamites. But examples hereof are eneric where 50 found, and therefore I will not inlift upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Godschildren, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our Heauenly fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore fathers

When the Aramites had what they lifted, and faw that they were not able, be-

ing to few, to take any poffession of the Countrie, they departed out of Indaloaden with spoyle, which they sent to Pamafous, themselves belike falling vpon theten Tribes, where it is to bee thought that they fped not halfe fo wel. The King of Inda being in ill cafe, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the fonnes of an Ammoniteffe, and of a Stoabiseffe, whom fome (because onely their Mothers names being ftrangers, are expressed) thanke to have beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, east (as T yrants vse) hee should revenge his difafler your them, imputing it to their fault, or what focuer elfe it were that animated 2, floren, 24 25, them to murder their King; the Scripture tells vs plainly, that, for the blond of the children of LEIT O I AD A, this befell him. And the fame appeares to have beene 10 yfed as the pretence of their confpiracie, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For Amazia, the fonne and fucceffor of Day, durft not punish them, till his Kingdome was established; but contrariwise, his bodie was judged unworthic of buriallin the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of Zecharia cauled the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwardes it was recompenfed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytours, with wel-deferred death.

ò. VI.

Of the Princes lining in the time of IOA5: Of the time when Carthage was builts and of DIDO.

Here lined with Inns. Messales and Diognetius in Ashen: Endemus and Ariflomeles in Cosimb: about which time Asyripa Sylvina and after him Sylvina Alleina, were Kings of the Albanin Italie. Orazza-pez, commonly called Ansyrdasaes; the thirrie feuenth King fueceeding unto Ophstanes, leganh is raigne ouer the Alfrians, about the eighteenth yeare of 10.11, which lasted fortie two yeares. In the fixteenth of 10-30 as, Cepturens, the Burnt from Sylas flucceeded vnto Cheops in the Kingdome of Ægyrt, and held it little yeares.

In this time of Io.s, was likewife the Raigne of Pigmalion in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dides the building of which Citie is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, fome reporting it to be feventic yeares yonger than Rome, others about four chundred yeares elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leaving vs vncertaine whom to follow: Injephus, who had read the Annales of Tyre, counting one hundred fortie and three yeares and eight Moneths from the building of Salomons Temple, in the twelfth yeare of Hyram King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthige by Dielo, in the feuenth of Pigmalion. The particulars 40 of this accompt (which is not rare in to(ephes) are very perplexed, and ferue not verie well to make cleare the totall fumme. But whether it were fo that tolephus did omit, or elfe that he did mif-write, fome number of the yeares, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyram to Piemalists, we may well enough below, that the Tyrim writers, out of whose Bookes hee gives ve the whole fumme, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two workes no longer following one the other, than the memorie of three or four generations mis ht cashly reach. This hundred fortic and foure yeares current, after the building of Silomons Temple, being the elementh years of Joss, was a hundred fortis and three years before the birth of 50 Rome and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eightie and nine: a time so long after the death of Anens, that we might truely conclude all to bee fabulous which rigil hath written of Dido, as Aufonius noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigramme.

Lla ego sum D 1 D 0 vultu quam conspicis hospes, Assimulatamodis pulchrag, mirificis. Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit erat mens; Vita nec incestis lata cupi dinibus (Namá, nec Æ N E A s vidit me Troius vinquam Nec Libyam aduenit, classibus Iliacis. Sed furias fugiens, atá, arma procacis Iarba. Seruaui, fateor, morte pudicitiam; Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses) Non furor, aut lafo crudus amore dolor. Sic cecidisse inuat: vixi sine vulnere sama. Vlta virum, politis manibus oppetü. Inuida cur in me stimulasti Mula Maronem. Fingeret vt nostra damna pudicitia? Vos magis historicis lectores credite de me Quam qui furta Deum concubitulá.canunt: Falsidici vates:temerant qui carmine verum. Humanifá, deos assimulant vitis.

Which in effect is this.

am that Dido which thou here do'ft fee, L Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagrie, Like this I was, but had not fuch a foule, As Maro fained incestuous and foule. . Eneas neuer with his Troian hoft Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. But flying proud Iarbas villanie, Not mou'd by furious lone or icalousie : I did with weapon chaft, to faue my fame, Make way for death untimely, ere it came. This was my end; but first I built a Towne, Reueng'd my husbands death, liu'd with renowne. Why did ft thou stirre vp Virgil, envious Muse, Falfely my name and honour to abuse? Readers, beleeue Historians; not those Which to the world tones thefts and vice expose. Poets are liers, and for vertes fake Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of Dido vnto the first Punicke warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquest, we find in many histories; but in particular wee find little of the Carthaginian affaires before that warre, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the sile of Stale. Wee will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mightic Citic, untill fach time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was sinally destroyed; and prosecute in the meane while the historie that is now in hand.

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δVII.

Friep Coat. App. Eb.s.

The beginning of AMAZIA his reigne. Of IOAS King of Ifrael, and
ELISIIA the Prophet.



MAZIAS, the fonne of loafb, being twentie five yeares old when his father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome or Inda, wherein he laboured fo to demeane himfelfe, as his new beginning raisne might be least offentiue. The Law of Moles he professed to obserue; which howfocuer it had been fecretly despited fine the time of Ichgram by 10

many great persons of the Land, yet had it by prouision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Prieftes, taken fuch deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plaufible, who did not conforme himfelfe vnto it. And at that prefent time, the flaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawne the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, cuen whilest that execrable murther, committed by the King vpon Zecharia, was yet fresh in memorie, did serue as a notable example of Gods in tice against idolatours, both to animate the better fort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage Amazia from following the way, which led 20 to fuch an cuill end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of diffirmulation, did not only forbeare to punish the Traytours that had flaine King to,ts, but gaue way to the time, and fuffered the dead bodie to be interred, as that of lehoram formerly had beene, in the Citie of Danid, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of Iuda. Neuertheleffe after this, when (belike) the novfe of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspiratours (howsoeuer their deed done was applauded as the handie worke of GOD) had neither any mightic partakers in their fact, nor firong maintainers of their persons, but rested fecure, as having done well, feing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his gouernment well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the 30 heate of mens affections, being not well allaied, it was easie to diffinguish betweene their treasons and Gods judgment, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect, So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law didrequire) were suffered to line; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life the better secured, by such exemplarie justice, against the like attempts; Amazia carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religon, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteene

As Amszia gathered strength in Inda by the commoditie of a long peace, so Ioas 40 the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the dramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his predeceffours had beene, worshipping the Calues of Ieroboans. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of Icha, that the tenne Tribes wanted little of being vttterly consumed. by Hazael and Benhadad, in the time of Iehu and his fone Iehoahaz. But as Gods benefits to Iehu fufficed not to withdraw him from this politique idolatric; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime Iehoahaz from the same impiouscourfe: yet the mercie of God beholding the trouble of Ifrael, condescended vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, euen then when hee and his miferable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abhominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters, the ten tribes recourred apace, but the fauour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor beleeue, that they fought; that they had it not, I finde in the wordes of the Prophet, faying plainly to Amazia, the Lord a.chron.25.7. is not with Ifrael neither with all the house of EPHRAIM.

Whether it were fo, that the great Prophet Elisha, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperitie of the I/raclites under the Raigne of Ioas; or whether ichoshaz wearied and broken with long aductifitie, thought it the wiseft way, to difcharge himselfe in part of the heatie cares attending those vnhappie Syrian warres, by laying the burthen vpon his hopeful fonne; we find that in the thirtie feuenth yeare 1. King 13, 10, of IUAS, King of Inda, IOAS the sonne of IEHOAHAZ began to raigne over Israel in Samaria, which was in the fifteenth of his fathers raigne, and some two or three veares before his death.

It appeares that this yong Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did fo 10 well hulband that poore stocke which he received from his Father, of tenne Charriots, fiftie horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Among other circumstances, the wordes which he spake to Elistathe Prophet, argue no leffe. For 10,55 visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus, o my father, my father, the Charriot of Ifrael, and the horsemen of the same, by 1. Kings 13.1 A. which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had flood his Kingdome in more fleede, than all the horses and Charriots could

This Prophet who succeeded vnto Elias, about the first yeare of Joram the sonne of Ahab King of Ifrael, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or 20 fourth yearc of this 1000, the Nephew of Iehn. To shew how the Spirit of Elia was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that he did not onely raife a dead child vnto life, as Elias had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcasse, which touched them in the graue. In fine hee bestowed, as a legacie, three victories vpon King Ioas, who thereby did fet Ifrael in a faire way of recovering all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakning the Kings of Damajeo in such fort, that they were neuer after terrible to Samaria.

ð. VIII.

Of AMAZIA his warreagainst Edom; His Apostasie; and overthrow by Ioas.

He happie fuccesse which Ions had found in his warre against the Aramites, was fuch as might kindle in Amazia a delire of vndertaking fome expedition, wherein himfelfe might purchase the like honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men His Kingdom could running three further and the for the payment of the for the wars, and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of the second sufficient for the payment of the second sufficient for the second sufficient and the hire of many more. Cause of warre he had very just against the Edomites, 40 who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather Iehoram, had about fiftie yeares beene vnreclaimed, partly by meanes of the troubles happening in India, partly through the floth and timorousnesse of his father Ioas. Yet, for asmuch as the men of Iuda had in many yeares beene without all exercise of warre (excepting that vnhappie fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites he held it a point of wisedome to increase his forces, with Souldiers waged out of t-(rael, whence hee hired for an hundred talents of filuer, an hundred thousand valiant 2. Ciron. 1. 5. men, as the Scripture telleth vs, though Insephus diminish the number, saying that theyerse, they were but twentie thousand.

This great Armie, which with so much cost Amazia had hired out of Israel, he 50 was faine to dismisse, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill successe, if hee strengthned himselse with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy he gaue them victoric against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were idolatours. The Ifraelites therefore departed ingreat anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon

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a peece of Indain their returne, and thewed their malice in the flaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carried away. But Amazia with his owne forces, knowing that God would be alliftant to their journey, entered couragiously into the Edomites Countrie; over whome obtaining victorie, he flew tenne thousand, and tooke other tenne thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an bigh rocke; holding them, it feemes, rather as Traytors, than as inft enemies. This victorie did not seeme to reduce Edem under the subjection of the crowne of Inda, which might be the cause of that severitie, which was vsed to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the loffe of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount Seir, Amazia 10 tooke as appeares by his carrying away the jdols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefencible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another yeare the better have purfued the conquest of the whole Countrie. Howsoener it were, he got both honor by the journie, & gaines enough, had he not loft himfelfe.

Among other spoiles of the Edomites, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquilhed and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwife, I know not by what itrange witchcraft, fo beforted this vnworthie 2, Chron. 25,14. King Amazia, that hee fet them up to bee his Gods, and worthipped them, and burned in-

cenie vnto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet fent from God, hee gaue a churlish 20 and threatning answere; asking the Prophet, who made him a Counseller, and bidding him hold his peace for fearc of the worst. It either the costly stuffe, whereof these jdols were made, or the curious workemanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the Kings fancie, me thinkes, hee should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houshold ornaments and things of pleafure, than thereby have fuffered himfelfe to be blinded, with fuch varcasonable denotion towards them. If the superstitions account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, 30 that the same affections caried him from God, vnto the service of jdols, which afterwards moved him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had aireadic obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and fent away fuch auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of I/rael, which done, it is faid that hee was encouraged, andled forthhis people, thinking belike, that God would now rather affift him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts delire. But with better reason he should have limited his defires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that Esau, having broken the yoke of Iacob from his necke, accordingly as Isaac had foretolde, should no more become his servant. If therefore Amazia did hope to reconquer all the Countrie of Edom, he failed of his expectation; yet fo, that he brought home 40 both profit and he nour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wher with men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or forelight. Therefore it is commonly feene, that they, who entring into battaile are carefull to pray for aide from Heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power who is the giver of victorie; when the field is wonn, do vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got fuch a ground of advantage; another, how he gaue checke to fuch a battallion; a third, how hee feized on the enemies Canon; energy one striuing to magnific himselse, whilest all forget God, as one that had not been epresent in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Authour of his happinesse; so hee whose meere wisedome and labour hath brought thinges to a prosperous issue, is

doubly bound to show himselfe thankfull, both for the victorie, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeede fo farre from weakneffe is the nature of fuch thank figiuing, that it may well be called the height of magnanimities no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of a man advanceth it felfe with confidence of acceptation, vnto the louc of God. In which fense it is a braue speech that Enander in Virgil, vseth to Eneas, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

Ande hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum

With this philosophie Amazia (as appeares by his carriage) troubled not his head; he had shewed himselfe a better man of warre than any King of indistince the time of tehofaphat, and could be well contented, that his people should thinke him little inferior to David: of which honour hee faw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loofe a hundred talents, and done him no pleafure, he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diftempered with fuch vaine thoughts as these (besides the witneffe of his impiette following) Infephius doth teftific; faying, That hee despifed 10f. Aut. 19.6.10

20 GoD, and that being puft vp with his good fuccesse, of which neverthelesse bee would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, hee commaunded Ious King of Ifreel to become his fubject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their foueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King David and King Salomon Some thinke that his quarrell to 1048 was rather grounded vpon the injurie done to him by the Ifraelites, whom he dismissed in the journie against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the fenfe of a late wrong had more power to flirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long fince, and by him felfe neglected thirteene or foureteen yeares. Neuerthelesse it might so be, that when he was thus propoked he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into

question; that so the Kings of Israel might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending Iuda, for feare of endangering their owne crownes. Had Amazia defired onely recompence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should have had some reasonable answere from 10,15, who was not delirous to fight with him. But the answere which Io. returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and Amazia in respect of him to no better than athistle, showes that the challenge was made in infolent tearmes, fruft perhaps with fuch proud comparison of nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which tofephus bath written) betweene a King of Ancient race, and one of leffe nobilitie than vertue.

It is by Sophocles reported of Aux, that when, going to the warre of Troy, his fa- sophocles in Ather did bid him to be valiant, and get victoric by Gods affiftance, he made answere, ince ton. that by Gods affiftance, a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without fuch helpe: after which proud speech; though he did manie valiant actes hee had finall thankes, and finally killing himfelfe in a madnetie, whereinto hee fell vaon difgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That Amazia did vtter fuch wordes. I doe not find : but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of fuch wordes, he was rewarded with fuccesse according. The verie first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serves to proue that hee was a wife Prince indeed at Ierufalem, among his Paralites; but a foole when hee had to deale with his equals abroade. For it was not all one, to fight with the Edemics, a to weake people, trufting more in the fite of their Countrie than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with Ious, who from fo poore beginnings had raifed himselfe to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp, in a long victorious warre. But as Amazia discouered much want of judgement, in undertaking such a match;

to in projecuting the bulinefic, when it was fet on foote, hee behaued himfelfe as a man of little experience, who having once onely tried his fortune, and found it to

begood, thought that in warre there was nothing elfe to doe, than fend a defiance,

fight, and winne. Jeas on the contrarie fide, having beene accustomed to deale with

a irronger enemie than the King of Iuda, vied that celeritie, which peraduenture had often food him in good head against the Aramite. Hee did not lit waiting till

the enemics brake in and waited his Countrie, but prefented himselfe with an Armic in Inda, readie to bid buttaile to Amazia, and faue him the labour of a long

journic. I his could not but greatly discourage those of Inda; who (besides the

feliues to get as much, and at as eafic a rate, as in the journic of Edom; were fo farre

disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the olde had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding,

their King that had flomacke enough to challenge the patrimonie of Salomon,

thought like another Danie, to winne it by the fword. The iffue of which foolehardineffe might cafily be forefeene in humane reason; comparing together, either

the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsocuer it might foresee much,

Ind., that without one blowegiuen, they fled all away, leaning their King to flift for himselfe, which he did foill, that his enemie had soone caught him, and made

him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Armie which

fled, fultained any other loffe than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in

In feeblus, it being likely that the foone beginning of their flight, which made it the

more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this

ouerthrow, it was Gods will that Amazia himfelfe should sustaine the wholedisgrace. For loas carried him directly to Ierusalem, where he bad him procure that the 20

gates might be opened, to let him in and his Armie; threatning him otherwife with

present death. So much amazed was the miserable catine, with these dreadfull

wordes, that he durft doe none other, than perfwade the Citizens, to yeelde them-

selves to the mercic of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwardes being in

weaker flate, held out two yeares, against Nebuchadnezzar, was vtterly difmayed,

when the King; that should have given his life to faucit, vsed all his force of com-

maund and intreatic to betray it. So the gates of Ierufalem were opened to Ioas, with which honour (greater than any King of Ifrael had euer obtained) hee could not refl contented, but, the more to despight Amazia and his people, hee caused source

hundred cubites of the wall to be throwne downe, and entered the Citie in his 40

Charriot through that breach, carrying the King beforehim, as in triumph. This

done, he fackt the Temple, and the Kings Pallace, and fo, taking hoftages of Amazia,

he difmiffed the poore creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

could not have prognofficated all the mifchiefe that fell upon Amazia. For as foone 20 as the two Armies came in fight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so def-

impreilion of feare which an inuation beates into people, not inured to the like) ha- 10 uing denoured, in their greedie hopes, the spoile of Ifrael, fully perswading them-

A discourse of the reasons hindering Io as from uniting Iv & a to the crowne of Ifrael, when he had wonne Jerusalem, and held AMAZIA prisoner. The end of I o A s his raigne.

Ee may justly marvaile how it came to passe, that loas, being thus in possession of lerusalem, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his owne entire, could bee so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoile, when hee might have seized vpon the whole Kingdom. The raigne of Athalia had given him cause to hope,

that the iffue of David might be dispossessed of that crowne, his owne Nobilitie, being the fonne and grand-childe of Kings, together with the famous a Resthat hee had done, were enough to make the people of Inda thinke highly of him, who might also have preferred his forme of government, before that of their owne Kings , cfpecially at fuch a time, when a long fuccession of wicked Princes had smoothered the thankes, which were due to the memorie of a few good ones. The commoditie that would have enfued, vpon the vnion of all the twelve Tribes, vnder one Prince. 20 is so apparant, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the Ifraelites (asafterwardes in the victorie which Pekathe fonne of Romelia got voon All this makes it the more difficult to refolue the question, why a Prince so well exercised,

as Io.ss had beene, in recourring his owne, and winning from his enemic, should forfake the possession of Ierusalem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full affurance of fo faire a conquest, as the Kingdome of Inda. But concerning that point, which of all others, had beene most materiall, I meane

the delire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their King, it is plainely scene, that entring ierasalem in triumphant manner, loss was vnable to concoct 30 his owne prosperitie. For the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not only into the Citie, but into the royall throne, and the peoples hearts. whom by faire intreatic (efpecially having fure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, when they faw themselues betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had beene before. The faire marke with this opportunitie prefented, he did not aime at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely builed, in levelling at the glorie of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have beene corrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and the wing what he could doe, by spending his anger upon the walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to flew good will to the in-

49 habitants. But when his pride had done, his couctoufneffe began, and fought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most readie to the spoiler, yet should be most forborne. The treasure wherewith Sefae, Hazael, and the Philiflims, men ignorant of the true God & his religion, had quenched their greedie thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of 10.15, who though an jdolatour, yet acknowledged also and worthipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem. Therefore when the people faw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands upon the confecrated veffels, calling the family of obed Edom (whole chil- #.6/mm, 26.15dren had bereditarie charge of the treasurie) to a strict account, as if they had beene Officers of his owne Exchequer, they confidered him rather as an execuable Churchi-

70 robber, than as a Noble Prince, an Ifraelite and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that courfe, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wifely avoided; by stealing a few apples, hee loft the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his

belands.c.10 pifed, did (as I of ephus reports it) firike fuch terrour and amazement into the men of

à. IX. 50

55 to

Soulaiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of fo great a Citie. It is not fo easie to he! Loy force a mightie Towne entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by viaduifed feare. For when the Citizens, not being difarmed, recourr their spirits, and begin to understand their first errous: they will thinke you cuery advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tileftones, and rather chuse by desperate resolution, to correct the cuils growne out of their former cowardice, than fuffer those mischeifes to poyson the bodie, which in such halfe-conquetts, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be defired, than the Citie of Florence, which through the weaknesse of Férer de Medices, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard termes that it opened the gates vnto the French King Charles the eight, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foc to the Litate, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himfelfe and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Manie insolencies were therin commixted by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes men: so farre forth that the Florentines, to preserve their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intollerable conditions, demanding bage fummes of readic monic, and the absolute Signoric of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But Peter Catoni, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, 29 and tearing them before his face, had him found his trumpets, and they would ring their bels; which peremptorie wordes made the French bethinke themselues, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortic thousand pounds, and not halfe of that monie to be paid in hand. Charles thould not one v depart in peace, but reflore what foeuer he had of their dominion, and continue their : ffured friend. So dangerous a matterdid it feeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streetes, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that Charles had other bulinesse (and to perhaps had ions, as shall anon be showed) that called him away; but it was the apprehension of imminent dans or that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, 20 vinally drawes energy Citizen to faue his owner, leaving victoric to the Souldier; yet where the people are prepared and refolued, women can quench, as faft as the enemie having other things to looke vnto, can fet on fire. And indeed that Commaunder is more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who you the vicertaine hope of destroying a Towne, for lakes the affurance of a good composition. Diuersitie of circumstance may alter the case; it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierusalem, as we know it was in Florence.

How ftroughy focuer to a might hold himfelfe within temfolem, he could not eafify depart, from thence, with his bootic fafe, if the Armic of testa, which had been more terrified than weakend in the late encounter, flould reenforce it felfe, and girchim a checke vpon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done of him, to a ke holages for his better fecuritie, his Armic being ypon returne, and better loaden than when it came for the, for which cast for it was the more mapter to fight.

Belides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of Inst, and keepe it downs from assigning to the Crowneos Inda, it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had restrence to the anger of Elishathe Prophet; who when this Inst had sufficiently ground with his arrowes thrice told him that he should no oftner smittethe. Frencher evideries which Israel had against \_\_tran, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred vinto the lists, such and seuenth years of Inst: a stirr which time, if any sofies ensuring had ble missed that we should not stirr which time, if any sofies ensuring had ble missed that we should not should not should be such as the sum one hundred thous and men, or meete him in battaile, who was able to bring into the skeld three shundred thous and of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by

the wordes of Elifas, that after three victories, to as should finde some change of fortune, and suffer folles; were must needes conclude. That the Arapite prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the last officis is aligne. That this was fig, and that the Sprans, taking advantage: of Loss his absence, gave such a blow to Island, a strick lings at his recurre was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe-into new mistorigues; which increated the adamatite, were may evidently preceive in that which is spoken of trackersh his spoke. For it is said, That the Lord fave the exceeding distinct afficitions of island, and that having not derived to privous the award of Island from under the sistency, he preferred them by the should of liberary to My like from e I on as "I has senough to 10 prone; that the victorious raigns of loss was concluded with a fad cataltrophe; the riches of the. Temple hattning his miseriannel death, as they had done with Sofae, athalia, and Islande, and as afterwards they wrought with Antonious Craffus, and o

ther facrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againft him, by the people of \*terufalem\*, and courage which they took to fer you him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrie, to bid him battalle in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was loft at the former encounter; or through the miferies daily brought typon his owne Countrie, by the Syrissin his ablence, if not by all of theft; \*tost\* was driven to lay afide all thought of winning the Kingdome of \*tost\* and taking hoftages for his quiet paffage, made all halte homewards, where hee found a fad well-come, and being vertey for fake not his wonted profperitie, for fooke all oh his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdome to \*tostoom\* the fectood, his fortunate and valiant Sonne.

### ģ. X

### The end of AMAZIA his Raigne and Life.



Ny man is able to gheffchow Lonassia looked, when the enemie had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great proweste and skill in armes, threatning to worke wonders, and story anew the glorious Empire of Danid, was now uncased of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beat as he had beene painted. Much

argument of scoffing at him hee had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtleffe, were very many: for the thame that falls vpon an infolent man, seldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproach. As for Amazia (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of those calamities which happened by their owne default) there 40 was no child in all Ierusalem, but knew him to be the roote of all this mischiese. He had not only challenged a good man of Warre, being himfelfe a Dastard; but when hee was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemic, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes hee might see what spoile there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-fay. The father of this Amazia, was a beaftly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so deare a rate, as the Citic and Temple of Ierusalem. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate : for by kecping out the Ifraelite ( which was casie enough ) any little while, they should some to have beene rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would have made him runne home, with greater speede than he came forth. Then also, when having truffed vp his bag-

o haue beenerid of him, seeing that the Aramites would haue made him runne home, with greater speech than he came forth. Then also, when hauing trussed via his baggage, he was readieto be gone, a litle courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his loade behinde; had not their good King deliuered vp Hosages, to secure his returne, as loath to destaud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

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Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappie King : it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults vnto God, that had punished him by all this dilhonor. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very laft. For it is faid of 2. Chron. 25, 27, him, that after his turfling away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Ierufalem; a manifest proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his lines end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his advertitie of his faults paffed, hall fooner bee thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to feeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than ever they had beene. On the other lide, flatterers, and fuch as were desirous to put a 10 heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to reviue him. For hee was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Iuda, that had beene ouer-come in battaile. David himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it, before the Enemie was in fight, vnto Absalom his rebellious sonne. Many befides him had received loffes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If Ions might fo eafily have beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let Sefac in? As was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of 20 displeasure ? It was he indeede that commanded to set open the gates to loss ; but it was the people that did it. Good scruants ought not to have obeied their Masters commandements, to his disaduantage, when they saw him not Master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or fuffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loffe. For had hee beene as hastic to flie, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betraied by those in whom hee trusted. Vnworthie creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans wordes, being prisoner, he comanded them to yeeld; having ne- 20 glected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them fland to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needes acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lines were faued; the Enemie having wisely preferred the furprise of a Lyon that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Armie of stags, that followed him.

These or the like wordes comforting Amazia, were able to perswade him, that it was even so indeede. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the sault of others. Now 40 concerning fortune, it seemes that he meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeares following (so long he out-liued his honor) we finde not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his governement, yet wee may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spentamong them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth, or other mens opinions, thinking that leffe regard is had of his person, than he belecueth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuere man. For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times refemble the gravitie of one that is wife: and the feare wherein they line, which are subject vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to 50 him that does the wrong; at least it serues to dazle the cies of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the weaknesse of such as haue jurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, wherein, by well vling it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they doe viually mispend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vaine and

deceiuable courfe; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous confequence; especially when an visible spirit, being ouerparted with high authoritie, is too pallionate in the execution of Juch an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore Amaza thought by extreme rigour to hold vp his reputation, what did hee elfe than thriue to make the people thinke he hated them, when of them selues they were apt chough to beleeue, that he did not loue them? The best was that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided well enough for his owne fecuritie; but who should take vengeance; (or vpon whom?) of such a murther, wherein enery one had 10 a part? Surely God himfelfe, who had not given commandement or leane vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the bloud of his anointed. Yet as Amaza, carelesse of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same illexample, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rofe vp against him, with such headlong surie, that being vnable to defend himselfe in Ierusaiem, he was driven to for lake the Citie, and flie to Luchis, for fafegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceined against him, and so generall, that neither his absence could allaie the rage of it is the Capitall Citic, nor his presence in the Countrie abroade procure friends, to defend his life. Queltionleffe, he chose the Towne of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affe-20 cted to him; yet found he there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands: for when the Conspiratours (who troubled not themselves about railing an armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of Inda; so that hee might haue made an easie escape (if hee durit aduenture) into the Territorie of the Philistims, or the Kingdome of Ifrael. Therefore it may feeme that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murtherers could not at so good leifure as they did, have carried away his bodie to Ierufalem, where they gave him 30 buriall with his fathers.

### VI

Of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of I v D A, after the death of A M A Z I A.



Thath alreadic been flowed, that the raignes of the Kings of Inda and If I ad were fometimes to be measured by compleat yeares, otherwise, by yeares current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeares of his fathers Raigne, or the month of his Sonnes. But we are now arritude at a moere yearting.

wherein the Crowne.of *Inda* laie voide cleuen whole yeares: a thing not plainly fer downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *IoJephus*, and therefore hard to bee beleeued, were it not proued by necessarie consequence.

Twice we find it written, that A M A ZI A, King of Inda, lined after the death of I O A S Action, 51.5.

King of Ifract Influence peaces, whereupon it followes, that the death of Amazia, was \$\frac{3}{4}\tilde{\t

Yet fome coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all eucn, without acknowledging any voide time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the feuen and twentith yeare of Ieroboam, we should perhaps understand the feuen and twentith yeare of his life; or elfe (because the like wordes are no where else interpreted in the like fenfe) that Azaria was cleauen yeares under age, that is fine yeares old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeare might concurre with the feuen and twentith of Ieroboam; or that the text it felfe may have suffered some wrong, by mifwriting twentic feuen for feuenteene yeares, and fo, by making the feuenteenth yeare of Jeroboam to be newly begun, all may be falued. These are the coniectures of that worthic man Gerard Werester: concerning the first of which it 10 may fuffice, that the author himfelfe doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon enerie doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be fatisfied in all coppies, if perhaps it were in one, as for the fecond, it may be held with fome qualification, that Azaria began his raigne being fine yeares old; but then must we adde those eleanen yeares which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeare. which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an interregnum.

But why fhould we be 0 carefull to anoide an interregium in Inda seeing that the like necessitie bath enforced all good writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdome of Ifrael? The space of time be-20 tweene Iros bosum death, and the beginning of Inda Raigne, and such another gap sound betweene the death of Irola, and the beginning of Insae, have made it cally to be admitted in Samaria, which the consideration of things as they shood in Inda, when Imacia was slaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea although the necessitie of computation were not so apparant.

For the publike furie, having lo farre extended it felle, as wnto the deftruction of the Kings owne perfon, was not like to be appeafed without order taken for obtaining fome redreftle of tho fe matters, which had cauded it at the first breake forth into fuch extremitie. Wee need not therefore wonder how it came to palle, that they which alteradie had throwne themselues into fuch an horible treason, should 30 afterwards dare to withhold the crowne from a Prince of that age, which being incested in all ornaments of regalitie, is neuerthelesse exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetfull shietes.

As for their coniceture, who make Asmis to have beene King but one and fortie yeares, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harfhly with the text. The best opinion were that, which glues who terebown elrauen yeares of raigne with his stather, before hee beganne to raigne single in the fifteenth of Amassas, sid it not fivallow up almost the whole raigne of Bost, and extending the yeares of those which raigned in I find (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the Raignes of Princesru- 40 ling in other Nations. But I will not fland to dispute surther of this: enery man may follow his owne opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

Q. XII.
Of Princes Contemporarie with AMAZIA, and more particularly of SARDANAFALVS.

He Princes living with Amtzia, and in the cleaven yeares that followed his death, were tous and teroboam in If seel, Cophrenes and Affo. 50 cerims in Egyp; Sylvins Alledius, and Sylvins Americans in Alba, Agamemon in Corinth, Diogeneius Pheredus, and Ariphon in Athens; in Laceksmon Theletius, in whose time the Spartons wan from the Achains, Gerantha, Ambreha, and Some other towners.

Bur

But more notable than all thele, was Allyrian Sardanapalus, who in the one and twentieth years of Amazia Increeding his Father Ornzapes or Amazia faceeding his Father Ornzapes or Amazia faceeding his Father Ornzapes or Amazia faceeding his father of the cleuen void years which forewent the Raigne of Azaria. In him ended (as moft agree) theline of Zimus, which had held that Empire one thouland two hundred and fortic years. A most luxurious and effeminate Palliard hee was, palling away his time among firumpers, whom he imitated both in apparell and behaulour.

In these voluptious courses here lined anyinhappie life, knowing himselfe to bee for vilesthat he durft not let any man haue a light of him; yet scene he was at length, to and the light of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For Arbeet, who governed Alecha vinder him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was to incensed with that beatly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans active, and friumg to counterfritan harlot, that here thought it great shame to him whether command of so two this acreature. Purposing therefore to free himselse and others from so base substitution, he was much converaged by the prediction of Belgio or Belgio a Chalkam, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of Surchapalas should fall into his hands. Arbeets well pleased with this prophecie, did promise vito Belgio himselse the gourment of Budpin; and so concluding how to to handle the busines, one of them stirred up the Medes, and alured the Profices into the quar-

20 rell, the other perfivaded the Balyinims and Anlams to venture the Parlams into the quartaneous C. These foure Nations armed fortic thousand men against Sardanapolas, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as hee could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeder refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answere to the manner of his retirednesse. For in three battailes hee carried away the better, driving Arbaes and his followers into such searces that had not Belgias promised them constantly some vnexpected succours, they would forthwith haue broken up their Campe. About the same time, an Armic out of Bastria was comming to assist the King, but Arbaese encountring it you the

30 way, perfivaded fo ftrongly by promife of libertie, that those forces joyned themfelius with his. The fodaine departure of the enemic feeming to be a flight, caused Sardanepalus to feast his Armie, triumphing before victorie. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Campe, which through ouer-great securitie, was upprepared for resistance.

This ouerthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother Salmens to keepe the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of Nimus; which, till new aides that he sent for should come, hee thought easily to defend; it having beene prophecied, that Nimus should never be taken, till the Riner were enemie to the towne. Of the greatness and strength of Nimuse, enough hath beene spoken in

40 our discourse of Nims. It was so well vicknalled, that Abuses (hauing in two battails ouer throwne the Kings Armie, and slaine Salamenne) was faine to lie two whole years before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet hee saw no appearance. It seems that hee wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Charriots in front to passe you the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the Riucr of Tygris did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not only drowned a part of the Crite through which it ranne, but threw downer twentie surlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for Abusesto enter.

Surdangulus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the olde Oracle, or of feeing no meanes of relistance left, shutting up himselfe into his Pallace, with his wines, Eunuches and all his treasures, aid set the house on fire, wherewith hee and they were together consumed. Strabo speakes of a monument of his, that was in straboly. Anothing Citic of Cilicia, whereon was found an inferpition, shewing that he built that Citic and Tharfus upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men ente

and drinke, and make merrie, encouraging other, with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example, teltifie that his nature was more prone to fenfualitie, than to any vertue befeeming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end, saying that Arbaces, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that sodainly hee flew him with a dagger. But the more generall confent of writers agrees with this Biod.Sic.1,2.6.7. relation of Diodorus Siculus, who citeth Ctefias a Greeke writer, that lined in the Court of Persia, where the truth might best be knowne.

Concerning the Princes which raigned in Allyria, from the time of Semiramis, vnto Sardan thalus, though I beleeue that they were fometimes (yet not, as Orollus 10 hach it, inceffantly) bufied, in offenflue or elfe defenflue armes; yet for the most part Diod. . . of them I doe better trust Diodorus Siculus, who faith that their names were ouerpassed by Ctessas, because they did nothing worthic of memorie. Whatsoeuer they did; that which Theophilus Antiochenus hath faid of them is verie true; Silence and

Theophilus Anoblinion bath oppressed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of VzziA.

The prosperitie of V ZZIA, and of I EROBOAM the second, who raigned with him in Ifrael. Of the Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes after the desthof IEROBOAM. Of ZACHARIA, SAL-LVM, MENAHEM and PEKAHIA.



Z z 1 A, who is alfo called Azaria the fonne of Iotham. was made King of Inda, when he was fixteene yeares old, in the feuen and twentieth yeare of Ieroboam the fonne of Ions King of I/rael. Hee served the God of his father David, and had therefore good fuccesse in in all his enterprises. Hee built Eloth, a Towne that flood neareto the Red Sca, and restored it to Inda. 40 Hee ouercame the Philishims, of whose Townes hee difmantled some, and built others in fundric partes of their Territories. Also hee got the mastric ouer some partes of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as Io-

fephus rehearseth his acts) he beganne with the Philislims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armic confifted of three hundred and feuen thoufand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand sixe hundered Caps.chm36.14. taines. For all this multitude the King prepared finelds, and frenes, and belmets, and other Armes requifites, following therein happily a courfe quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policie to vse the service of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the 2 Chron.21.9. Princes and all the Charriots.

As the victories of Vazia were farre more immportant, than the atchieuements

of all that had raigned in Inda fince the time of David: fo were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superior to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and Salomon. For belides that great conquefts are wont to repay the charges of warre with triple interest, hee had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. Hee turned his lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient to fuch hufbandrie. In other places hee had cattell feeding, whereof he might well keepe great flore, having wonne fo much from the Anamonites and Arabians, that had aboundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For desence of his cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towres in the wilderneffe. He also digged many cesternes or ponds. Iosephus cals them water-courses; but in fuch driegrounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers hee so commanded the water, that none could without his confent, relecue themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the one-

ly course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship over all the wildernesse; it being bardly paffable, by reason of the extreme drougth, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the vse of traugilers.

Befides all this coft, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of fundrie T ownes among the Philiftims: hee repaired the wall of Ierufalem, which Ions had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof fome were an hundred and fiftie Cubites high.

The State of Ifrael did neuer fo flourish, as at this time, fince the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdomes. For as Vzzia prevailed in the South, fo (if not more) Jeroboam the fonne of Joas, King of the tenne Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories, against the Syrims, he wanne the Royall Citie of Damafew, and he wanne Hamath, with all the Countrie thereabout from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderneffe, that is ( as the most 2. Reg. 14.25.29 expoundit) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscouered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in the time of this Ieroboam, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the raigne of Danid.

But it was not for the pietie of Ieroboam, that hee thriued fo well; for hee was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on Ifrael, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the successe of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites, vnder the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of Jehu, to which God had promifed the Kingdome of Ifrael unto the fourth generation, was a Reg. 10,130 now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had beene at the beginning. But the finne of Icroboam the fonne of Nebat, was held fo pretious, that neither the Kingdome it felfe, given to him by God, was able to draw Ichu from that politike jdolatrie; nor the miferie falling vpon 40 him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperitie, of Ieroboam the sonne of Iow, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giver of victorie. Wherefore the promife of God, made vnto Iehu, that his fonnes, wnto the fourth generation, should fit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approxching end; by an accident (fo ftrange, that wee, who find no particulars recorded.

can hardly geffe at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment. When Iereboam the sonne of Ioas, after a victorious raigne of one and fortie veares, had ended his life, it seemes in all reason that Zacharia his Son, should forthwith haue beene admitted, to raigne in his flead; the Nobilitie of that race haping 50 gotten fuch a luftre, by the immediate fuccession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the crowne paffed by election, must needes have appeared base, and the vertue of the last King, having beene so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the alreadie confirmed right of a familie for ooted in possession. All this notwithstanding two or three and twentie

30

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yeares did paffe before Zacharia the Sonne of Jeroboam was , by vniforme confent, received as King. The true original causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Beilel, where the golden Calues did tland : yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to have beene wanting, upon which, the wifedome of man was readie to call an eye. Probable it is that the Captaines of the Armie ( who afterwardes flew one another, fo faft, that in fourteene yeares there raigned fine Kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the Kingdome asunder, holding each what he could, and either despiting or hating some qualities in Zacharis; vntill, after many yeares, wearied with diffention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they confented to yeeld 10 all quietly to the fonne of terobosm. That this Anarchie lasted almost three and twentie yeares, we find by the difference of time, between the fifteenth yeare of Vzzia, which was the laft of Ieroboam his one and fortith (his feuen and twentith concurring with the first of Facia) and the eight and thirtith of the same Faciain the last fixe moneths whereof, Zacharia raigned in Samaria. There are some indeed that by supposing Israbann to have raigned with his father cleaven yeares, doc cut off the interregauss in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the fame reason, abbridge this Anarchie, that was before the raigne of Zacharia in Ifrael. Yet they leaue it twelne yeares long: which is time fufficient to proue that the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, was no leffediftempered, than as is alreadic noted. But I choose rather to 20 follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes raigning abroade in the world, than this doubtfull coniccture, that giues to Ieroboam two and fiftic yeares, by adding three quarters of his fathers raigne unto his owne, which was it felle indeed fo long, that hee may well feeme to have

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of Ifrael was voide, before the raigne of Zacharia; little may fuffice to be faid of his Raigne it felfe, which lafted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely was he King: in which time he declared himfelte a worshipper of the golden Calues; which was enough to instiffe the 20 judgement of God, whereby hee was flaine. He was the last of Jehu's house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have beene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly faccoffion; the prophecie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (belides that Gods promife was extended unto the vtinoft) there was no warrant ginen to Sallum or to any other, for the death of Zacharia, as had beene given to Ieha, for the flaughter of Jeharam, and for the eradication of Ababs house.

begun it very yong: for I doe not thinke, that God bleffed this Idolater, both with a longer raigne, and with a longer life, than he did his fernant David.

Zacharia baning beene fixe moneths a King, was then flaine by Sallum, who 8. Kins, 15.13, raigned after him, the flace of a moneth in Samaria. What this Sallum was, I doe not finde; faue onely that he was a Traitour, and the fonne of one Isbeft, whereby his 40 father got no honour. It feemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himfelfe; and now, when all other Competitors were fitten downe, thought eafily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of lebu was to faile. Manifestitis, that Sallam had a strong partie: for Tiph(ah or Thap(a, and the coast thereof even from Tirzah, where Atenahem, his enemie and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as King in his flead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, Sallium received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by Msnations who raigned in his place.

Menshem the sonne of Gadi, raigned after Sallam tenne yeares. In opposition to Salliam, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, For he not onely destroyed Tiphfah, 50 and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie beene ysed in reuenge of Zacharias death, it is like that he would have beene as earnest, in procuring vnto him his fathers crowne when it was first due. But in performing that

office, there was yfed fuch long deliberation, that we may plainely discouer Ambition, Disdaine, and other prinate passions, to have beene the causes of this beastly

CHAP.22. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

In the time of Menabem, and (as it feemes) in the beginning of his raigne; Pul, King of Albria, came against the Land of Israels, whom this new King appealed. with a thouland talents of filter, leavied upon all the substantial men in his Countrie. With this monie the Ifraelite purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdome. but his owne chablishment therein : some factious man (belike) having either inutted Pulthither, or (if he came vncalled) fought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill 10 beloued King. Infephus reports of this Menahem, that his raigne was no milder televal and than his entrance. But after ten yeares, his tyrannic ended with his life; and Pekalia.

his Sonne, occupied his roome. Of this Pekalia the florie is short : for hee raigned only two yeares; at the end

whereof, he was flaine by Peka, the Sonne of Kemalia, whose treason was rewarded with the crowne of Ifrael, as, in time comming, another mans treafon against himfelfe shall be. There needes no more, to be faid of Menahem, and his Sonne, faue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Sonne (as wee finde in Iofephus) Iofibid. like to his Father in crueltic. Concerning Pul the Afgrian King, who first opened vito those Northerne Nations the way into Palestina; it will thortly followin or-20 der of the storie, to deliuer our opinion : whether he were that Belofin (called also Belefes, and by fome, Phul Belochus) who joyned with Arbaces the Median, against Sardanapalus, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of Vazia's life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

# Q. II. The end of Vzzi A his raigne and life.



S the zeale of Ichoisda, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserve the linage of David, in the person of Ioas; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to Vzzia, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the crowne of Inda, when the hatred borne to his Father 1-

mazia, had endangered his fuccession. For it is said of Vzzia, That he fought God in the daies of ZECIIARIA (which understood the visions of God) and a Change 6.54

when as he fought the Lord, God made him profper. But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction : for he transgressed a- 17, 16, gainst the Lord his God : and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, when the Altar of incenfo. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authoritie, by medling in the Priests office, whose power had in energ extremitic beene so helpefull to the AO Kings of Iuda, that meere gratitude, and civill policie, should have held back Vazia from incrocking thereupon; yea, though the law of God had beene filent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoeuer the King forgot his dutie, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgate not to affift them. Azaria the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gaue him to understand, how little to his honor it would prought that he tooke upon him the office of the Sonnes of Aaron. There were with Azaria fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed, only in affifting the high Prieft, when (according to his dutie) hee reprehended the Kings prefumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in to Jephus, that the King had apparrailed himselfe in Priestly habit, and that hee Josanthows

50 threatned Azarias and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. 10sephus, indeede, enlargeth the storie, by inserting a great earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furloings, till it refted against another Hill, stopping up the high waies, and spoiling the Kings Gardenin the passage. With this earth-quake, hee faith, that the roofe of the Temple did

cleaue, and that a Sunne beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was prefently infected with leprofic. All this may have beene true; and fome there are who thinke that this earth-quake is the fame, which is mentioned by the Prophet Amos; wherein they doe much mille-reckon the times. For the earth-quake fooken of by Amer. was in the daies of Ieroboam King of Ifrael, who died feuen and thirtie yeares before Vazia; fo that lathem the Sonne of Vazia, which supplied his Fathers place in gopernament of the Land, should, by this accompt, have beene then vnborne : for he was but thue and twentie yeares old, when hee beganne to raigne as King. Theresolven 26.20. foregious rarre only we have affurance; that while V zzt A was wroth with the Priefls, the len alice of exprin his forehead, before the Priefts. Hereupon he was caused, in all 10 hafte, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himselfe, vntill he died the rule outer the Kings house, and oner all the Land, being committed to Iotham, his Sonne, and Successor. In him tooke not upon himselfe the stile of King, till his Father was dead; when they arried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument a part from the rest, because he was a Leaper.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of V zz 1 A; and of Princes then ruling in Agypt, and in (ome other Countries.

N the time of Vazia were the first of the lester Prophets, Hofea, Ivel, Arnes, Obadia, and Ionas. It is not indeede fet downe, when Ioel, or Obadia, did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to S. Meremes rule) with the

next before them; then must these two bee judged contemporarie with Holes and Amos, who lived vnder King Pazis. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein Homer lived, hash to painefully beene fought, without reprehen- 20 fion; how can be be taxed, which offers to fearch out the antiquitie of these holie Prophets? It feemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet Ionas; who foretold the great victories of Ieroboam Ling of Ifrael; and therefore is like to have prophecied in the daies of Joas, whileft the affliction of Ifrael was exceeding bitter; the Text it felfe intimating no leffe : by which confequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdome of Ifrael, are now loft. That which remaineth of him, feemes, not without reason, vnto some very jearned, to have belonged vnto the time of Sardanapalus, in whose daies Nizine was first of all destroied. This Prophetrather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all 40 the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

s. Chron. c.ra.

In the raigne of Vzzialikewise it was, that Esai, the first of the fouregreat Prophets, beganne to fee his visions. This difference of greater and leffer Prophets, is dat de Ciri. Da. taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. Augustine gives reason of the diffinction) because the greater have written larger Bookes. The Prophet Efai was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing; or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to have beene the sonne of Ames the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie, both of his file, and argument, wherein he fo plainely foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paffion, and whole historic of our Saujour, with the calling of the Gentils, that he might 50 as well be called an Euangelift, as a Prophet; having written in fuch wife, That stier in metile (as therome faith) one would thinke he did not foretell of thinges to come, but compile an Historie of matters alreadie past.

Bocoboris was King of Ægypt, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computa-

tion (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when Vzziatooke posselfion of the Kingdome of Inda.

After the death of Bocchoris, Alychis followed in the Kingdome of Agypt, vnto him succeeded anysis; and these two occupied that crowne like yeares. Then Sabacus, an Athiopian, became King of Agypt, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of Vzzia his raigne and life. Of these and other Leyptian Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to bee intermedled with the businesse of Iuda.

In Albens, the two last yeares of Ariphron his twentie, the seuen and twentieth of Thespeius, the twentieth of Agamnester, and three the first of Ashrlus his three and twentie, made even with the two and fiftie of Vzzia: as likewise did in Albathe last seven of Siluius Auentinus his seuen and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of Siluius Procas, and two and twentic the first of Syluius Amulius. In Media Arbaces beganne his new Kingdome, in the first of Vazia, wherein, after eight and twentic yeares, his Sonne Sofarmus fucceeded him, and raigned thirtie yeares. Of this Arbaces, and the division of the Affrian Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it convenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainetie in the storie of the Asirrian Kings, who have alreadie found the way into Palassima, and are not likely to for-20 get it.

### d. IIII.

Of the Algrian Kings, descending from PHVL: and whether PHVL and BELOSYS were one person; or heads of sundrie Families, that raigned a-part in Niniue and Babylon.

Y that which hath formerly beene shewed of Sardanapalus his death, it is apparent that the chiefe therein was Arbices the Median; to whom the reft of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiuing by his authoritie sentence of death, or pardon of their for-

feited lines. The first example of this his power, was shewen vpon Belosus the Ban bylonian, by whose especiall adusse and helpe, Arbaces himselse was become so great. Yet was not this power of Arbaces exercised in so tyrannical manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had affifted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of Belofus, he yied the counfaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne Grace; allowto ing him to hold, not only the Citic and Province of Babylon, but also those treasures. for embezeling whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) only the Soucraignetic to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is faid, indeede, to have excited the Medes against Sardanapalus, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promife, hee defiroicd the Cittie of Niniue; permitting the Citizens neuerthelesse to take and carrie away eueric one his owne goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the Perfians and Bactrians, he drew to his fide, by the allurement of libertie; which 50 he himselfe so greatly loued, that by flackning too much the reines of his owne Soucraignetie, he did more harme to the generall effate of Media, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territorie of that Countrie was pared narrower by Salmanasfar (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde, in the Scriptures, to have held fome Townes of the

Medes; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to fee that reformation, which Deioces, the fift of Arbaces his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into firefer termes of obedience.

How the force of the Assyrians grew to be such, as might in fourescore yeares, if not fooner, both extend it felfe vnto the conquest of Ifrael, and trare away some part of Media, it is a question hardly to bee answered; not only in regard of the detruction of Niniue, and subuction of the Affrian Kingdome, whereof the Medes, vnder Arbaces, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to have kept the Allrrims under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at libertie; but in confideration of the Kingsthemfelues, who raigning afterwards in Babylon and 10 Nining, are confounded by fome, and diftinguished by others; whereby their histo-

I will first therefore deliner the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it flands: then, producing the objections made againfi it; I will compare together the di crimination of that worthie man tofeth Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to fet downe a-part the feuerall authorities and arguments of fundrie men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole fubstance of each discourse : which I will doe as briefly as I can, 20 and without feare to bee taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but meerely led by those reasons, which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though

to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, untill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That Belosus was the fame King who, first of the Afgrians, entred Palastina with an Armie; being called Pul, or Phul, in the Scriptures, and by Authors with fuch as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Aftrologer, fubtile, and ambitious; that hee got Babylon by composition made with Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of Appria: finally, that he raigned 30 eight and fortie yeares, and then dying, left the Kingdome to Teglat phalafar his Sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of Merodach prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Metalihenes were sufficient proofe, could not be gainfaid : for that Author (fuch as he is) is peremptoric herein. But, how soeuer Annius his Authors deserue to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no Historicatall. For it is manifest by the relation of Diodorus ( which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that Arbaces and Belofus were Partners in the action against Sardanapalus; 40 and that the Bacirians, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewife other Captaines were with governments; but that any third Person was so eminent, as to have Asyria it selfe, the chiefe Countrie of the Empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least apparence is found in any Historie. And certainely it stood with little reason, that the Asyrians should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at fuch time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of Nonine by Arbaces, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policie, because thereby the people of that Nation might beekept downe, from aspiring to recouer the Soucraignetie, which elfe they would have thought to belong, as of 19 right, vnto the Seate of the Empire.

Vpon fuch confiderations did the Romans, in ages long after following, destroy Carthage, and diffolue the Corporation, or Bodie politike, of the Citizens of Capua 5 because those two Townes were capable of the Empire : a matter esteemed over dangerous

dangerous euen to Rome it felfe, that was Miftris of them both. This being fo, how Tall, conta can it be thought that the Affyrians in three or foure yeares had erected their King-Rulliam, or 2. dome a-new, vinder one Pul? or what must this Pul have beene ( of whose deferuings, or entermedling, or indeede of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to whom the principall part of the Empire fell, either by generall confent in division of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchase very foone after ? Surely he was none other than Belofus; whose neare Neighbourhood gaue him oportunitie (as he was wife enough to play his ownegame) both to get Africa to himfelfe, and to empeach any other man, that should have attempted to feize vpon it. The Province of Babylon, which Belofus held, being (as Herodotus Herodotus reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the Perlian Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse; if that were not

enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and filter that had beene in the Palace of Niniue. And questionlesse to restore such a Citie as Niniue, was an enterprife fit for none to take in hand, except he had fuch meanes as Belofus had; which Pul, if he were not Belofus, is likely to have wanted.

Befides all this, had Pul beene a diffinit person from Belosus, and Lord of Assiria, which lay beyond the Countries of Babylon and Melopotamia, it would not have beene an casic matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, feeking bootie a farre off in Ifrael: the only action by which the name of Phal is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call Pulor Phul, was the fame whom prophane writers have called Eelofus, Belefes, and Beleftis, (in like manner as Infephus acknowledgeth, that hee, whom the Scriptures called neuer o- Infep.onl. 1.20, therwise than Darius the Mede, was the Sonne of Astrages, and called of the Greekes cap. 13. by another name, that is, Cyaxares) then is this feruple vtterly removed. For Babylon and Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Palastina : fo that Belofus, having fetled his affaires in Afria towards the East and North, might with good leifure encroach you the Countries that lay on the other fide of his Kingdome, to the

30 flance concurring, to proue that Phul who invaded Ifrael, was none other than Belofiss. For the Prince of the Arabians, who joyned with Arbaces, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith Sardanapalus was overthrowne, did enter into that a-Ction, meerly for the loue of Belofus. The friendship of these Arabians was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer Euphrates with an Armie into Syria. Wherefore Belofus, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to have quiet passage through their borders, but their vtmost affistance; yea, it slands with good reason, that they, who loued not Ifrael, should for their owne behoofe have given him intelligence, of the 40 destruction and civill broiles among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this Pul got a

South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde every one circum-

thousand talents, so it seemes that the Syrians and Arabians, that had felt an heavie Neighbour of Ieroboam, recoursed their owne, fetting up a new King in Damaleo. and clearing the coast of Arabia, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to Hamath) of the Hebrew Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaincance, that made the Nations divided by Euphrates hold together in fo good termes of friendship; it was ancient confanguinitie; the memorie whereof was anaileable to the Sprians, in the time of Daniel, when the Aramites beyond the River came over willingly, to the fuccour of Hadadezer, and the Aramites about Damafeo. So Belofus had good reason to looke into those parts; what a King raigning so farreoff as Winiue, thould have to doe in 50 Spris, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to Emphrates, it were hard

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the Childeans into Palestina, it may be doubted, least it should seeme to have ill coherence with that which hath beene faid of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes.

For if the Crowne of Jissel were worne by no man in three and twentic yeares, then is it likely that Belojus was either wivilling to fitting, or walled to take the adamatage when it was faired, and first diffeouered. This might have compelled tho fe, who alone were not firong enough, to fecke after helpe from fome Prince that lay further off; and fo the opinion of tho fet had dishinguish. Path from Belojus, would be fomewhat confirmed. On the other fide, if we lay, that Belojus ad paffe the Riuerof Employator, as foon cas here is out oil likelihood of making a proferous journey, then may it ferme that the micriganum in Jissel was not foliong as we haute made fit for three and twentic yeares letture would have alloorded better opportunitie, which ough too to have been loss.

For answere hereunto, we are to consider, what Orofins and Enfebrus have written concerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the departure of Arbaces into Oledia, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mightie, betweene the times of Arbaees and Deicees the Medes. Now, though it be heid an error of Orofins, where hee suppose th that the occupying of B.dilonia by the Chaldeans, was in manner of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein be and Fufelius doe concurre, that the authoritie of Arbaces did restraine the ambition, which by his ablence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull only of it felfe. Now though fome have conjectured that all affiria was given to Belofus (as an overplus, belides the Province of Babylon, which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in re- 20 gard of his high deferuings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that hee did only encroach vpon that Province by little and little, whileft zirbaces lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himfelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paffed but twelve yeares betweene the death of Arbaces, and the beginning of Menahem his raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of Asyria, and setting of that Countrie, was worke enough to hold Belofus occupied, belides the reftauration of Niniue, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his raigne, if perhaps he lived to feeit finished in his owne daies. So that this argument may rather ferue to proue that Phul and Belofus were one person; forasmuch as the journey of Phul against Ifrael was not made vntil Belofus could finde leifure; and the time of 30 aduantage which Belofus did let flip, argued his bufineffe in some other quarter, namely in that Province of which Phal is called King. Briefly, it may be faid, that he who conquered Afria, and performed fomewhat young Countrie to farre diflant as Palefima, was likely to haue beene, at least, named in some historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrie to have beene spoken of for those victories; but wee neither heare of Phal, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, facred or prophane, once mention the victories or alls what foener of the afterns, done in those times; whereas of Belofes, and the power of the Childrens, wee finde good

Surely, that great flaughter of fo many thouland Affection, in the quarrell of Sar-qui dampalia, together with other calamities of that long and was attunate warre, which once whelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the reine and viter defolation of Aimine, must needed have to weakened the three of Affiviat that it could not in thirtie yeares space be able to imade Paleilima, which the annetion Kings, raigining in Aimine, had, in all their greatenises, for fine to attempt. Yet the feet affactions, difabiling that Countrey, did helpe to enable Balgine to subdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of Mecha, and being (elpecially if he had compounded with the Medes) by the interpolition of that Countrey, secure of the Serbhians, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turns Southward, and trie his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto civile distention of the inhabit 19 tants, and the bordering coute of the Arabins and Arabins and Arabins and Arabins and Arabins and the Sorting coute of the Arabins and Arabins and Arabins and the Ordering coute of the Arabins and Arabins and Arabins and the Sorting to the Chaldens and Arabins and Arab

necear, Darim the Odede, Artsflusfu, and Absfluerofs, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the fame, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, have called Absolutions, Crusares, and Attacerses: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath beene written of olde, nor neede to trouble our solutions and others with training new consideres. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being oncegraunted, other things of more importance, will of them feliuse sailly follow. For it is a matter of no great confiquence to know the truth of 10 this point (confidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pal were Belgin, or fome other man; the whole race of these different and Belginian Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, Addongly, Manchestry Anguad Palon, and the strength of the Altronomical observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore Belginian Belginian their times if he were father of Teglat-Phile A'm, from whome Schman fin, Sanadon definition and a Belginian Kings, more than the position of the whole and in Belginian Kings, monogeneous is in manifelt, that we must be the Teglat-Phile A'm, from whome Schman fin, somether in the Belginian Kings, monogeneous is manifelt, that we must be the Teglat-Phile A'm, who is knowned to have raigned in those yeares, which Philometry the Belginian and the Altronomical Content of the Belginian and the Belginian A'm, who is knowned to have raigned in those yeares, which Phile Mental Alfringed vino Nadonalian. As for Metaledy, who topplanted Affer helden, manifelt it is, that he and his fuccessors were of another house. This is the feope and end of all this displayation.

But they that maintaine the contrarie part, will not be fatisfied with fuch conic.

Aure. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pecces, hope to onerthrow all the premisses, you which it is inferred. For (fay they) if Aubans of Salmans shaking, that raigned in Babylon, could not be Salmans shay, or any of those other Assyring Kings, then is ignantifelt, that the races were distinctly and that Phol and Babylos were fenerall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To proue that Nabons shay was a distinct person from Salmans shaying race brought such as proued to the salmans shaying the salmans shaying the salmans shaying was king of Babylon, and not of Assyria. This is proued by his name, which is meerely Chal Lean, whereas Salman, the first part of Salmans.

fur name, is proper to the Affricas. It is likewife proued by the Attronomical lob-fertuations, which proceeding from the Bakinnans, not from the Affricast, due flow, that Nabonalist, from whom Polacusic drawes that Bracks, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Affricas. Thirdly, and more through, it is confirmed by the facecility of Nabonalist, which was Atardeouspelins, called in his owne language Mero-docken pold, but more briefly in fight his propheries, Attroduced, by the Former Edd 39-th part of his name; or Merodack Bakelant, the Some of Bakelant. Now if Attroduced, the former of Stations for, then was Atlantage for none of Bakelant, King of Babel, were the forme of Bakelantagers, then was Atlantage for none other then Bakelant King of Babel, and not Sationalist King of Affricas.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of the fet two manes, 20 high in a Selmans for which in Greeke or Luine writing hath no differences, we care tangle by Scaliger, that in the Hebrow letters there is found no affinite therein. So concerning the places of Bebylopis, whereinto Selmans for carried captine forme part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of Bebylop Selmans for that gotten form what, yet will into follow that he was King of Bebylop is felfe. To conclude, Meroduch beganne his raigne ouer Bebylop in the fixty ware of Heschi, at which the Selmans for tooke Semans; therefore, if Sulmans for were King of Bebylop then 50 must we far yet hat he and Calendarb, were allone man. The care the arguments of that noble and learned Virter 10 fept Sediger; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded typon likelihood of conjectures, bath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessfare inference.

Touching all that was faid before of Phul Belofus, for the prouing that Phul and

Belofus were not fundrie Kings; Joseph Scaliger pitties their ignorance, that have fpent their labour to fo little purpose. Honest and paincfull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have wonne the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning Annius his Authors given fuch offence, that men refused thereupon to reade their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answere.

For mine owne part, howfocuer I beleeue nothing that Annius his Berofus, Metallbeites, and others of that stampe affirmes, in respect of their bare authoritie; yet am I not fo squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellowes alleaged in it: I have (somewhat peraduenture too often) alreadie spoken my minde of Annius his Authors: 10 neuertheleffe, I may fay here againe, that where other Histories are filent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elfewhere we finde, and ferueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities,

Neither indeede are those honest and painefull men (as Scaliger termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good filly fellowes) who set downe the African Kings from Pul forwards, as Lords alfo of Babylon, taking Pul for Belofus, and Salma. mallar for Nabonastar fuch Writers as a man should be assamed or viewilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Annius, though difliking him in generall) Gerard Overcutor is not fo flight a Chronologer, that hee should bee 20

laughed out of dores, with the name of an honeft meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene Scaliger and Mercator, they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of Scaliger, and fee whether they be of fuch force, as cannot either be refifted or avoided. It will cafily be granted, that Nabona Bar was King of Babylon; that he was not King of Affria, fome men doubt whether Sesligers reasons be enough to proue. For though Nabomastar be a Chaldean name, and Salmanastar an Asprian; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two Acrall names? That Aftronomic flourished among the Chaldees, is not enough to proue Nationastar

tral, cann, 13, either an Aftrologer, or a Chaldean. So it is, that Scaliger himfelfe calls them, Pro- 30 phetas nefcio quos, qui N A B O N A S S A R V M Astronomum fuisse in sommis viderunt : Prophoto I know not who, that in their fleepe have dreamt of NABONASSAR, that hee was an

Whether Nabonasiar were an Astrologer or no I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord over the Chaldwans, doth not prove him to have been clearned in their feiences; fo doth it not proue him, not to have beene alfo King of Affria. The Emperor Charles the fift, who was borne in Gant, and Phi-Lip his Sonne, King of Spaine, and Lords of the Netherlands, bad men farre more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, then were any that I read of then liuing in Spaine, if Spaine at 40 that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not vse this as an argument, to proue that Spaine was none of theirs. It may well be, that Salmanafar or Nabonaffar, did wfe the Affyrian Souldiers, and Babylonian Scholers: but it feemes, that he and his posteritie, by giuing themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King Philip lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by fuch a course. As for the two vnanfwerable arguments, (as Sealiger termes them, being me thinks none other than anfweres to somewhat that is or might be alleaged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawen from the vnlike found and writing of those names, Salmanas far and Nabonassar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is 50 not likenesse of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that Salmanaffar might be Lord of some places in the Province of Babylon, yet not King of Babylon it felfe: this indeede might bee fo, and it might bee otherwise.

Hitherto there is nothing faue conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alleaged out of the Prophet E/ai, concerning Merodach the Sonne of Baladan; and in that which is faid of this Merodach, or Mardokenpadus, his being the Successor of Nahanaffar, and his beginning to raigne in the fixt years of Hezekia. I finde matter of more difficultie, then can be answered in hast. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections, untill I meete with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of Hezekia, wherein Meredach lined and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here fatisfic him; that how ftrong focuer this argument may feeme, Sea-10 liger himselfe did line to retract it, ingennously confessing, that in thinking Me-

rodach to be the Sonne of Nabonaffar, he had beene deceived.

Now therefore let vs confider, in what fort they have falhioned their florie, who taking Pul to be a diffinct person from Belosus or Belestis, have in like fort, as was neceffarie, distinguished their off-spring, making that of Pul to faile in Alarhaddon, which left all to Merodach the Babylonian. And here I must first confesse mine owne want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Divers, indeede, there are, whom I have feene, that fince to feph Scaliger delivered his opinion, have written in fanour of some one or other point thereof:

20 but Sethus Caluifus himfelfe, who hath abridged Scaligers learned Worke, De emendatione Temporum, hath not beene carefull to give vs notice, how long Belefus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Pulaffar, did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in Scaliger ) but is content to let downe Baladan, for the fame person with Nabonassar, which Scalizer himselfe renoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these divided Kingdomes, in such fortas I finde it contribed by Augustinus Tormiellus; who only of all that I have feene, fets downe the fuccession, continuance, and acts, of those that raigned in Asyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Relatus and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This Torniellus is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. Paul, whose Annales were printed the

20 last yeure; he appeares to me a man of curious industrie, sound judgement, and free Spirit: yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inferting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow Scaliger, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himfelfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe right vnto Torniellus; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as hee hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would hee hauc instructed and emboldened mee, to write more fully and lefter improvily in other things,

40 which now I have not leifure to reuife. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leaft it had over haftily passed out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the sourc Kings that inuaded the Vallie of Siddim, and were flaine by Abraham, I finde him adventuring, as I have C.1. 0.13 done, to fav, that they may probably be thought to have beene fome pettic Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers not with standing. But now let vs consider how

he hath ordered these last Assyrian and Babylonian Kings. After the destruction of Sardanapalus, Arbaces being the most mightie, sought to get all to himfelfe, but was opposed by Belofus; in which contention, one Phul, a

powerfull man in Afgria, fided with Belofus, and they two prevailed fo farre, that fi-50 nally Arbaces was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman Empire, betweene Octavian, Anthonie, and Lepidus.

Another conjecture is (for Torniellus offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainetie) that Arbaces made himfelfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the feate

of his Empirein Media, appointing Belofus his Lieucenant in Bab/poina, and Phul in Affria. But inflore fpace, that is, in foure yeares, it came to paffe, by the judgement of God, that Phul and Belofus rebelled against Arbutes, like as Arbutes had done against Surbanpalus, and in fead of being his Viceroyes, made themfelues adolute Eings. And to this later opinion Tornellus himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophase Histories. Why he did make and publish the former fupposition, refoluse to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gueste. Hauting thus deutled, how Phul and Pelofus might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, hee erders their time, and their successors.

Foure yeares after Arbases, Phul beginnes to raigne, and continues eight and fortic yeares. The flat phulafar (who se name, and the names of other Princes, I will disurelly, according as the Authors whome I have in hand are pleased to disurefise them) succeeding wro Phul, raigned three and twentie. Salmanassiar followed him, and raigned tenne. After him Senaberish raigned seen: and when he was staine, I san handown his Sonne tenne weares in whome that Line failed.

The fame time that Phultooke vpon him as King of Affria, or not long after, (why nor rather afore) for foit had been emore likely) Belofin Mirped the Kingdome of Bubjon, and held it threefore and eight yeares; at the leaft threefore and eight yeares did paffe, before Habonaffar followed him in the possession.

To Exbonaffer, whome (with Sealiger) he thinkes to be Baladam, are affigned fixe and twentie yeares: then, two and fiftie to Adreadash, or Alterdacempadus: to bure and twentie to Ren Alterdash; and laftly, one and twentie to Rabadaffer, the father of Arabachamofor, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these Allyrian and Babylonian Kingdomes, I may truly fay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to Belofus, and confound him with Phal, appeare to me more neerely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that Tornicitus would have conceived two different wayes, by which Phul might have gotten Affria (for how Belofus came to get Babylon, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adhæres to the later of the 30 two, as better agreeing with Diodore, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make Plud on the fuddaine King of Affris; or to give him fo noble a Province. as would, of it felfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to have happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to fo high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuifed the meanes, whereby Phul might be made capable of fo great a thare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arife, Why this Phul, being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Dinision it selfe, and the civile Warres that caused it, were never heard of. Questionlesse, the interver- 40 ting of fome Treasures by Belosus, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leffe note. Therefore I doe not fee, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we must confesse, the Dominion given to Phal to have been exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withall, to have beene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring fuch a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of Phul and Belofus against Arbaces, it was almost impossible for the Affyrians to recouer such strength in foure yeares, as might ferue to hold out in rebellion: for Belofus, it was needleffe to rebell, confidering, that Arbaces did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer- 50 great fauourer of libertie) cuen the Medes, that were under his owne Gouernment, to doe what they lifted.

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings: not passing shrough them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but

fpeaking of their order and time in generall. If it bee fo vnlawfull to thinke, that fome of Annus his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may bee true, efpecially finch, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood, why then is it faid, that Plni did raigne in Affiria eight and fortice yeares? For this bath no other ground than Annies. It is true, that painefull and judicious Writers have found this number of yeares, to a gree fitly with the course of thungs in Historic yest all of them tooke it from Annies. Let it therefore be the punishment of Annies his forgeric (as questionless he is often guiltic of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probabilitie, he be not belief or his owne fake; dough for our owne fakes we make vic of his boldresse, taking his wordes for good, whereas (nothing else being ordered) we care vn willing our selves to be Authors, of new, though not vnprobable conjectures. Hen in we shall have the this commoditie, that we may without builting alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame vpon Annies, against whom we stall be clure to all the cut we little to the course of the proposal conjectures.

to finde friends that will take our part.

The raignes of Theglathphale and Salmana for did reach, by Anniuchis meafure, to the length of hue and twentic yeares the one, and feuenteene the other;
Tornelluk hath cut off two from the former, and feuen from the later of them, to it
(as I thinke) his owne computation; vling the libertie where of I foake lait: for that
20 any Author, faue our good Marajhenes, or those that borrowed of him, hath youe
about to tell how long each of these did raigne, it is more then I haue yet found.
To Senacherib and Afarbadion, Torniellus gives the fame length of raigne, which is
found in Marajhenes. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vito
themselves, as may well be allowed vinto a man so judicious as is Princlus: yet
could I with, that he had so borne to condemne the followers of Annius, in this besimess, wherein hehimselse hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them,
than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like libertie we finde that he hath yfed in measuring the raignes of the Chaldeans; filling yeall the space between the end of Sardanapalas, and the beginning 30 of Nabonasias, with the threesfore and eight yeares of Saelass. In this respect it was, perhaps, that hee thought Belojas might have begunne his raigne somewhat later then Phalifor threesfore and eight yeares would seemed along time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he took epossession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his raigne, seeing his lifereacheth to the end of fasch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeede, eight and fortic yeares had beene somewhat of the most, considering that thee scenes by the storiet obase been little leffe, as fuch time as hee joyned with Abases; and therefore the addition of twentie yeares did well descrute that note (which Tamiessa aduited ly gives) that if this raigne extended 40 not so farre, then the raigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time,

In either doe reprehend the boldnelle of Torniellus, in conjecturing, nor the modellic of Seatigge and Sethus Calui'ns, in forbearing to fix downe as warrantable, fisch things as depend only ypon likelihood. For things, where of the perfect knowledge is taken away from vsby Antiquitie, must be deferbed in Historie, as Geographers in their Maps deferibe those Countries, where of a syet there is made no true discouerie, that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inferting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of loadestone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, aggreeable to common report, though many times controlled by followsoing experience, and found contraries to truth. Yet indeede the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such libertie to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedileste oblinion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet faith:

Nen-

10

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne fnow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The subject Regions can fence, And keepe the greedie Merchant thence. The subtile Shipmen way will finde, Storme neuer to the Seas with winde;

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe Berue only to milleade fuch discouerers as rashly beleeue them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angrie curses, or well deserved scorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot ferue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretie jeast of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthie Spanish Gentleman, who had beene emploied by his King in planting a Colonie vpon the Streights of Magellan: for when I 20 asked him, being then my Prifoner, some question about an Iland in those streights, which me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to bee called the Painters wines Iland, faying, That whilest the fellow drew that Mappe, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Countrie for her; that shee, in imagination, might have an Iland of her owne. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we neede not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themsclues to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copie of an ancient Author could be found, thewing (if wee haue it not alreadie) the perfect truth of these vicertaineties? would it be more shame to have beleeved 20 in the meane while, Annius or Torniellus, than to have beleeved nothing. Here I will not fay, that the credit, which we give to Annius, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names hee pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authoritie, I had rather trust Scaliger or Torniellus, than Annius; yet him than them, if his affertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approued Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it feemes to me; it having moreoner gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanely learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being generall, fo to deale as Pacunius in 40 Capua did with the multitude, finding them delirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senators vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercie; obtayning thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonaltie had both pronounced him worthic of death, and elefled a better in his place. The condemnation was haftie; for as faft as every name was read, all the Towne cryed, Let him die : but the execution required more leifure; for in fubflituting another, fome notorious vice of the Person, or basenesse of his condition, or infufficiencie of his qualitie, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: fo that finding the worfe and leffe choife, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old flould be kept for lask of better. 73 CHAP.23. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they beganne.



Fter this division of the Assertan Empire, followes the instauration of the Olympian games, by Iphitus, in the raigne of the fame King 🔊 Vzzia, and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by Iphitus, in the first of Intham : yet is not that opinion fo generall, but that Authors, waigh-

to tie enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in ficting those things vnto the facred Historie, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not bee too carefull of drawing the Hebrewes to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that fetting in due order thefe beginnings of accompts, we joyue them to matters of Ifrael and Iuda, where occa-

These Olympian games and exercises of activitie, were first instituted by Heroules. who measured the length of the race by his owne foot; by which Pythager as found out the stature and likely strength of Hercules his bodie. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine Olympus, but from the Citie Olympia, otherwise Pifa, neare va-20 to Elis; where also Jupiters Temple in Elis, famous among the Gracions, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of Justiter Olympius. Thele games were exercised from enery fourth years compleat in the plaines of Elis, a Citic of Peloponnelius, neare the River Alphens.

After the death of Hercules, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, Addoubles, till *Iphitus* by adulfe from the Oracle of Apollo, re-established them, Lyamogo the Arthur Law-giner then lining: from which time they were continued by the Green as, till Haranges, the Arthur Law-giner then Indian and Arthur Law-giner the the raigne of Theodolius the Emperor, according to Cedrenus; other thinks that they were diffolued under Confirmation the Great.

From this inflitution, Varra accompted the Gracian times, and their flories, to be 20 certaine : but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous : and yet Plinie gines which are a little credit to all that is written of Greece, till the raigne of Crete, who became in the fine and fiftieth Olympiad, as Enfebrus out of Diodore, Coffor, Polybius, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seuen wife Gracians flourished. For Solon had speech with Crassus, and Crassus was ouerthrowne and taken by Cyrus.

Many patient and piercing braines hauelaboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these Olympiads, namely to set them in the true years of the World, and the raigne of fuch and fuch Kings: but feeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly jumpe in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against Iulian, and Didymus, beginne the Olympiads the nine and fortieth of

Eulebius who is contrarie to himfelfe in this reckoning, accompts with those that Entire de Prope finde the first Olympiad in the beginning of the four chundreth and fixth years after Except toward Troy, yet he telleth vs that it was in the fiftieth yeare of Pasia, which is (as I find it) two yeares later.

Erstofthenes placeth the first Olympiad foure hundred and seuen yeares after Tray, Escaph, and reckoning the yeares that passed betweene; to whom Dionysius Haliannassas, Dio-Charles darus Siculus, Solinus, and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by Eratofchenes. From the taking of Troy to the descent of Hercules his Po-50 fteritie into Peloponnefus, were fourescore yeares; thence to the Ionian expedition, threefcore yeares; from that expedition to the time of Lyourgus his government in Sparta, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first Olympiael, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first Olympiad is not in-

But vaine labour it were, to feeke the beginning of the Olympiads, by numbring the yeares from the taking of Troy, which is of a date farre more vacertaine. Let it fuffice, that by knowing the inflauration of these games, to have beene in the source hundrethand eight yeare current after Troy, wee may reckon back to the taking of that Citie, fetting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certaintie of things following the Olympiads; mult teach vs how to finde when they beganne.

To this good vie, we have the enfuing yeares, vnto the death of Alexander the Great, thus divided by the same Eratofthenes. From the beginning of the Olympiads, to the paffage of Nervies into Greece, two hundreth fourescore and scuenteen yeares; 10 from thence to the beginning of the Pelapannefian Warre, eight and fortic yeares; forwards to the victoric of Lylander, seuen and twentie; to the battaile of Leuctra, thirtie foure; to the death of Philip King of Maceden, fine and thirtie; and finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. The whole fumme arifeth to foure hundred fiftie and three yeares; which number he otherwife also collecteth; and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth yeare of Vzziah, we have arguments, grounded upon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of Cyrus his raigne, and the death of Alexander; as also vpon the Astronomicall calculation of fundrie Eclipses of the Sunne as of that which happened when 20 Xernes fet out of Serdis with his Armie to inuade Greece; and of divers other.

Touching Cress, it is generally agreed that his raigne as King, before hee was Lord of the great Monarchie, began the first years of the fine and liftieth Olympiad. and that he raigned thirtie yeares; they who give him but twentienine yeares of Mull, de Din. l. raigne (following Herodotus rather than Tullie, Instine, Eufebrus, and others) beginne a yeare later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexander let by 144.1. a yeare later, which comes all to one reckening. So is the death of Alexander let by Emang. Lious, all good Writers, in the first yeare of the hundreth and sourteenth Olympiad. This to de dem. E. later note of Alexanders death, scrues well to leade vs back to the beginning of Cywang, 1,2, c.z. rus; as many the like observations doe. For if we reckon youards from the time of Alexander, we shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the Olympiads, wherein Cy- 20 rus beganne his raigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to fignific a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Cyrus, in the first yeare of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, vnto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelith olympiad, we find two hundred and thirtie yeares compleat; from the beginning of Cyres his Monarchie, which lafted but feuen yeares, we finde compleat two hundred and feuen yeares, which was the continuance of the Persian Empire.

Now therefore feeing that the first years of Cyrus his Monarchie (which was the last of the fixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeare from the inflitution of those games by Iphilus / followed the last of the seuentic yeares, of the 42 captiuitie of Inda, and defolation of the Land of Isi ael; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seuentic yeares, and one hundred threescore and ten yeares more, the last which passed under the Kings of Inda, to finde the first of these Olympinds; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of Vzzia, as wee haucalreadie noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serue well to the same purpose. For examples fake, that which was feene when Xerxes mustered his Armie at Sardis, in the two hundreth threefcore and feuenth years of Nationallar, being the laft of the threefcore and fourteenth Olympiad; leades vs back vnto the beginning of Aerxes, and from him to Cyrus, whence we have a faire way through the threefcore and ten 50 yeares, vnto the destruction of terufalcer; and so vpwards through the raignes of the last Kings of Inda, to the one and fiftieth yeare of Vzzia.

Thus much may fusfice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads be-To

To tell the great folemnitic of them, and with what exceeding great concourfe of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running. Wraftling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maftrie in those feats, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served only for oftentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musitians, and all that thought themselues excellent in any laudable qualitie, to make triall of their skill. Yeathevery Cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them 10 should get the honour, of having plaied the best part.

The Eleans were Presidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partialitie, who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oline, without any other commoditie following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held fo much, that when Diagoras had feene his three Sonnes crowned for their feuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation : Morere DIAGORAS, non enimin calum ascensuruses; that is: Die DIAGORAS, For thou shalt not clime up to heaven: as if there could bee no greater happinesse on earth, than what alreadie had befallen him. In the like sense Horaco 20 speakes of these Victors, calling them,

> Quos Elea domum reducit Palma cœlestes.

Haraticana (L.)

Such as like heavenly wights doe come With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the fongs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these Olympian prises; but even grave Historians 20 thought it a matter worthie of their noting. Such was (as Tullie counts it ) the va- Tellia Octability nitie of the Greekes, that they efteemed it almost as great an honor, to have wome Flacos. the victorie at Running or Wrastling in those games, as to have triumphed in Reme for some samous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince,

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombeon, which doth answere to our June; and what meanes they yied to make the Moneth beginne with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of Inda, and leave the merric Greekes at their games, whom I shall meete in more serious emploiments, when the Persian quarrells draw 40 the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of Ionia and Hellespont,

Of IOTHAM and his Contemporaries.

OTHAM the Sonne of Vzziah, when he was fine and twentie yeares old, and in the fecond of Pekab King of I/rael, was annointed King in a King 15.45 Ierusalem, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits vpright, and theresore called Ophel: besides divers Cities in the Hills of Juda, and in the Forrests, Towers,

and Palaces : he inforced the Ammonites to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundreth talents, and of Wheate and Barly two thousand measures: hee raigned fixe and twentic yeares : of whom Iosephus gives this testimonie. Einsmodi vero

Princeps hic fuit, ot nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres; ot qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus fuis adeo iuste prafuerit, orbem ipfam tanta sibi cura esse passus sit, & tantopere succest, of universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem eius incolis atque ciuibus felix, fauslum & fortunatum sua virtute efficerit; This was fuch a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: he worthipped God to religiously, he governed his men fo righteously, he was to provident for the Citie, and did to greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proveffe he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens.

This is all that I finde of *Iotham*: his raigne was not long, but as happie in all 10 things, as he himfelfe was denout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded Phelesteus in Corinth: after whome, the Corinthians erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet Pausanias in his second Booke, with Strabe and Platarels, in many places are of opinion, That Corinth was governed by Kings of the race of the Bacida, to the time of Cypfelus, who droue them out.

Teglathphalassar, or Tiglathpeleser, the sonne of Phul, the second of the Babylonians and Affyrians that was of this new race, about this time inuaded Ifrael, while Pekab (who murthered his Master Pekaiah) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of Nephtali and Galile, with those of Gilead, ouer Iordan, 20 and carried the inhabitants captine. This Tiglath raigned hue and twentie yeares, according to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemius findes, that with his sonne Salmanassar he raigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not afcribe to the fonne, because the Aera of Nabonassar beginnes with his single raigne, but reckon them to Tighlath Phulasar himselfe, who therewith raigned seven and twentie yeares.

Afebylus, the sonne of Agamnestor, about the same time, the twelfth Archon in Athens, ruled five and twentic yeares. Aleamenes gouerned Sparta: after whome, the Estate changed, according to Eusebius: but therein surely Eusebius is mistaken. For Diodore, Plutarch, Paufanias, and others, witnesse the contrarie. Paufanias affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and raig- 30 ned threescore yeares, and out-lived the Alesseniack Warre: which was ended by Theopompus, the sonne of Wicander, his royall companion.

At this time lived Naham the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the Affrian Empire, and of the Citie of Ninine; which fucceeded (fayth Infephus) a hundred and fifteene yeares after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were built at this time, while in Media, Sofarmus and Medidus raigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

Q. VII.

of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

HAS, or Achse, succeeded vnto Iotham in the seuenteenth yeare of Peka, the sonne of Remalia: the same being also the last yeare of his sathers raigne, who began in the fecond of the same Peka, and raigned sixteene, but not complete yeares. This Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predeceffors. He made molten Images for Baalim, and burnt his sonne for facrifice before the Idoll Moloch, or Saturne, which was represented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, set vp not farre from Ierusalem, in a Valley 50 shadowed with Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophet, from whence the word Gehenna is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the facrificers, with a noyse of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pitifull cryes of the children

might not be heard; which vnnaturall, cruell, and deuillish Oblation, Jeremie the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. Hierome vpon the tenth of Mathem hath written at large. By the prohibition in Leuitiens the eighteenth, it 67, 1935. appeareth that this horrible linne was ancient; in the twelfth of Deuteronomic, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practifed elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from Indea, divers Authors witnesse; as Virgil in the fecond of his Eneids, - Sanguine placaflis, &c. and Silius, - Poscere cede Deos. Saturne is faid to have brought this custome into Italie, besides the casting of many foules into the River of Tyber, in flead of which, Hereules commanded that the 10 waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the Carthaginians this kinde of butcherie, in fo much that when their Citie was befieged, and in diffreste, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their owne children, and had bought and brought vp others to bee offered, that therefore Saturne had flirred vp and ftrengthened their Enemies against them : whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be flaine, and offered to Saturne or Satan, to appeale him: who besides these foreto be flaine, and outered to samme on sam, composite that with outer and Ching, of Maffer Example, and of Galatia, with the Maffagets, and others, in the le his fertices: Further, as if the Down in the Maffagets and others, in the le his fertices: Further, as if the Down in the Down in the Composite that the Down in the Composite that the Down in the Composite that the Co were not content to destroy the foules of many Nations in Europe, Alia, and Africa, 20 (as Meofia writeth) the Mexicans and other people of America, were brought by Acil, de Hill. the Deuill under this fearefull feruitude, in which he also holdeth the Floridans and man, the more than

Virginians at this day. For the wickednesse of this King Ahaz, God stirred up Rezin of Damaseus, and Pekah the Sonne of Remaliah, King of Ifrael against him, who inuaded Indea, and beficged Jerufalem, but entred it not.

The King of Syria, Rezin, possess himselfe of Elab by the Red Sea, and cast the Iemes out of it, and Pekah flaughtered in one day twelue hundred thousand Indeans, 2. Chron. 19. 6. of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time Maafeiah the Sonne of Achaz was alfo flaine by Ziehri, with Azrikam the Gouernour of his house : and Eleanath the se-30 cond person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the Ifraelites led away to Samaria: but by the counfell of the Prophot Oded, they were returned and deliucred back againe.

As Ifraeland Aram vexed Inda on the North; fo the Edomites and the Philistims, who cuermore attended the ruine of Indea, entred you them from the South; and tooke Bethfemes, Aialon, Gaderoth, Socho, Timnah, and Gemzo, flew many people, and chron. 28. carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when Achar, saw himselfe entironed on all fides, and that his Idolls and dead Gods gaue him no comfort, hee fent to the Affrican Tiglathpilefer, to delire some aide from him against the Ifraelites and Aramites, presenting him with the filter and gold both of the Temple, and Kings 2. Kings 16.

Tiglathpile fer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that role in Palefina. His Father having lately made himfelfe from a Provinciall Lieutenant, King of Babylon and Afreta, had a little before led him the way into India, inuited by Menahem King of Ifrael. Wherefore now the Sonne willingly hearkened to Achaz and embraced the advantage. As for Belochus himfelfe, he was content to affigue fome other time for going through with this enterprife; because (as I have faid before) he was not firmely fetled at home, and the Smian Kingslay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, having now, with the treasures of Ierusalem, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Terri-50 torie of Damafeus, wanne the Citic, and killed Rezin, the last of the race of the Adads, who beganne with Danid and ended with this Achaz. At Damafeus Achaz met Tiglath, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar fent it to Vriab the Prieft, commanding the like to be made at Ierufelem, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the Gods of the Syrians. In the meane while Tiglath possest all Basan, and the rest

beyond fordan, which belonged to the Tribe of Reuben, Gad, and Manaffe. And then pailing the River, he maftered the Cities of Galilee, inuaded Ephraim, and the Kingdome of Israel, and made them his Vassalls. And not withstanding that he was innited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoile of Ifrael, he posses himselfe of the greater part of Iuda, and as it feemeth inforced Achaz to pay him Tribute. For in the Ground of Kings the eighteenth it is written of Ezechia, that he revolted from Afbur, or rebelled against him, and therefore was inuaded by Senacherib. After Ahaz had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the fixtcenth years of his raigne hee

died ; but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of Inda. With Abaz lived Medidus, the third Prince in Media, who governed fortic yeares, 10 Este, in chron, faith Eufebius : Diodorus and Ctefias finde Anticarmus in flead of this Medidus, to

have beene Sofarmus his Successiour, to whom they give fiftie yeares. Tiplath Philefer held the Kingdome of Affria, all the raigne of Ahaz : yet fo, that

Salmanaffar his Sonne may feeme to have raigned with him fome part of the time. sally 20, 16. For we finde that Abaz did fend onto the Kings of A s H V R to helpe him. The Genew note faies, that these Kings of Ashar were Teglath Pileser, and those Kings that were under his Dominion. But that hee or his Father had hitherto made fuch conquells, as might gine him the Lordfhip oper other Kings, I doe neither finde any Historic, nor circumstance that proucth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of Albar, were Tiglath, and Salmanaffar his Sonne, who raigned with his Father, as 20 hath beene faid before; though how long hee rap ned with his Father, it bee hard

At this time beganne the Ephori in Lacedanon, a hundred and thirtie yeares after Marin vita Soil. Lyourgus, according to Platerch. Enfebius makes their beginning farre later, namely in the lifteenth olympiad. Of thele Ephori, Elalus was the first, Theopompus and Po-tectoris, being then joynt Kings. These Ephori, chosen every yeare, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their adulfe and confert. For (faith Cieero) they were opposed against their Kings, as the Roman Tribunes against the Consults. In the time of Ahaz died Afehylus, who had ruled in Athenseuer fince the fiftith yeare of Vzzias Alesmenon the thirteenth of the Medon- 30 ticle, or Governours of the Athenians (so called of Medon who followed Codrus) succeeded his Father Afebylus, and was the last of these Gouernors: he ruled only two yeares. For the Athenians changed first from Kings (after Codens) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this Aleamenon, they erected a Magistrate whom they termed an Archon, who was a kind of Burghomafter or Gouernor of their Citie for ten yeares.

This alteration Paufanias in his fourth Booke beginnes in the first yeare of the eight Olympiad. Eufebius and Halicarnaffaus in the first of the seuenth Olympiad: at which time indeede, Caross the first of these, beganne his ten yeares rule.

The Kingdome of the Latines gouerned about three hundred yeare by the Syluy, of the race of Ineas, tooke end the fame Abastime : the foundation of Rome 40 being laied by Romulus and Remus in the eight years of the fame King, Codoman builds it the elegenth of Achaz, Bucholzer in the eighth as I thinke he should others fomewhat later, and in the raigne of Ezechia. Cicero, Entropius, Orofius, and others, fquare the time of the foundation to the third yeare of the fixth Olympiad. But Halicarnaffens, Solinus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eufebius, to the first yeare of the feuenth: who feeme not only to mee, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best accompt.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahas.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.



30

N D here to speake of the more ancient times of Italie. and what Nations possest it before the arrivall of . . neas, the place may feeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italie before the fall of Troy, was knowne to the Greekes by divers Hallowitz names : as first Hesperia, then Ausonia, the one name arising of the Seate, the other of the Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it : one ancient name of it was also Oenotria, which it had of the Oenotri: whom Halicarnassaus thinks to have been the first, that brought

a Colonic of Areadians into that Land. Afterward it was called Italie of Italies : concerning which changes of names, Virgil speakes thus.

> Est locus Hesperiam Gray cognomine dicunt : Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere gleba: Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which Greekes Hesperia name, Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie. Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame, That by late ages of Posteritie, ' T'is from a Captaines name called Italie.

Who this Captaine or King may have beene, it is very vncertaine. For Firell 40 speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued fo long vpon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to finde out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, Reinecesius hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of Halicarna | faut; usi. 1.5. who speakes of a Colonie which the Eleans did leade into Italie, before the name of who peakes of a colonic which the seaso out grade into man, detecting them had been failed was given to it: Secondly, ypon that of miline, who faith, that the middlem notifies, was a Colonic of the Ætelians: Thirdly, ypon that of Strabe, who affirmes the strately. same of Temesa or Tempsa, a Citie of the Bruty in Italie : Lastly, vpon the auto thoritie of Plime, who shewes that the Halians did inhabite only one Region of the plin. 13.65. Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is faid of the Eleans and £tolians, who (as he shewes) had one originall; from them hee brings the name of Italie. For the word Italia, differs in nothing from Aitolia , faue that the first Letter is cast away , which in the Greeke

words is common, and the letter of is changed into (a); which change is found in the name of Athalia, an illandineere Italie, peopled by the Athalians: and the like changes are very familiar in the Aolie Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost

proper to the Acousts) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words

little altered, were retained by the Latines, as Dionyfius Halscarnaffeus, Quintilian, and Priscian the Grammanan teach. Hereunto appertaines that of Inlian the Apoltata,

who called the Greekes coulins of the Latines. Also the common original of the

Greekes and Latines from Isuan; and the Fable of Janus, whose Image had two fa-

ces, looking Eatl and Welt, as Greece and Italie lay, and was flamped on Coynes, with a Shippe on the other fide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to Ianan, 10

father of the Greekes and Latines: who fayling ouer the Ionian Sea, that lyes be-

trucche « Lielia and the Westerne parts of Greece and Italie, planted Colonies in

both. Now whereas Reyneceius thinkes, that the names of Ailas and Italies belon-

ged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethan, Ita-

lus; though it may feeme firengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whileft he a-

bode in Italie with Electra, the daughter of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my va-

luation) greater and stronger, callly disproved. For they who make mention of

Atlas, place him before the time of Mojes : and if Allas were Cethin, or Mitim,

then was be the forme of Janan and nephew of Japheth, the eldest sonne of Noah:

which antiquitie farre exceedes the name of Italie, that began after the departure of 20

Likewise Firgil, who speakes of Allas, and of Dardenss his marriage with Ele-

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium

N Italie the Latines and Hetrurians were most famous; the Hetrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the Latines by the vertue and felicitie of the Romans, who were a branch of them, subduing all Italie, and in few ages whatsoeuer Nation was knowne in Europe : together with all the Westerne parts of Afra,

and North of Africk.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Halicarnaffeus, Varro, and Reyneccius (following them) thinke to have beene Arcadians: and this name of Aborigines (to omit other fignifications that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the . Arcadians are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwaies vfurged, fetching their antiquitie from beyond the Moone; because indeede, neither were the inhabitants of Pelaponnesus inforced to forfake their seates so oft as other Greekes were, who dwelt without that halfe Island, neither had the Arcadians fo vusing a dwelling as 20 the rest of the Pelapannesians, because their Countrie was lesse fruitfull in land; mountainous, and hard of accesse, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of Latium, and held it long, did according to the Arcadian manner, stile themfelues Aborigines, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might bee that the Arcadisms who dwelt fomewhat farre from Sea, and are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should have beene Authors of new discoueries, were a question not casie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforceth the fuperfluous companie to feeke another feate, and that fome 30 expeditions of the Arcadians, as especially that of Enander, into the same parts of I.

After the Aborigines, were the Pelasgi, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gaue name to all Greece: but their antiquities are long fince dead, for lack of good records; Neither was their glorie fuch in Italie, as could long fustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The Sicani, Aufones, Aurunci, Rutili, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of Latium, which by Saturne was brought to some civilities

and he therefore canonized as a God.

talie, are generally acknowledged.

This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or Sterculius, others terme him Sterce-40 tins, and fay, that hee taught the people to dung their grounds. That Latium tooke his name of Saturne, because he did latere, that is lie hidden there, when he fled from Iupiter, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to thinke that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from an other; fo in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King raigning in those parts was so mightie, that it should bee hard to finde one Countrie or an other, wherein a man might be fafe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which See lib. r. cap. 4 either by ambiguitie of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely ex- \$.1. & sq. presse (for so they fained a passage ouer a River in Hell, because death is a passage to

50 another life, and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painefull, therefore they named the River Styn of Hate, Cocytus of Lamentation, and Acheron of Paine: fo also because men are stonic hearted, and because the Greeke wast people, and was stones, are neare in found, therefore they fained in the time of Deucalion flones connerted into men, as at other times men into flones) in like manner it may

tra hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italie; but calleth Electra and her lifter Maia (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine Atlas in Africa, naming Italus among the Kings of the Aborigenes; which he would not have done, had Atlas and Italias beene one person. As for the authorizie of Berofus in this case, we neede the leffe to regard it, for

that Remedies himfelfe, whole conjectures are more to be valued then the dreames

wherewith Appin bath filled Berelie, holdes it but a figment.

Hereules out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of Troy.

That the name of Italie began long after Atlas, it appeares by the Verses of Vir- 20 oil last rehearfed, wherein hee would not have faid, - Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem, had that name beene heard of ere Dardanus left the Countrey. But figeing that, when Herenles, who died a few yeares before the Warre of Trey, had left in Italiea Colonie of the Eleans (who in a manner were one and the fame Nation with the Atoliens, as Strabo, Herodotus, and Paufanias teach) then the name of Italie began: and feeing Virgil makes mention of Italus among the Italian Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that Italias was Commaunder of these Eleans. For though I remember not, that I have read of any fuch Greeke as was named Italia, yet the name of Eiglis, written in Greeke Aitolus, was very famous both among the Etolians, and among the E- 40 leans, he being fonne of a King of Elis, and founder of the Actalian Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to derive the name Italia from Atolia, then Italia from Ætolia. So may Virgils authoritie stand well with the collections of Reyneceius; the name of Italie being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

ð. II. 50

AET. 17. 22.

584.

be , that the original of Saturnes hiding himfelfe was fome allufion to that old opinion of the wifeit of the Heathen, that the true God was ignotus Deus, as it is noted in the Ads; whence also Esay of the true God saies, to Deus abdens te. For it can not be in vaine that the word Saturnus thould also have this very fignification, if it bee deriued (as some thinke) from the Hebrew Satar, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not, but that the original of this word, Latium, ought rather to be fought elfewhere.

Remeeeins doth conjecture that the Ceteans, who descended of Cethim, the Sonne of lawar, were the men who gaue the name to Latirum. For these Celeans are remembred by Homer as aiders of the Troises in their Warre. Strabointerpreting the place of Homer, calls them subjects to the Crowne of Troy. Hereupon Reyneceim gathers, 10 that their abode was in Ala: viz. in agro Elaitico; in the Elaitian Territorie, which agreeth with Strabo. Of a Citic which the Lollans held in Afra, called Elea, or Elaia, Paulanias makes mention; Stephanus calls it Cidamis, or (according to the Greeke writing) Cidamis, which name laft rehearfed bath a very neare found to Cethim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greeke Letter (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing only in the firength or weakeneffe of vtterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these Ceteurs being descended of Cethins, Cittim, or Kittim, the Sonne of Isuar, who was Propenitor of the Greekes, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called Elaites, or Elais 20 tes, it is very likely, confidering that among the Arcadians, Phocians, Atolians, and Eleans, who all were of the Aolique Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine Eleus, the Hanen Eleas, the people Elaita, the Cities Eleus, Elaia, and Elateia, of which laft it were fomewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then Elatini, from whence Latini may come. Now whereas both the Ceteiand Acadians, had their original from Cethin, it is nothing valikely, that agreeing in language and fimilitude of names, they might neuertheleffe differ in found and pronunciation of one and the fame word. So that as he is by many called Submas to whom fome (deriving the Sabines from him) give the name of Sabas: in the like manner might he whom the Arcadians would call Elatus (of which name 20 they had a Prince that founded the Citic Elateia) bee named of the Ceteans Latinus. Reynecoins purfuing this likelihood, thinks, that when Euripylus, Lord of the Ceteans, being the Sonne of Telephin, whom Hereales begat vpon Auge, the Daughter of Alene King of Areadia, was flaine by Achilles in the Troian Warre: then did Telephus, brother to Euripelus, conduct the Ceteurs; who (fearing what cuill might befail themselves by the Greekes, if the affaires of Trey should goe ill) passed into that part of Italie, where the Arcaelians were planted by Ocnotrus. And Reynecoins farther thinks, that Telephus being the more gracious among the Oenotrian Arcadians, by the memorie of his Grand-mother Auge, an Arcadian Ladie, was well contented to take an Areadian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciation 40 either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotrians, was first Elatinus, and then Latinus: That this name of Elatus may have been taken or imposed by the Areadians, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of Aphidas, the other of Elatus, who were Sonnes of Areas King of Areadia, which gave name to the Countrie; and betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did paffe, almost enterchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the Traisn warre it fell into the hand of Hippothous of the race of Elatus, in whose Posteritie it continued untill the laft. Againe, the name Latinus, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Reyneccius, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leffe reproofe, 50 confidering that it is not cafe to finde either an apparent truth, or faire probabilitic among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of Latium.

ð. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill A NEAs his comming.

He Kings which raigned in Latium before the arrivall of Ancas were. Saturnus, Pieus, Faunus, and Latinus. Of Saturne there is nothing remembred, faue what is mentioned alreadie, and many fables of the Greekes, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the Saturne

To of the Greekes, called by them Keeres, or fome other, filled Saturne by the Aberigines. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have beene the fame: \* sarchielater but the names of \* Sterces, and Sterentius (for it may bee this name was not bor- cals the idels rowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the foile which they of the heathen laied on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him feeme and hence it

Of Picus it is faid that he was a good Horfe-man. The fable of his being chan-we read to: ged into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well feeme (as it is interpreted) to have Belgebal, Brigegrowne from the skill which he had in footh-faying, or dinination, by the flight and but, which is interested chattering of Fowles. Faunus, the Sonne of Pieus, raigned after his Father. Hee Dominias State-

20 gaue to Euander the Arcadian (who having flaine by mischance his Father Echemus (mean; and it King of Areadia, fled into Italie) the wast grounds on which Rome was afterward after that Sa-

Fauna, called Fatua, the fifter of Faunus, was also his Wife, as all Historians a- the name of antiol, in leagree; shee was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastitie; which sed God that praise in her must needes haue be ne much blemished by her marriage, it selfe be- in a like sense ing meerely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that Faunus had by his fifter any child, neither doe we reade flicke vato of any other Wife which he had, faue only that Firgit gives vnto him Latinus as his And The An Sonne, by a Nymph, called Mariet.

But who this Mirica was it is not found, faue only that her abode was about the Riuer Liris neare Minturne.

Of the name Latinus, there are by Pomponius Sabinus recounted foure : one, the Sonne of Faunus, another of Hercules, a third of Vlyffes by Circe, the fourth of Telerisachus. Suides takes notice only of the fecond, of whom he faith, that his name was suides in the Telephus, and the people anciently named the Ceti, were from his furname called word Lesius. Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Reyneceins, the difference confilling almost in this only, that Suid as calls Telephus, the Soune of Hercules, whereas Revneccius makes him his Nephew, by a fonne of the fame name. This Latinus hauing obtained the fuccession in that Kingdome after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter 40 and Heire Lauinia, to Turnus the fonne of Vendia, who was lifter to Amata Latinus

But when Eners arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might bee imbarked according to the rate which Thucydides allowes to the Veffells then vsed, about one thousand and two hundred men: then Latinus finding that it would fland best with his affurance, to make alliance with the Troing, and moued with the great reputation of Aneas, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of Troy, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with Turnus, who incenfed herewith, fought to auenge himselfe by warre; which was foone ended with his owne death.

Of Amata the Wife of Latinus, it is very certaine, that were finee an Italian, finee could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of Amen; vnleffe we should wholly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct of the Cetei into Italie; to Telephus the Father, than to his Sonne, who served in the last yeare of the Troian Warre. But Reyneceius holds her an Afiatique, and thinks withall that Lauin's was

borne before Telephus came into Italie. That this name Amata, by which Virgil and If disamattens call her was not proper, but rather a furname, it may feeme by Varro: who calleth her Palatia: which name very well might be derived from the Greeke name Pallas, Amata which figuifieth beloued, or decre, was the name by which the High Prieft called enery Virgin, whome hee tooke to ferue as a Nume of Pella; wherefore it is the more callly to be thought a furname, how focuer Wirgil discourse of her and Venilla her lifter.

Lawinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Eneas, the Kingdome of Letimo, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race; wherein it continued vistill it was ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the Romans.

Q. IIII.

Of ENERS, and of the Kings and Governous of Aba.

NEAS himfelfe being of the royall blond of Tree had the commound of the Dardanians: he was a valuant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Trains. By his wife Cressis, the daughter of Prismus, he had a forme called Afamius, whose furname was Inlus, having before the ruine of Troy (as Pregil notes) 20 beene furnamed this. But when Aneus was dead, his wife Laainia, the daughter of Latinus, being great with child by him,

and fearing the power of this Afranias, fledde into the Woods, where the was delinered of a fonne, called thereupon Sylvius, and furnamed Post-humus, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of Lauinia was fo cuill taken by the people, that Afeanius procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and vfing her as a Queene, did foster her young some, his halfe-brother Sylnius. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of difagreement, or delighted with the figuration of the place; Afamius leaving to his mother in law the Citie Lauinium, which Ameas had built, and called after his new wines name, founded the Citie 20 Albs Long and therein raigned. The time of his raigne was according to fome. eight and twentie yeares: Vugil gives him thirtie; others five and thirtie, and eight and thirtie. After his deccase, there arose contention betweene Sylvius, the sonne of Energy and Islanthe forme of Affanius, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the forme of Lauinia, Julius was contented to hold the Priefthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to Sylvius Posthumus, whose posteritic were afterward called 5 day.

The raigne of the Alban Kings, with the continuance of each mans raigne, I finde thus fet downe.

Ilia, called alfo Rhea and Sylnia.

Romelus, Romes

Wile.		
<ol> <li>Syluins Pošthumus,</li> </ol>	29 <u>7</u> .	40
<ol> <li>Syluius Ancas.</li> </ol>	31	
3. Sylvius Latinus,	50	
4. Sylvins Alba.	39	
y. Sylvius Atis.	26	
6. Syluius Capys.	28	
7. Syluius Capetus,	13 >veares.	
8. Syluius Tiberinus,	8176	
9. Syluins Agrippa.	41	
10. Sy'nius Alledius.	ioi	
I I. Syluius Auentinus,	37	1
12. Syluins Proc.is.	23	,
13. Syluius Amulius,	443	
Sylving Namican	1.1-	

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthic of remembrance,

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of Latinus: who standing much upon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called Prifei Latini. Of Tie berinus some thinke that the River Tiber had name, being formerly called Albala: but Vireil gines it that denomination of another called Tibris, before the comming of Eneas into Italie. The Mountaine Auentinus had name (as many write) from Auentinus King of the Albanes, who was buried therein; but Virgil hath it otherwife. Inlines, the brother of Auentinus, is named by Eufebius as father of another In-10 lius, and grandfather of Iulius Proculus; who leaning Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Rome. Numitor, the elder sonne of Process, was deprined of the Kingdome by his brother Amulius; by whome also his sonne Agesthus was flame, and iliahis daughter made a Nunne of Vefta, that thereby the iffue of Numitor might be cut off. But the conceined two fonnes, either by her vncle Amulius, as fome thinke; or by Mars, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children their vncle commaunded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the Law; which fo ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chattitie. Whether it was So, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatic of Antho, the daughter of Annalius, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by 20 all, that the two children were preserved, who afterward revenged the crueltie of their yncle, with the flaughter of him and all his, and reftored Aumitor their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long he raigned I finde not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of Alba and of Latinin were presently eclipsed by the swift encrease of Rome; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of Italie) is dependant. After the death of Numitor, the Kingdome of Alba ceased; for Numitor left no male issue. Romulus chose rather to line in Rome; and of the Line of Sylvius none else remained. So the Albanes were gouerned by Magistrats; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely Caius Cluilius, who in the dayes of Tullus Hoffelius, King of 20 the Romanes, making Warre vpon Rome, died in the Campe; and Merius Suffering, the fuccessor of Clustus, who furrendred the Estate of Alba vnto the Remanes, hauing committed the hazard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each fide, who decided the quarrell by Combat : in which, the three brethren Horati, the Champions of the Romanes, prenailed against the Curiatij, Champions of the Albanes. After this Combat, when Metius (following Tullus Hoftslius with the Albane forces against the Veientes and Fidenates) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the Romanes to fuch an ouerthrow, as might make them weake enough for the Albanes to deale with Tullus; who notwithstanding this falschood obtained the victorie, did reward Metius with a cruell death, causing him. 40 to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in peeces. Then was Alba destroyed, and the Citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made Patritians; among which were the Iulij: of whome C. Iulius Cafar being descended, not onely gloried in his auncient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full affemblie of the Romanes, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soueraignetic of the Roman Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of Eneas, and honor of the Troian and Alban Race, was forcuined, that feldome, if euer, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glorie.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of ROMVLVs birth and death,

F Rome, which denoured the Alban Kingdome, I may here best show the beginnings, which (though fomewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of Ronalus, the grand-child of Numitor, the last that raigned in Alba. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene Emplorates and the Ocean were broken in pecces by the yron teeth of this fourth Bealt, it is not to be described in one to place, having beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. Q. Fabius, Pictor, Portius, Cato, Calabarmus Pilo, Sempronius, and others, fecke to deriue the Romans from Janus : but Herodo. tin, Marfyles, and many others of equal credit, give the Greeius for their aunceftors; and as Stralio reporteth in his fifth booke; CARCILIUS rerum Romano, um feritior eo argumento colligit, Roman à Gracis effe conditam quod Romani Graco ritu, antiquo instituto HERCVLI rem faciant, matrem quoque EVANDRI venerantur Romani; CAECILIVS (faith he) a Romane Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greekes, because the Bomanes, after Greekish fashion, by auncien! Ordinance doe facilitie to HERCVLES: the Romanes also worthin the mother of 20

Plutareb in the life of Romalus remembers many founders of that Citie: as Romamust be fonne of Plyffes and Circo; Romas the fonne of Emsilian, whome Diamedes fent thither from Troy; or that one Romas, a Tyrant of the Latines, who drave the Tufcans out of that Countrey, built it. Solinus beltowes the honour of building Rome vpon Enander, faying, That it was before times called Valentia, Lieraelides giues the denomination to a captine Ladie, brought thither by the Greeigns; others fay, That it was aunciently called Febris, after the name of Februs, the mother of Alars; witnesse Saint Augustine in his third Booke de Civitate Dei. But Liuie will haue it to be the worke of Romulus, cuen from the foundation: of whome and his 30 conforts Inneral to a Roman Citizen vaunting of their originall, answered in these

> Astamen vt longe repetas, longed, readlass Maiorum quifquis primus fuit ille tuorum, Aut pafter fuis, aut illud qued dicere note.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree fo farre; Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were, Some Shepheard was, or elfe, that He forbeare. meaning either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of Royalus begetting of his education and prefernation, it is faid. That he had Rhea for his mother, and Mars was supposed to be his father; that he was must by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Faulfula, a Shepheards wife. The fame yangtural nurling had Cyrus, the same incredible fostering had Seminamis; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Plutarch faith, it is like youngh that Amilius came concred with armor to Rhea, the mother of Ramulas, when he begat her with child: and therein it feemeth to me that he might have two purpofes; the one, to deftroy her, because she was the caughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other to fatisfie his appetite, because she so was faire and goodly. For thee being made a Nunne of the Goddeffe Vesta, it Banches folders was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also finde in Fanches his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Meronce, King of the Franci, was begotten by a monfler of the Sea : but Fanchet fayes, Let them believe it that lift; Il le creira ani vondra:

allo of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poeticall inventions: but to answere these imaginations in generall, it is true, that in those times, when the World was fuil of this barbarous Idolatrie, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or pallions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, coner fuch flips as they made, by proteiling to be forced by more then humane power : to did Oenone confesse to Paris, that thee had been erauithed by Apollo. And Anchifes boafted that hee had knowne Fenus. But Rhea was made with child by fome man of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars, the God of battell, according to the fense of the time. Oenene was ouer-

To come by a ttrong wit, and by fuch a one as had those properties ascribed to alreade. The Mother of Meronée might fancie a Sea Captaine to bee gotten with yong by fuch a one: as the Daughter of Insolus fancied, according to Lerodotus. edinero was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, casted for her beautie Fema, and was therefore the child of luft, which is Venus, Romalus was nurat by a Wolfe, which was Lupa, or Lupina, for the Curtefans in those daies were called Wolfes, gas nume (faith HALICAR NASSARVS) honeftiori vocabulo amice appellantur: Which remove by an honester nume called friends. It is also written, that nonclus was in the end of his life taken vp into heaven, or rather out of the world by his Father Mars, in a great forme of thunder, and lightning: fo was it faid that Eners vanished away by the

20 River Mameus: but thereof Lineallo speaketh modelly; for hee rehearful the other opinion, that the florme was the furie of the Senators , but flormeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree that there was an vnnaturall darkeneile, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might bee flaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vulkely. For the Emperour Anafrafius was fiaine with lightning, fo was Strato the Father of Pompey flaine with a thunder-bolt : fo Carus the Emperour (who fucceeded Probus) whilefthe lodged with his Armie you the River Tigrie, was there flaine with lightning. But a Mars of the same kinde might end him that beganne him; for he was begotten by a man of Warre, and by violence destroied. And that he died by violence (which destinie followed mott of the

20 Roman Emperours) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus: who was but the feuenth King after him: who when he had murthered his father in law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (faid he) Romulus himselfe dyed and was not buried. But let Halicar naffans end this dispute : whose words are these. They (faith he) who draw neerest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelite in punishments of offendors, together with his arrogencie, were the coule of his flaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was rauffeed, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the sunne was celipsed, and all the earth concred with darkenesse like with night, and that the fame did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of Romalus: whose life historified by Plutarch, 40 doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a sew miles which had foone beene forgotten, if the Roman greatheffe built upon that foundation, had not given it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man be was, very strong of body, patient of traueil, and temperate in diet, as forbeating the vie of wine and delicacies but his raging ambition lice knew not how to temper, which caused him to flay his brother, and neglect renence of the death of Talius his companion in the Kingdome, that he himfelfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He raigned seuen and thirtie yeares: first alone, then with Tating, and after his death fingle, till he was flaine, as is alreadic linewed: after which time the Sourraignetic fell into the hands of Aums, a man to him vn-50 knowne, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her later times bath somewhat resembled this King. For having long beene sole Gonernesse till Constantinople shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperous was crushed by forraine enemies, and the Latines disposled of Imperiall power, shee fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the

Sword, and therewith victorious to excelling magnificence, from whence by the fome degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes, and therein hauing beene infortunate, at length betakes her selse againe to the Crossers staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the storie of the times of King Abox, during whose raigne in Iurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laied.

# CHAP. XXV.

# Of EZEKIA, and his Contemporaries.

of the beginning of Ezecutas, and of the agreeing of Prolomies, NABONASSAR, NABOPOLASSAR, and MARDOCEM-PADYS, with the Hillerie of the Bible.

20



S the first yeare of Alars his raignewas confounded with the laft of his Father Jotham fo was the later end of his lixteene yeares taken up in the three first of Ezekias his Sonne. This appeares by the raigne of Ho-(es, over Wisel, which beganne in the twelfth of Abaz, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with his fourteenth. But the third of Hafea was the first of Ezekin; fo it followes, that Ezekin beganne to raigne in his Fathers fourteenth yeare. Like e- 20 nough it is, that the third years of Hofes, the fame being the fourteenth of Alice, was almost spent when

Facility legistrate, and fo the presently years of Abat may have been concurrent, for the medioart, with the first of Eaches.

By Supposing that Hofes beganne his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeare of Aliaz. was almost complear, forme would finde the meanes how to difform the first of Hezelia from the lifeconth of Abaz, placing him yet one years later, of which years, Abaz may perhaps have lived not many daies. But feeing that the fourteenth and filecenth yeares of Ezekia, may not be removed out of their places; it is vaine labour

In the Convercents of Ezekia, Senaciteats inunding Inda, and the Countries adjoyning, loft his Armie by a miraculous ftroke from heaven, fled home, and was finine. The yeare following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of Ezelis, when he had alreadic raigned fourteene of his nine and twentie: and the fame yeare was that miracle feene of the Sunnes going back; of which wonder (as I beare) one tracholomen Scaltet, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered vnto the twentie fifth of April, in the Islam yeare, being then Thursday. I have not scene any workes of Scalet : but forcely to finde a motion to irregular and miraculous, it is necessarie that he produce forme record of observation made at such a time. How somer it be, the 50 differently were of Ezekin is agreed upon; and therefore wee may not alter the first. action 2007. As for that laving, which is virall in the like cafes, that A is Az fort with his Bathers, and Example Some raigned in his feed, it doth no more prove that Enchis raigned not with his Father, than the like faying doth inferre the like at the death of leke(aphat, and fuccellion of Jehoram; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the

Sonne to raigne whileft his Father lived, we have alreadie faid enough. Of this godly King Ezekins, we finde, that his very beginning tellified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were fo that his unfortunate and ungratious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sonnes proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to him er; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first years and first moneth of his raigne, wherein Ezekins opened the dores of the Temple, 2 chron. 19.23. were to be understood as the beginning of his fole gouernement; we plainely finde it to have beene his first worke, that he opened the dores of the house of the Lord,

which Achaz had flut vp, cleanfed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idolls, reitored the Priefts to their offices, and effates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered attenues. which had beene for many yeares neglected, and brake downe the brafen Serpent of Mofes, because the people burnt incense before it, and hee called it Nebullitan, 2.Kings 18. which lignifieth a lumpe of braffe. He did also celebrate the Paffe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the Ifraelites of the ten Tribes. Many there were, cuen out of those Tribes, that came up to Ierusalem, to this feast : but the generall

multitude of Ifrael did laugh the Meffengers of Ezekia to feorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the Egyptian feruitude, fell into a new feruitude, out of which they neon uer were deliuered. For in the fourth of Ezekia his raigne, Salmanaffar the Sonne of Tiglath, the Sonne of Belochus, hearing that Hofen King of Ifrael had practifed with See King of Agypt, against him : inuaded Ilrael, believed Samaria, and in the third yeare (after the Inhabitants had endured all forts of miferies) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into Afgriaand Media: among whom Tobias and his Sonne of the fame name, with ... in whis Wife, were fent to Ninine, in whose Seats and Places the Afgrians fent ftrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the Ifraelites, as those of Cutha, Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, belides Bibylonians: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatife of the holy Land.

30 Thefe later Afgrian Kings, and the Persians, which followed them, are the first. of whom wee finde mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore ferue most aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets \ aue written otherwife than fabuloufly) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of Historie. True it is, that of Cyrus and fome other Persians, we finde in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them : but of Phul & Salmanaffar, with other Afgrian, and Children Kings, discribic of name bath bred quellion of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of Salmanassar, King of Assur, who raigned in the time of Ahaz, and Ezekia, Kings of Inda, and of Hofea King of Ifrael, whom he 40 carried into captiuitie; and whereas Ptolomie makes mention of Nabonassar, speaking precifely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to fliew, that Salmonaflar and Nabonaffar were one and the fame man. The like reason also requireth, that it bee shewed of Nebuchadnezzar, that hee was the same, whom Ptolomic calleth

Nabopolassar. Of both these points Bucholeerus hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of fundrie good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares than betweene Nabonaffar and the birth of Christ, there passed seven hundred fortie and fixe yeares : at which distance of time the raigne of Salmanaslar was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the fame Bucholeerus alleageth out of Erafmus Reinholdus, 50 in the Prutenick Tables. Mardocempadus King of Babylon (whom Ptolomic, fpeaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call Merodach, who fent Embaffadors to Hezekia, King of Inda. So that if wee reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene Meroduch and Salmanassar, we shall finde it the same which is betweene Mardocempadus and Nabe-

with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

nation. Likewife Ennelius doth thew, that whereas from the defirmation of Semanta, to the denastation of Ierufalem, in the nineteenth of Nebusinalnessar, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diffance of one hundred thirtie and three yeares : the felfe fame difference of time is found in Ptologije, betweene Asbonaffar and Nabovelatian, Forwhereas Piologic feemes to differ from this accompt, making 2V about far more ancient by an hundred and fortie yeares, than the detiruction of Jerufalen, wee are to understand that he tooke Sameris in the eighth years of his raigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to thefe one hundred thirtie and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of Ptolomie, Ptolomies computation is, that from the first of Mabounffor to the fifth of Mabopolaffor, there passed one hundred twentie 10 and feven yeares. Now if wee adde to thefe one hundred twentie feven; the thirteencenfuing of Nabuchalpellars yeares, before the Citie and Temple were defined ed, we have the fumme of one hundred and fortie yeares. In fo plaine a cafe more procles are needleffe, though many are brought, of which this may ferue for all, that Projects placeth the first of Autopoissfor one hundred twentie and two yeares, after the firth of Alban of ar, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To thefe notes are added the confent of all Mathematicians; which in accompt of times I hold more fare than the authoritie of any Historie; and therefore I thinke it follow to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so throughly concurre.

Yet for almuch as that argument of the learned Stallger doth reft vnanfwered, whereby he proud Baladan the Pather of Acroduch, to have beene this 21 about far. I will not foure to loofe a word or two ingining the Reader latisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the beauculy Bodies, which Ptolomie recorded, after the time of Aubonaffer, were in the raigne of Mardocompadus; the fecond yeare of whose raigne, is, according to Ptolomic concurrent in part with the twentie. feuen of Nabonoffar. For the fecond of three ancient Eclipfes which he calculates, being in the fecond years of Mardocompadus, was from the beginning of Makonaffar twentie feuen yeares, fenenteene daies, and eleuen houres : the accompt from Anlandfir, beginning at high noone the first day of the Agyptica moneth That, than 20 answering to the twentic fixt of Februarie; and this Eclipse being fiftie minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of Februarie; to that the difference of time betweene the two Kings Aubenaffar and Mardocempadas, is noted by Ptelemie, according to the Agrician yeares. But how does this prone, that Marcheempadus or Merodach, was the Sonne of Nabonaffar? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Success for, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to fatisfic me, in this argument, that Sadiger himselfe did afterwards believe Atardocompadus to have beene rather the Nephew, than the Sonne of Baladan, or Nabanaffar. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But 40 because our Countrie-man Lidyate hath reprehended Scaliger for changing his opinion; and that both Torniellus, who followes Sesliger herein, and Sesbus Calaifius, who hath drawne into forme of Chronologie, that learned worke, De Emendatione Temporam, doe hold up the fame affection, confounding Baladan with Alaboration I have taken the paines to fearch, as farre as my leifure and diligence could reach, after any fentence that might proue the Kindred or fuccession of these two. Yet cannot I finde in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerfe to Sealiger; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this bulineffe) any fentence more nearely proping the fuccession of Merodach to Nationaffar, than the place now laft rebearfed; which makes no more, to thew that the one of these was so Father to the other, than (that I may vie a like example) the as neare fuccession of William the Conqueror, declares him, to have beene Sonne, or Grand-child to Edward the Confessor. This considered, wee may safely goe on with our accompt from Nabonaffar, taking him for Sulmanaffar; and not fearing, that the Readers will

ò. I I. Of the danger and deliverance of Indea from SENNACHERIB.

be driven from our booke, when they finde fomething in it, agreeing with Annies, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, raigned in Babylon, and Albria.

in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomie are assigned to Belosus, Nabonal-

far, and Mardocempadus, and the reft: no good Historie naming any others, that

raigned there in those ages, and all Astronomicall observations, fitly concurring,

32 Hen Salmanaffar was dead, and his fonne Sennacherib in poffellion of the Empire, in the fourteenth yeare of Ezechias, he demanded of him fuch Tribute as was agreed on at fuch time as Tiglath, the Grand-father of Sennacherib, and Father of Salmanaffar, inuited by Ahaz, inuaded Rezen King of Damafeus, and delivered him from the dange-

rous Warre which Ifrael had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when Ezechias denied, Semacherib, having (as it feemes) a purpose to in-20 uade Agypt, fent one part of his Armie to lie before Jerufalem. Now though fize. chias (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of liluer, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he prefented Sennacherib, now fet downe before Lachis in Iudaa, yet vnder the colour of better affurance, and to force the King of Indianto deliver hoftages, 2, King 18, 20 the Affyrian enuironed Ierufalem with a groffe Armie, and having his Sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Exechias directed his three greatest Counsellers, to partie with Rabfaces, ouer the Wall; and to receive his demands: who wfed three principall arguments to perfwade the people to yeeld themselves to his Master Semacherib. For though the 20 Chancellar, Steward, and Secretarie, sent by Ezeebias, defired Rabfaces to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, and not in the Ienifb, yet hee with a more foud voice directed his speech to the multitude in their owne language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued oblinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, bee inforced to cate their owne dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Agypt, from whom the Indexus hoped for fuccour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which who focuer leaneth pierceth his owne hand : Thirdly, that the Gods who should helpe them, Exceluse had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had beene preserved ever since catoles time: 40 and withall he bad them remember the Gods of other Nations: whom, not withstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himfelfe, in whom they trufted, he perfwaded them by no meanes to relie on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people filent (for fo the King had commanded them) after a while when he had understood that the King of 4rabia was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himselfe left the Asprisa forces

chias, whom he partly aduited, and partly threatned to fubmit himfelfe : viing the 50 fame blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But Ezerbias fending those Counsellers to the Prophet Esay, which had lately beene sent to Rabfaces, received from him comfort, and affurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not prevaile; against whom the King also befought aide from almightie God, repeating the most infolent and blasphemous parts of Sennacheribs letter, before the

in charge to others, and fought Sennacherib at Lebnain Iudea, either to informe him

of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of

Terhaca the Arabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from Sennacherib to Eze-

Efai.29, 6.

Altar of God in the Temple, confelling this part thereof to be true. That the King of Ashva had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had let fire on their Gods, for they were no Gods, but the worke of mans hands, even wood and fione, &c.

The reason that moved Sennacherib to defire to possesse himselfe in hast of Jerusalem, was that he might thereinto have retraited his Armie, which was departed, as it feemeth from the fiege of Pelulium in Agypt, for feare of Terhies : and though the Scriptures are filent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the Chronisles or Parelipomenon, (peake but of the affaires of the Ierres in effect) yet the ancient Berofiss, and out of him Iofephas, and S. Hierome, together with Herodo-

Ecolds 14.69 tus, remember it as followeth. Herodotus calleth Sennacherib King of Arabia and Af- 10 fyria: which he might justly doe, because Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from Pekah King of Ifrael : as Gilead ouer Iordan, and the reft of Arabia Petras adjoyning : the fame Herodotus also maketh Sethon King of A. gypt, to be Fulcans Prieft, and reporteth that the reason of Sennacherils returne from Pelulium in Agypt, which healfo befieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of R ats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-firings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons of that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him:

Total Joseph but the approach of Terhaca, remembred by Infephus and Berofin, was the more vigent. S. Hierome vpon the fenen and thirtie of Efay, out of the fame Berofus, as also Her swap 12. in part out of Herodotto, whom tofephus citeth fomewhat otherwise than his wordes 20

lie, reports Senacheribs retrait in these words. Pugnasse autem Senacheribs Regen Afgriorum contra Egyptios, & obsedisse Pelusum, iamá, extructis aggeribus, vrbs espiende, venisse T ARACH AM Regen Athiopum in auxilium, o vnanočte iuxta Ierufalem centum ocloginta gumg, millia exercitus Afrij poslilentia corruisse narrat HE-RODOTVS: & plenisime BEROSVS Childrice feriptor Historie, quorum fides de proprijslibris petendacil; That SENACHERIB King of the Afgrians fought against the

To wit in Ecyptisms, and befored Pelulium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the part, tor Here. Citic, TARHACAS King of the Athiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night nethnothing, neare Icrasalem one hundred eightic sue thousand of the Asyrian Armie perished by pestineither of Tor-bear, not être-lener, of the festings (faith HIERONE) "HERODOTY'S reports, and more at large 30 refiles, not of BEROSY'S a writer of Children florie, who feeredit is to be taken from their owne bookes. Out of Esay it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assista Armie was in this

manner. Thou halt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirle winde and a tempest, and a slame of denouring fire. But tolephus bath it more largely out of the same Berofus, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, SENNACHERIBUS antem ab Agyptiaco bello tof and a o. a. renertens, offendut ibi exercitum, quem fub RABSACIS Imperio reliquerat peffe diuini-

tusimmifià deletum, primà nocte posteaquam Vrbem oppugnare coperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis fallicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum fium contendit, ad regium qua Ni- 40 nus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, è filijs suis, Adramelecht, &

selemar other SELENNARI, vitam amilit : occifus in ipfo Templo quod dicitur ARASCI; quem pracipuo cultu dignabatur : quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugienwho new mine, acheway pray- fibus, As ARACOLD As miner flins in Regnum fuecefit; SENNACHERIB (faith BEROSVS) returning from the Agyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which he had left under the command of R ABSACES, destroyed by a positionee sent from God, the first

night that he had begunne to affault the Towne : one hundred fourescore and fine thousand of the Souldiers being confumed with their Chieftaines and Coronelli. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome , to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus , where 50 foortly after by the treafon of two of the eldeft of his Sonnes, ADRAMELECH and SE-LENNAROTS HAREZER, he lost bis life in the Temple dedicated to ARASCES, or NES-

S.Riug 19. 37. ROCH: whom he especially worshipped. These his somes being for their parricide chased a-Midranda Way by the people: and flying into Armenia, A SARACOLDAS his younger forme succeed

ded in the Kingdow. Who in the beginning of his raigne fent new troupes out of Affirm and Somaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his grandfather Salman affar. What this Nefroch was, it is uncertaine: Hierome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that Venus Vrania was worthipped by the ziffyrians; and to was Inpiter Belus, as Dion, Eufebius, and Cyrillus witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonne had to murther him; but the Ly. most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on Affarhaddon. Tobit tells vs, That it was fiftie fine dayes after Senacheribs returne, ere he was murthered by his fonnes; during which time he flew great numto bers of the Ifraelites in Niniue, till the most just God turned the Sword against his

> Q. III.
> Of Ezekias his ficknesse and recoverie; and of the Bubylonian King that congratulated bim.

Fter this maruellous delinerie, Ezekias fickened, and was told by Ifaiab, West that he mult die: but aiter he had befought God with teates for his delucrie, #faith as he was going from him returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promife him recourrie after three dayes, and a prolongation of his life for fifteene yeares. But Ezekius fomewhat cloubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a figne to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of Halab, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrarie way, and 2. Rings 20 went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of Achaz. The cause that moved Ezekins to lament (faith Saint Hierome) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the Mephas should come out of the house of David, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the Pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a maffe of Figges, layed to the Botch or Soare.

This wonder when the Wife men of Children had told to Merodach, King of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezekias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Exekins thewed him all the Treasure hee had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet Ifaiab, who tolde him; The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, an I what some rby fathers have layed Elay and up in flore to this day, flat be carried into Babel; nothing thall be left, fayth the Lord. It may feeme itrange, how Ezekia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for Senacherib had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same Senseherib his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made Eachia richer upon the fuddaine then ever he had beene; which vnexpected wealth was a ftrong temptati-40 on to boalling. After this time Ezelia had rest, and spending without novse that addition which God had made vnto his life, he died, having raigned nine and twentie yeares. One onely offenfine Warre he made, which was against the Philistonis with good fuccesse. Among his otheracts (shortly remembred in Euclestations thee East, 43, denifed to bring water to terrifalem.

In two respects they say that hee offended God: the one, that hee rejoyced too much at the defirmerion and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that hee for much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to their them to francers. But the reason which moved Exekins (speaking humanely) to entertaine the limbassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit 50 him, and brought him a prefent, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as also in that Meradael had weakened the house of Senseberib, his fearefull enemie. For Alexadael, who was Commaunder and Lieutenant under Senacherib in Babelon, vfurped that State himfeld in the laft years of that King, and held it by firong hand against his some Affactandion; who was not onely simple, but impaired in streng h,

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by the moletation of his brothers. This aduantage Merodule (bjeed, and remembring, that their anceltor Phal Relachm had fet his owne maßer Surdampalus befides the cultion, thought it as law full for himselfer to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakenesse class will for himselfer to take the opportunitie which this kings weakenesse can be found in the first problem to make very for the others wickednesse; and be, industing himselfe beloned of the Balylonians, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The affertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were vseed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phal Belebus; which I will not here againe rehearse. So of this new Race, which cut assume that here of Ninus, there were onely flue Kings

That Belochus.
Tiglath Visiaffar.
Solimansflar.
Alfarhadden.

years.

\$\frac{48.}{27.}\text{yeares.}

years.

But forasmuch as the last yeare of Salmanassar was also the first of Senacherib his fonne, we reckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Assyrian Kingdome, to have been an hundred and one yeares; of which, the last flue and twentie were spent with Exciting under Salmanassar Senachrib, and Assarbadom.

#### ð. IIII

The Kingsthat were in Media during the raigne of E REKIN: Of the difference found between fundire Authors, in rehearling the Chechan Kings.

Other contemporaries of E. REKIN: of C.N. D.N.
LES, G.Y.G.E.S, and the Kings defended from HERCHES.

N the time of Ezekia, Medidus, and after him Cavdiesus, raigned in Medidus, and after him Cavdiesus, raigned in Medidus, Whether it were fo, that varietie of names, by which thefe Kings 19 were called in fecural Hilitories, hath caused them to feeme more than indeede they were; or whether the fonnes raigning with the fathers, hauc caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of the proposers of Medical to exceed the due processions or whether

Time, wherein they gonerned Media, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themfeltes, of Ctefias and Annius his Metaithenes, have beene faultic, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of truthinsses: lo it is, that the names, number, and length of raigne, are all very dinersly reported of these Median Kings, that followed Arbases: Therefore it neede not seems strange, that I recommendate and Cardiens as contemporaries with Eschia. Forto reconcile so great a difference, as is sound in those Writers that varie from Eschias, is more than 140 dare vndertake. I will onely here set downe the roll of Kings that raigned in Media, accordingly as sundrie Authors have deliuered it.

Annies his Metasthenes orders them and their raignes thus:

Arbaces.	)	(28.)	
Mandanes.		50.	
Sofarmon.	1	30.	
Articarmin.	1	50.	
Arbianes.	1	[22.]	
Art.sus.	>who raigned	l{ 40. } yeares.	
Attines.	ł	22.	
Aflybares, with l	his	20.	
fonne Apanda.	í	1 1	
Apanda alone.	1	30.	ž
Darius with Cyrus	. <u>I</u>	[36.]	
	_	-	Diadayus

Diodorus Sieulus following Ciefius (as perhaps Annius made hist Metaflhenes follow Diodore, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.



Altybara. Sthe continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Merestor hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusseline. But for assume that is seemen to me an impossible matter, to attaine with of these forgotten times, by conjectures of bounded vpon Ctessa and Metassibenes, I will lay the burthen vpon Eusseline, who lieucid in an age better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I hauterckoned as contemporaries with Exchis) Medician and Cardienes, a refound in Eusseline: for whether Cardienes were Diederesh his Arbianes, I will not stay to search. The Kings of Media, according to Eusseline and Cardienes.

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde vnto these, Cyaxares the sonne of Asyages, according to Xenophen; and sometimes sollow Herodoins,
in setting downe the length of a Kings ratigne, otherwise than Ensemble than the cost
of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twentie nine yeares of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Gouernours of Albeas for ten yeares; that is, of Charays, Elimetas, Elidiaus, and Hippanes. Touching the first of these I beare nothing, faue that Rome was built in his first yeare; of which perhaps himselfed did not heare. Of the second and third I finde only the heames. The fourth made himselfe knowne by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelic, that here shewed wpon his owne Laughter. For he finding that shee had offended in whe hastlitie, caused her to be lock twp with an Horse, guing to mether of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, denoured the vnhappie Woman.

50 In Rome, the first King, and Founder of that Citie Romalus, did raigne both before, and somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King, ruled in the same age.

This Region was lift called Masnis, Lydus the fonne of Atyratigning in It, gaue the name of Lysics, if we believe fuch authoritie as we finde. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred your Argon, who came of Alexan the forne of thread by Jardams, a bond-woman. The race of these Iteracidal continued raigning liftie time yearse (in which two and wentie Generations passed) the thing the continued raigning liftie fine yearse (in which two and wentie Generations passed) the last of this race, who doated so much you the beautic of his owne Wife, that her could not be econtent to enjoy her, but would needse enforce one Gyges, the fonne of Dafsplus, to behold her naked bodie; and placed the wnwilling man screetly in her chamber, where he might seek progressing to bedward. This was not so to follow are continued, but that the Queene perceived Gyges at his going forth, and understanding the matter, tookeit in such high distaines, that thee forced him the next day to requite the Kings follie with treason. So Gygs, being brought againe into the fame chamber by the Queene, slew Candaules, and was rewarded not only with his Wise, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He raigned thirtie eight yeares, beginning in the last of Eachsta, one yeare before the death of Romalus.

After Grees, his fonne Areys raigned nine and fortie yeares, then Sadyattes, twelue;
Halyattes, fittie feuen; and finally Crafus, the fonne of Halyattes, fourteene yeares:

who loft the Kingdome, and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lyshun Kings, whom Cressus his 20
Progenitor disposses, are deduced from Iterates, so of the same Iterates there sprang many other Kings, which gouerned several Countries very long; as in Assa, the Myslams; in Greec, the Lacedenmanns, Chessians, Sorinthams, and Argues; and from the Argues; the Macedonians; as likewise from the Cornilians, the Syraulanes: beliefes

many great and famous, though prinate,

But of the Heralide that raigned in Lydis, I have not troubled my felfe to take notice in the times of their feuerall raignes: forlittle is found of them, befide the bare names, and the follic of this laft

King Candaules.

CHAP.

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## CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that raigned in Ægypt, betweene the deliuerance of Israel from thence, and the raigne of Ezrkia in Juda, when Ægypt and Iuda made a league against the Assyrians.

ð. I.

That many names of Ægyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged only to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of WILLIAM of Tyre his Historie of the boly Warr



Hz emulation and quartells ariling in these times, between the might kingdomes of \( \mathcal{E}(p) rad \), for equire our paines, in collecting the most memorable things in \( \mathcal{E}(p) rad \), and setting downed briefly the state of that Countrie, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with \( \mathcal{E}(p) rad \), and other ancient fire. Of \( \mathcal{E}(m) \), the sound of \( Node), who first planted that Countrie, and of \( \sigma rightarrow \), and other ancient Kings, that raigned there, vntill the \( \sigma rightarrow righ

30 I can fland to; though I hold it no flame to faile in fluch conjectures. That which I have deliutered, in speaking mine opinion of the \( \mathcal{E}\) gyptian Dynassius, must be reagaine helpe me. For it may truely be caffirmed, T hat the great number of Kings, which are said to haue raigned in \( \mathcal{E}\) gytt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, sinch as soleph was, and such as were the Soldanse in later ages. Therefore, I will not only sobbeare to seeke after those, whom \( \mathcal{Herodots}\) deliuering them by number, without rehearling their names; but will saue the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are sound; the yeares of their raignes, and other circumflances, prouing them to have beene Kings in deede, being not recorded.

tances, proung them to hade oene kings in decede, being in recorded.

But that I may not feeme before hand, to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I lift; it were not amilife, to giue vnto the Reader fuch fatisfaction in this point, as apparent reafon, and truth of Hiftorie doth affoord. First therefore, we cought not to beleeue those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests haue reckoned vp; to magnific their Antiquities. For wee know, that from Abraham, our Sauione Christ was remoued only fortic two defectors, which makes it euident, that in farre thorter time, namely before the Persian Empire, there could not haue passed away twice as many successions in £gpt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuancies expersised, haue raigned longer, than fortie yeares. It followes that we should square the number of the £gptim than fortie yeares.

50 Kings, in some even proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countries.

As for the rest, whose names wee finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the painest to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy Warre, written by William Archbishop of Tyre, may cassily personal thinsels, that it is not hard to find names enough that it is not hard to find names are not to the country of the c

than Regents or Viceroies. Yet will I hereinfert, as briefly as I can, fomethings making to that purpofe, for the pleafure and information of fuel, as will not trouble themfelines with running ouer many Authors.

When Elbaskeh the Califa ruled in Aggipt, one Dargan, a powerfull and a fubtile man, made him Glic Salkan, by force and cunning, chaling away Sanaran Araban, who was Salkan before and atter him. This Dargan minitred matter of quarreil to Canadische Ting of the Maken; and fulfatined, with little loffe, an inuation, which Analytic made vpon Aggipt. Hereupon hee grew to infolent and proud, that Sanar the former salkan hoped to make his partie good againfi him; if hee could get any forces wherewith to enter Aggipt. Briefly, Sanar fuech to Norsdam, King to of Langton, for aide, who fends an Armie of his Tinker, under the command of Sarvan against the Salkan Langan, So Deag and Sanar met, and fought: The Victorie was Langan, but he enjoyed it not thoring the fire was faine by treation, whereby Sanar did receive his Dignitie which to ethablish he flew all the Kindred and Friends of Dargan, that he could finde in the great Clice of Cana.

To all these doings, the Calaph Elbaskeh gaue little regard is for he thought it little concerned birm, which of them lined, and had the administration of the Kingdome, while I he en night have the presist of it, and enjoy his pressure. But never troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) doe nearely touch the Calaph himselfe. Syraem with his Taskes, whom Sasar hast posten to come into Jeepps, will not 20 now be interacted there to leave him, and quietly goe their way home. They serve you the Towne of Reliais, which they britise, and there attend the arrival of more Companie from Damfog, for the conquest of all Acesses. The Saskan perceives their intent and finds himselfernot strong enough to expell them, much lesse to repell the Tasksh michael was likely to second them. He there fore sends McGengers to King Almaniske of Tendalow, whom with large promises, bee gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the Tasks. Of all this trouble, the great Calaph heaves nothing, or not for much, as should make him look to the playing of his owne game.

A greater mischiese ariseth, concerning the Csliph Elizaceth particularly, in his owne Title. Syracon, Captaine of the Turkes, that had beene in deeppt, goes to the 200 Caliph of Baldach (who was opposite to him of Accept, each of them cialming as heire to Mahomet, that falle Prophet, the Soueraignetic ouer all that were of the Saracen Law) and tells him the weakenesse of the aegiptian, with his owne abilitie of doing feruice in those parts, offering his best meanes for the extirpation of the Schifmaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Acgypt, with the Westerne parts, under the fubjection of the Babylonian. This motion is reacily and joyfully entertained; all the Eafterne Prouinces are up in Armes; and Syracon, with a mightie power, defcendeth into Accept. The noise of this great expedition so affrightern King Aenaricke, that with all his forces hee hafteth into Acquet; well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of terufalem, to keep the Sarracens from joyning 40 all under one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiving the faith full care of the Christians his friends, wellcomes them, and beffirs himfelfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behooved him: for by their admirable valous, be finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not fo foone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strangeit is (which moftconcernes our prefer the purpose) that of for desperate a danger, the Califfs, as yet, fermes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have beene Kingia title only, who medled so little in the Cournement? The Salam, finding that the Christians (without whose heipe, all was lot) could not well flay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King Almerick, youn condition, that he should abide by it. He promifest a great Tribute (Wham of Type calls 50 its Tribute; the Saraems, perhaps, called lie Pension, which the Kings of femplates should receive out of Egypt, for this behooveful affishance. But the Cristians vnderslanding that the Salam (how much secure be took exponsion) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargaine of fisch importance, with any other than

the Caliph himselfe. Hereupon Hugh Farle of Cofarea, and a Knight of the Templars, are fire with Elbadech, to ratific the concnants. Now shall wee see the greatness of the Coliph and his estate.

The Emba fladors were conneighed by the soldon to Cairo; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through darke Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of £theopians, which, with all diligence, did reuerence wno the soldon, as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of fuch beautic and riches, that they could not retain the grautic of Emba fladors, but were enforced

50 to admire the things which derained their cies. For there they faw goodly marble Fullars, gilded Beames, all wrought oner with emboffed works, curious pauements, filh-ponds of marble with clear ewaters, and many forts of fitrange Birds, wiknowne in thefe parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the Eaft mater, which then were undifcoured. The further they went the greater was the magnificence, for the Calipb his Emmekes conucighed them into other Courts within thefe; as farre excelling the former, as the former did firpsaffe ordnarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearfe, how, the further they entred, the more high flate they found, and caufe of merualle, fuffice; that the good Archbifltop, who wrote the fe things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally, they were brought into the Calipbs wome

20 lodgings, which were yet more flately, and befter guarded, where entring the Prefence, the Solam, having twice profitated himselfe, did the chird time call off his Sword, that he ware about his neck, and throw himselfe on the ground, before the curtaine, behind which the Caliph fate. Prefently the trauerfe, wrought with gold and pearles, was opened, and the Caliph himselfe discovered, fitting withgreen Majettie on a throne of gold, having very few of his most inward fervants and Euromehrs about him. When the Solam had humbly kissed his Masters teet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King Almaricke, destring the Caliph himselfe to ratife them, in prefence of the Emballadors. The Caliph answered, That he would throughly perform call

30 which was promifed. But this contented not the Embaffadors: They would hate him to giue his hand yoon the bargaine; which the Agyptians; that flood by, thought an impudent requeft. Ye this great nelfe condel cended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of Cofarea saw that the Catiph gaue his hand, neither willingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect. Sin, Truth Reksen on holes to lide it selfe; Princes, that will hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly, and sincerely g Giue vs therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for wee will make no bargaines with your Glouc. Much adoe there was about this: for it feemed against the Majestic of such a Prince to yeeld so farre. But, when it would none o

40 therwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great gricee of his Seruants) hee wouthfasted to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the conenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing sinally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testission his Greatnesse.

In this Calipb and his Sultan, wee may different he Image of the ancient Pharach; and his Pieco 9: we fee a Prince of great cflate, fitting in his Palace, and not ovexing himselfe with the great preparations made againft him, which terrife his neighbour Countries: we fee his Viceroy, in the meane feafon, vling all Roiall power; making warre and peace, entertaining, and expelling Armies of thrangers; yea, making the Land of Exppt tributarie to a formain Prince. What greater authoritie was given 50 to 10 feph, when Pharach faid vnto him, Thou shall be over mine kease, and at thy word shall my people be armed, only in the Kings Throne will I be about thee, Bebold, I have for the cover all the Land of Exppt?

I doe not commend this forme of Gouernement; neither can I approoue the conjecture of mine Author, where he ethinks, that the Agyptians, cuer fine

Jujeples time, have felt the burthen of that feruitude, which he brought vpon them. when he bought them, and their Lands, for Pharach. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the Agyptian Kings, in taking their cafe, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practifed by the Pharaohs, For we finde, that even the Ptolomies (excepting Ptolomeus Lagi, and his fonne Philadelphus, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to pleafe their owne appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their defires. The pleasures which that Countrie affoorded, were indeede fufficient, to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Agyptians held their Princes, gave them 10 fecuritie, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have thewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroies governing &gypt, is fet downe by Mofes, and that a lively example of the fame is found in William of Tyre; who lived in the fame age; was, in few yeares after, Chancellor of the Missidome of Icrufalem; and had full discourse with Hugh Earle of Cafarea, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that wee bee not carried away with a vaine opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Appliant, have bonored with that file; but reft contented with a Catalogue of fuch, as wee finde by circumstance, likely to have raigned in that Countrie; after 20 whom it followes that we should make enquirie.

#### ). II.

Of ACHEREE; whether he were V CHOREVS that was the eighth from OSYMANDYAS. Of OSYMANDYAS and his Tombe.

N this bufuncted hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope 30 varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies from the vaidous varies vari

From the departure of Israel out of Agypt, vnto the raigne of Thuoris (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call Proteus) there is little or no difagreement about the Agyptian Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in Eustines, and give to cuery one the same length of raigne.

Abbrews was the fift of the fe, who fucceeded with o Cheechres, that perified in the Red Sea. This King feemes to Reinecture to be the fance whom Diederus calls Vehoreus, the founder of Atomphis. But whereas mention is found in Diederus of a great King, named of prantfus, from whom Vehoreus is faid to be the eighth; it will yo either hardly follow, that Trimms (as Reinectus conjectures) was the great of fynancipus or elfe that this Abbrews was Vehoreus; for the diffance betweene them was more than eight generations. Merestor judgeth of prantfus to have beene the builband of Accuebres, orns the fecond his Daughter; thinking that Manethon

(cited by \*Iofephus\*) doth omit his name, and infert his wines, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wines right. As for \*Ichoreus\*, it troubles not \*Moratur to finde him the eighth from this man. for he takes \*Qodens\*, not to fignific in this place of \*Diodore\* (as that \*Greeke\* word elfe doth) the eighth, but to be an \*Asignism name, belonging allo to \*Ichoreus\*, who might haue had two names, as many of the relthad. I will not vexe my braines in the vaprofitable fearch of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that \*Diodore\* hath found of this \*Offmundyns\*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the \*Catalogue and \*Qodens\* of \*Qoden

owith the flege of a Towne, the captimitic of the People, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the \*Egyptims flaid to denote the conquest of \*Bacteria\* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold-this goodly pecce of worke, which \*Diodare\* so particularly describes; to haue beene erested for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of \*Ægyp\*, and to their Viceroies; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as eurey one to have his owne particular monument, striumg therein to exceede all others. This appeares by the many statuaes, therein placed, by the Warres, the judgement Seate; the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the accompt of Revenuenes, and plentie of all Catraile and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the

20 feuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of Offimandy as was this infeription.

I am O S Y M A N D Y A S. King of Kinges, If any define to know what I am, or where the, let him exceede for me fry works. Let them, that hope to exceede his works, labour to know what he was. But fince by those wordes, or where the it. it thould feeme that hee lay not there interred, wee may lawfully suspect that it was insept, whose bodie was preferred among the Horenes, to bee buried in the Land of Canama, and this emptie Monument might King Orm, who out-lined him, creed in honor of his high deferts, among the royall Sepulchers. To which purpose, the plentie of Cattaile, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of immandy as doth not binder this conjecture, seeing to seph had one new name given to

30 him by Pharab, for expounding the dreame, and might, vpon further occations, have another, to his encrease of honor. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerbeg, as the Turkish Bassacra et alled, that is, Great aboue the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of tofeph and Acherres, (for Acherres was the eighth in order, that raigned after the great Orms, whose Viceroy is Origh was y betwill I hereby seeks, enciter to sortific mine own econjecture, as touching tofeph, nor to inferre any likelihood of Acherres his being Vehoreus. For it might well bee, that Acompha was built by some such King as was Gehoar, Licutenant vinto the Caliph Eleain, who having to his Masters

vie, conquered Ægypt, and many other Countries, did build, not farre from old Memphis, the great Citice of Cairo (corruptly fo pronounced) naming it El Cabira, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miltrefle, though hee himselfe

were a Dalmatian

50

Fff 3

A. III.

of CHERRES, ARMEVS, RAMESSES, and AMENOPHIS. Of MYRIS, and the Lake that beares his name.



E Hen Acherres had raigned eight yeares, Cherres succeeded, and held the Kingdome fifteene yeares; then raigned Armeus fine yeares, and after him Rameffes, threefcore and eight. Of Armens and Rameffes is that Historic vinderstood by Eufebius, which is common among the 10 Greekes, under the names of Danaus and Agyptus. For it is faid that

Dansus, being expelled out of Egypt by his Brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom vpon feeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his Brothers fiftie Sonnes, but commanded enery one of them to kill her hufband the first night; that only Hypermuestra, one of his Daughters, did faue her hulband Lynceus, and fuffered him to escape; finally, That for this fast, all the bloudie fifters, when they died, were enjoyeed this foolift punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessell with water.

The raigne of Dansus in Argos was indeede in this age; but that Armens, was Danaus ; and Rameffes , Agyptus ; is more then Reineceius beleenes ; heerather takes 20 Armeus to have beene Myris, or Meris, who caused the great Lake to be made which beares his name. For my owne part, as I can eafily beleeue, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of fuch qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom wee spake before; so doe I not finde how in so short a raigne, as fine yeares, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of war is, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his Wines being fome part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Arges. Wherefore of Arris , and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose raignes we have no assurance. I may truly fay, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of Pharach, feeing that greater deedes, or more absolute, then were those of Ioseph, 30 who bought all the people of Agypt as bond-men, and all their Land for bread; of Gelow, who founded Cairo; and of Sanar, who made the Countrie Tributarie; were performed by none of them,

It shall therefore be enough to fet downe the length of their raignes, whom we finde to have followed one another in order of fuccession: but in rehearing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of Myris is, by the report of Diodore and Herodotus, three thousand fixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fiftie fadomes deepe. It served to receive the waters of Nilus, when the over-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Coun- 40 trie, and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riner did not rife high enough. In opening the fluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftietalents; but the Lake it selfe defraied that cost; feeing the tribute imposed vpon Fish taken therein, was enery day one talent, which Myris gaue to his Wife to buy fweet ointments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middest of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchers of Maris and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to Herodotus) fiftie paces high; having on the rops their statues, sitting in Thrones, I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians; yet is it very great. The yeares of Armeus are by Manethon divided, by inferting one 50 Armesis (whom Eusebius omits) that should have raigned one yeare and odde moneths of the time; but I hold not this difference worthic of examination.

After Ramesses, his sonne Amenophis held the Kingdome fortie yeares. Some give him only nineteene yeares; and Mercator thinkes him to have beene the

King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have alreadie spoken in the first Booke.

## ò. IIII.

Of the Kings that raigned in the Dynastie of the Larthes.



ETHOSIS, or Zethus, raigned after his Father Amenophis, fiftic five vegres. To him are afcribed the famous acts of that ancient selothris. But the flate of the World was not fuch in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old Sefoffris made, could have beene either ca-

fily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paffed, had it now beene performed, as any man will perceive if hee looke upon my Chronologicall Table, and confider who lived with this Zethus. With this King beganne the Dinastie of the Larthes; which Reinecoius conjectures to have had the fame fignification, wherein the old Kings of Hetruria, were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iffued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt ) and to have fignified as much as Imperator or Generall. The Warres in which these Kings were Generalls. 20 I take to have been against the Athiopians: for fure I am, that they troubled not

the Countrie of Palastina, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they transiled ouer the defert fands, on the other hand; to feeke matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of Africa. But these Generalls (if the Larthes were fuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these tooke it, perhaps, as hereditaric from the first; in such fort as the Roman Emperors were proud for a while, to be called Antonini, till the most unfuteable conditions of Heliogabalus, made his Successors forbeare the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appeares by this particular) tooke name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the government them-20 felues: and that therefore I am deceived in afcribing fo much vnto the Viceroics. But it is to be confidered, that what is faid of these Larthes, depends only vpon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroics, might bee greatenough, though some few Kings tooke the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For fo we finde in Iohn Leo, that the Soldan of Agypt (after fuch time as the Ida Leo, 12. Soldan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the Soucraignetic to himselfe) had vnder him å Viceroy, stiled Eddaguadare, who had authoritie to place, or displace, any Maoistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good spend of 40 the Soldans Treasure. So might the Office of the Viceroies continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generalls vpon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawne; whether from their Countrie, as those of the Thebans and Dispolitans, or from fome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many thinke, that the feuenteenth Dynastie was called of the Sheep-heards, because Infeph gouerned in part thereof; or from the Kings themselues that raigned; as this was faid to be of the Larthes or Generalls. The next, as Manetho (but Annius his Manethe ) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, for a fmuch as Vaphres, and Selae, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let vs

50 now returne to the businesse which we left. Ramses was King after Zethus, or Sethosis, threescore and fixe yeares. He is mistaken for that second selostris, of whom I have spoken in the first Bookes. I finde nothing worth rehearfall of this Ramles, or of Amenophis, and Annemenes, that followed him in order, the former of which raigned fortie, the later fixe and twentie

yeares. Wherefore it may well bee, that the name which Zethus had from valour. was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thuoris, the last of the Larthes, raigned only seuen yeares; yet is hee thought to have been that Process, of whom Herodotis hath mention, faying, That he tooke Helena from Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her to Menelaus. I neede fay no more in refutation of this, then that the time of Thuoris his raigne, lasted not so long as from the Rape of Helen to her restitution.

This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by fome) together with Thon, and others. mentioned by Greeke Writers in this bufineffe, or in other fuch matters, may freme to be vnder-Officers : for fuch only are like to have had their refidencie about Pha- 10 res, and the Sea coast, where Menelaus arrived.

Of Protess, who detained Helen, it is faid. That he could foretell things to come. and that hee could change himfelfe into all shapes : whereby is signified his craftic head, for which he is growne into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea God. and keeper of Neptunes Scale-fillies, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Filhing about the Ifle of Pharos, as was faid before.

Remphes, the Sonne of Proteus, is reckoned the next King, by Diodore, as also by Herodotus, who calls him Ramfinitus, and tells a long tale, fit to pleafe children, of his couctoufnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Theese, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeue what he list. How 20 long this King raigned I know not, nor thinke that either hee, or his Father, did raigne at all.

Of Agyptian Kings whose names are found scattering in sundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Agypt, according to CEDRENUS. Of VAPHRES and SESAC.



Any other names of Agyptian Kings, are found scattered here and the there; as Tompher Jobis, of whom Saides delivers only the bare name and title; Senemures, or Senepas, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps was the same that by Suidas is called Senges, or Euenes, noted by occasion of a great Phisition that lined under him; Banchyris, recor-

ded by the same Suidas, for his great justice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Isle of Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and that he consulted with the Deuil, or (which is all one) with Seraphis, desiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him should be so mightie as himselfe. The answere or consession of the Deuill was remarkable; which I finde Englished in the translation of Plefis his worke, of the truenesse of Christian Religion. The Greeke Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the sense is all one; which is this:

> First God, and next THE WORD, and then THE SPRITE. Which three be ONE, and joyne in ONE all three: Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight, The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suidas had borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not found somewhat more in Suidas, than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the forme of invocation which Tholas vied, and that clause, of his giving name to the Iland : though In this last point I hold Suidas to be deceined; as also Cedrenus is, or (at least) seemes to me, in giuing to this King fuch profound antiquitie of raigne. Indeede the very name of that Booke, cited often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little Genelis, is alone enough to breede suspition of some impossure: but the Frierly stuffe that hee alledgeth out of it, is such as would serue to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparant, that he was a man both deuout, and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of olde Egyptian Kings delinered by him, and leave the cenfure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets downe is Mizraim, the sonne of Cham. After him hee findes many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: Nintrod, the 10 fonne of Chus, was also called Orion; and further, tooke vpon him the name of the Planet Saturne, had to wife Semiramis, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three fonnes: Picus, furnamed Inpiter, Belus and Ninus. Picus chafing his father out of Asseria into Italie, raigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gaue up that Kingdome to Iuno, his fifter and wife, and to Beius his fonne: after which Belus, who raisened onely two yeares, Winus had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother Semiramis. But Picus went into Italie, to vilite his olde father Saturne; Saturne forthwith religned the Kingdome to him . Pieus Inpiter raigned in Italie threefcore and two yeares, had threefcore and tenne Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the Isle of Crete. The principall of Inpi-

20 ters sonnes were Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was called by the name of the Planet Mercurie: hee raigned in Italie, after his father, fine and thirtie yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into Agypt, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of Mizrain, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirtie yeares. After Mercurie, Vulcan raigned in Acquet foure yeares and a halfe. Then sol, the fonne of Vulcan, raigned twentie yeares and a halfe. There followed in order Sofis, Ofiris, Orus, and Thules, of whome we fpake before: the length of their feuerall raignes is not fet downe. After Tinles, was the great Sefostris King twentie yeares. His successor was Pharao, called Narcoho, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of 30 Pharao, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of Cedrenus I hold it enough to set downe as I finde them: let their credit reft voon the Author.

Others yet we finde, that are faid to have raigned in Aegypt, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whome I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiolitie, in the fearch made after these alreadic rehearsed, then of negligence, in omitting fuch as might have been eadded.

Vaplires, the father in law to Salomon; and Sefac, the afflicter of Reliaboam, leade vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of Vaplires is not found in the

Scriptures; but wee are beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and Eufebius for it. clim Strands. 40 Thefe give vs not the length of his raigne; but we know, that he lived in the times Entitled Frage of David and of Salomon. He came into Paleftina with an Armie, tooke Gezar from Enangles e.g. the Canaanites, and gaue it to his daughter, Salomons wife; though for her fake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) Selas his fonne and some did fauour the enemies of Salomon, who kept fo many Wives and Concubines, befides this Aegyptian Princeffe. In the life of Rehoboam all hath beene written that I finde of Selse, excepting the length of his raigne, which must have been sixe and twentie yeares, if he were that Smendis with whome Eufebius beginnes the one and twentieth Dynastic.

Now for a fmuch as it would ferue to no great purpose, that weeknew the length 50 of Sefae his raigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnleffe therewithall we knew the beginning of Sefac, vpon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeare of Iehoaikem, King of Inda, in which Pharao Neco was flaine, I reckon vpwards the yeares of the same Neco, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of Sefae: by which accompt, the first yeare of Sefae is found, concurrent

with the twentieth of Salomons raigne, and the twentie fixt of Sefae with the fift of Rebabans: wherein Sefae (poyled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, then Ioss the Ifraelite and Craffus the Romane did 3 who, after him, fooyled the Temple of Ierufalem.

To fill up the time betweene Selacand Neco, I have rather taken those Kings that I finde in the Greeke Historians, than them which are in Eusebins his Catalogue. For of these that are deligered by Enselves, wee finde no Name nor Act recorded elfewhere, faue onely of Boschoris, who is remembred by Diodore, Plutarch, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to have beene a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in Eulebius by Ae- 10 thiopians, which got the Kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwife it appeares by the Prophet Elay, that the Councellors of Pharae did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, infomuch, that they said of Pharach, I am the Sounc of the Wife, I am the Sonne of the auncient King. But that which ouerthrowes the reckoning of Eufebius, is, the good agreement of it with his missaken times of the Kings of Juda. For though it pleafe him well to see how the raignes of Iolius and West meete by his computation, yet this indeede marres all: the raigne of Iolias being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the raignes of the Kings of Inda with theirs of Ifrael: by which occasion, Ioram. King of Ifrael, is made to raigne three yeares after Abazia of Iuda; Samaria is 29 taken by Salmanaffar before Hezekia was King : and in a word, all, or most of the Kings, have their beginnings placed in some other years of their collateralls than the Scriptures have determined.

#### V I.

of Chemmis, Chrors, Cephrenes, and other Kings recited by Heroports and Diodors Sicvers, which raigned between the times of Reho-Boan and Exekta.

30

Oliowing therefore the Greeke Historians, I place Chemmis, or (according to Diodore) Chembis, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after sefa. Her migned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accompted one of this worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a

flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards, narrower and narrower to the toppe. This of Chemmis being four-fiquare, had a Bafe of feuen akers enery way, and was aboue fixe akers high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had lafted, when Diodore faw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had fulfered by weather in 16 long pace. From the raigne of Chemmis, vnto the age of Chapallins Casar, wherein Diodore luned, are indeeded a thousand yeares; which gives the better likelyhood vnto this time wherein Chemmis is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers tellifie, that they have feene them yet flanding.

After Chemmis, Disdore placeth Cephreneshis brother; but doubtfully, and encliming rather to the opinion, that his fonne Chalvens flucceded. Hereketus hather Cheeps (who might bee Chalvens) and Cephrenes after him. The Gare faid to have been brethren; but the length of their raignes may argue the later to have beene 50 fonne to the former: for Cheeps raigned flitte years, Cephrenes fiftic fix. The fewere, as Chemmis had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatted of their people, who alreadie had ouer-laboured themselues in creding the first. The fewere or an end to be Tombes, for those that raifed them;

piodor.l.1.

but the malice of the \*Egyptans\* is faid to have call out their bodies; and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardfinan, that kept his Beatis thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituding a poore not fellow to their works, was held to be the calling out of their bodies; otherwife, it has been conceive, how the might bee, that they, who had not power to anode the like flauerie, laid vport them by the yonger brother, or fonne, thould have power or leifure to take fuch revenge you his Predeceffor. To the like malice may be afterbed the tale denifed against theory his Daughter; That her Father, wanting monie, did proflittle her, and that thee, getting of enery man that accompanied her, one to stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that flood in the midded of the other three. Belike floewasts an infolent Laife, and made them follow their drudgerie, for her fike, longer a while than they thought to baue done, in raiting a Monument, with the floer flathers provides.

Oursermes, the fonne of Cephrenes, raigned after his Father fixe yeares. He would haue built as his foregoers did, but preuented by death, finished not what hee had begunne. The people thought him a good King, for that he did fet open the Tempies, which Cheaps and Cephrenes had kept thut. But an Oracle threatned him with a fhort life of fixe yeares only, because of this his denotion; For (faid the Oracle) Agypt should have beene afflicted an hundred and liftic yeares, which thy Predecessors 20 knew, and performed for their parts, but thou hast releafed it, there'ore that thou line but fixe yeares. It is very frange, that the Gods should bee offended with a King tor his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, when the people were defirous to ferue them; or that they having fo decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter dellinie, and make the ordinance of the Godsto faile in taking full effect. Butthefe were Aegyptian Gods . The true Go D was, doubtloffe, more offended with the reftirution of fuch Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, whether Chemnis did not learne somewhat at lerasairm, in the last yeare of his Father Sefac, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanitie of his Acgyptian superflition ? Sure it is that his raigne, and 20 the raignes of Cheops, and Cephrenes, were more long and more happie, than that of Mycerinus, who, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both daies and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, hee had changed his nights into daies, and fo doubled the time appointed : a service more pleasing to the Deuill, than the restitution of Idolatrie durft then feeme, when it could speede no better. I finde in Esimeesius fiftie yeares affigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been fome errour of the print, though I finde it not corrected among other such over-lights : for I know no Author that gives him so many yeares, and Reineceius himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned Mycerimus with a shortlife, as is before shewed.

Bacchorus is placed next unto Mycerinus, by Diodore, who speakes no more of him to than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his Predecession wir. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loud platice; and may be taken for that Banchyris, whom Saidus commends in that kinde: Enselvin reckons source and fortic years of this rights.

After Bacebown, one Salacus an Methiopian Followes, in the Catalogue of Diedore, but certaine ages after him. Herodown, quite omitting Bacebown, hath Alfedis 3 who made a tharpelaw (as it was then held) againfile had clovers, that their dead bodies fhould be in the creditors difpolition, till the debt were paied. This Alfedis made a Pyramis of brick, more coldy and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this Assertion and placeth one anxion, a ablinde man, before the Aethiopian. The raignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the Aethiopian to magnise their antiquities, accounted betweene Bacebowns and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe years, sand follong doth Famichus, blong doth Reineschs hold, that these two Kings, betweene them both, did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it impro-

it by taking fome yeares from Sethon or Pfammetieus, and adding them to either of these. To adde virto these, without subtracting from some other, would breedea manifest inconnecince: fordinuch as part of \$6/ac\$ his raigne, must have beene in 1.8003.13.03. and the intt of Nebauchadnezzar. For mine owne part I like it better to allow fixe yeares only to these two Kings, than to look the wintessed of Heradettus, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speakes of Semaberibs warre: at which time Sethon was King of Aegypt. I will not therefore adde yeares wint these obscure names; for by adding who these ment three yeares, wee shall thrust the beginning 19 of Sethon out of place, and make it later than the death of Semaberib. In regard of this agreement of Heradetus with the Scriptures, lamt the more willing to hold with him, in his Aegyptian Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leave both Affebrican Annis out of the rolls, which were callily done, by placing Sefal lower, and extending his life yet fixe yeares (three, or more, c) if the like abridge-

ment shall be required of Plammeticus his raigne) into the yeares of Rehoboam.

bable, that the raignes of two Kings should have beene so soone spent; he may doe

Of subcase the Aethiopian, who tooke the Kingdome from Annylos, it is agreed by the most, that he raigned fiftie yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offenes with death, but impossing bondage and bodily labour you male-factors; by whose toyle he both got rauch wealth into his owne hands, letting out 20 their ferture to hirs, and performed many workes, of more vie than pompe, to the fingular benefit of the Country. Zonara calls this King Sus, the Scriptures call him So. Hoses, the last King of Hrad, made a League with him against submanslar, little to his good: for the Argypian was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not prefer the Hradite from defundition.

It feemes, that the encrocking power of the Afgrian, grew terrible to Aggretabout these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulassar, and Salman slar, having eaten fo farreinto Syria, in the raigne of this one King So or Sabacus. Yen, perhaps it was in his daies (for his raigne beganne in the fourth of Menahem) that Phul him felfe did make the first entrance into Palestina. This caused So to animate the halfe subdued 20 people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was fo faint, that Senacheribs Embassador compared the Aegyptian succourto 2 broken flaffe of Reede. Such indeede had Hofen found it, and fuch Ezekin might haue found it, had hee not beene supported by the stronger staffe of Him, that rules all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeares by the words of Rabfake, that the opinion was great in Inda, of the Aegyptian forces, for Charrets and Horfe-men; but this power, whatfocuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of Accept it felfe, which So left vnto Sethon his Successor, having now fulfilled the fiftie yeares of his raigne. Herodotus and Diodorus have both one tale, from the relation of Aegyptian Priefts, concerning the departure of this King; faying, that he 40 left the Countrie, and willingly retired into Aethiopia, because it was often fignified unto him in hisdreames, by the God which was worshipped at Thebes, that his raigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Priess in deeypt; which rather than to doe, he refigned his Kingdome. Surely, these Aegyptian Gods were of a strange qualitic, that so ill rewarded their Servants, and inuited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the Aegyptians (as they likewife did) worthip Dogs as Gods, when their chiefe Gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Maftersthe better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priefts should have fained this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuise, of the fearefull old man, who feeing his Realme in danger of an inualion, fought an 50 honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into Aethiopia, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the Aethiopia into which he went, was none other than Arabia, whereof Tirbaka the King (perhaps at the infligation of this man) raifed an Armie against Senacherib, when hee

meant to inuade Ægppl, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my lefle with fuch enquirie. This I hold, that No, or Sabzene, was not indee de an Æthispian (for in his time liued the Prophet Efay, who mentioneth the antiquitie of Pharachi houfe) but only so furnamed for his education, and because isliming from thence, he got the Kingdome from Anysis, who was his opposite. The quiet and milde forme of his Gouernement, his holding the Kingdome folong without an Armie; and many other circumsances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betook to a private life, or whether hee fore-went his Life and Kingdome cance, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of Sethon his next Succession, who is omitted by Diadore, but remembered by Herodom, by a sure token of his having becne King.

## VII.

Of SETHON who raigned with EZEKIA, and fided with him against
SENACHERIB.

He first yeare of Sethons raigne falls into the twelfth of Ezekia, which was the fit of Senatherio. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of Africand & Egypt, being then in a gaged in a Warre, the filte whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The African had the better men of warre;

the Agyptian, better provision of necessaries: the Asyrian, more Subjects; the Agyptian, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of Assire manie that were Agyptian in heart, though Assyrian in outward shew.

Of this last fort were Ezekia, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned Phara, to protect them against his owne great Enemie, preferred the friend-ship of so near and mighted a Neighbour, before the feruice of a terrible, yet farre 30 removed King. But herein was great difference, between Ezekis and his Subjects, For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course of policie, which he ethought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Countrie: the multitude of Indea, looking into the faire hopes which this Egystan league promised, were pushed up with vaine conceits, thinking that all was lake, and that now they should not neede to sear any more of those injuries, which they had suffered by the Africans, and so became forgetfull of God, taking conside but not of him. Esyst.

The Prophet Esys complained much of this presumption; guing the poople of Industron deritand. That the Egystian neeven, and not God, and their Horses specified, wand not Spring; that God himselfes should defend Israel you repentance, and that 40 As say a spould fall by the fiverd, but not of man. As for the Agyptims (faid the Esystance) Prophet 1 they are vanise, and they shall helpe in vanie, their strength is to Europea.

fit fit.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treatie of Confederacie that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the Ienes, by Sethon, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses

to the lewes, by Seshon, or his Agents, who filled them with fuch reports, of Horses and Charrets, that they did not looke (as Esay faith) who the holy one of Israel, nor focke Esay state, which the Lord. But he set is wisest.

After a while came Senacherib with his Armie, and wakened them out of these dreames; for Sethon their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did sceme faire off, 50 being vnreadic, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed, rather to make Palassim than Aeype the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the Asprians and Emes, weakening one another, should yeeld vno him a faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horseand Camells laden with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom

5 Vier. 18.24.

E/sy calleth a people that canner profit. These Arabians did not profit indeedes, for (belides that it seems by the same place of E/sy, that the rich treasures missarried, and stell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from Trihasa, all the strong Citics of inds were taken by Senatherib, except Libna, Labis, and terusclem it selfe, which were in fore districtle; till the fowor of God, and not of Man, deseate the Affrican, who did god, for feare, to his Tower, that is, he fled to Xinue, where he

Concerning this expedition of Senacherib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against Agypt, where the men of warre, being offended with Sethen their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in de- 10 fence of him and the Countrie: that Sethon being Vuleans Prieft, bemoaned himselfe to his God, who by dreame promifed to fend him helpers: that hereupon Sethon, with fuch as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards Pelulium; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of Senacherib by night, did so knaw the bowes, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all hafte, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hereof (faith Herodotus) the statue of this King is fet vp in the Temple of Vulcan, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription. Let him, that beholds me, ferue God. Such was the relation of the Agyptian Prietls, wherein how farre they fwarued from the truth, being defirous to magnific their 20 owne King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of Serbon was fallen downe, and the tale forgotten in Diodorus his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbeare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the Jewes was then well knowne to the world, whereof enery child could have told, how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We finde this historic agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That Senaeberib King of the Asyrians, and Arabians, (To Heroclotus calleth him : the Syrians or peraduenture some borderers vpon Syria, being meant by the name of sirabians) liued in this age, made Warre vpon Ægypt, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that Pulsan did vnto his Priest; 30 happy it was (if Sethon were a Priest) that he tooke his God now in so good a moode. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Priefts in Agree thould have beene flaine, if a mercifull King had not spared their lines, as it were halfe against the Gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serue as an example, that might firre up the Agyptians to pietic, seeing that their denotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent Senacherib himselfe, and that the Monte in his hand, fignified Hieroglyphically (as was the Agyptian manner of expressing things) the shamefull iffue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of 40 God, shewed your this yngodly King, was indeeded very good motive to victic. But the embleame, together with the Temple of Vuleam (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that &then, finding himselfe in danger, did call upon his Gods, that is, upon Vulcan, Serapis, or any to whom he had most denotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like neede : yet which of them had obtained fuccour by the like miracle? Surely the tenes (euen fuch of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have beene ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, in the Charrets of Asynt, be 50 canse they were many, and in the Horse-men, because they were wery strong; had it beene told them, that Sethon, in flead of fending those Horse-men and Charrets, was hefeeching Vulcan, to fend him and them good luck, or elfe (for these also were Agy)tian Gods) addressing his praiers to some Onyon or Cat. Howseeuer it was, doubtleffe the prophecie of Efsy tooke effect, which faid, They shall be all assumed of the government of the sum of profit shows, nor helpe, nor doe them good, but shall be a shown earlide a reprote. Such is commonly the issue of the minane wischome, when reting scure vpo pon prouison that it solfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in neede of God.

Some there are who take Sethon to have beene fer downe by Eufebius, vnder the name of Turchus the Libinpian, and therefore the twentic yeares which are given to Turchus, they allow to the raigne of Sethon. The fea have well oble from each that reaches the Libinpian is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of Legypt, but as a friend to that Countrie, or at leaft an enemie to Semecherib, in the warre laif poken of the Libinpians (as they are englished) ouer which hee raigned, being indeede Chufires or Arabians. Hereupon they suppose a right, that Eufebius hath missisken one King for another. But whereas they thinke, that this Turabus or Tinkhets, is placed in the roome of Sethon, and therefore give to Sethon the twentic yeares of Turschus, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this Sethiopsan (as he is called) beganne his raigne ouer Legypt, by Eufebius his accompt, after the death of Sentenberia and of Ezekit, in the first yeare of Musuffes King of Inds. Therefore he, or his veares, have no reference to Sethon.

inerodetus longest to tell how long Sethon raigned; Function peremptorily, ciring 30 Author, nor alleaging reason for it, sets him downe thirtie three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded wnto my selteat the first, for measuring the raignes of the set set system Kings. The yeares which passed from the fift of Rehoboum, wnto the sourth of televisium, I so divide among the set springs, that giving to every one the proportion allowed wnto him by the Author in whom hee is sound, the rest is to be conferred you him whose length of raignes is were traine; that is whon this Sethon. By this accompt I finde the thirtie three yeares, that are set downe by Functions, to agree very nearely, if not precisely, with the time of Sethon raigne; therefore I conforme my owner ecknowing to his stough I could

be content to have it one yeare leffe. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I artise at the time of Psimmitius, whereupon it hat much dependance, and whereinto the course of this Hillorie will shortly bring me; the ∠E-gyptian affaires growing now to be enterlaced with the matters of Inda, to which it is neete that I return.

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## CHAP.27. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

## CHAP. XXVII.

## Of MANASSE and his Contemporaries.

The wickednesse of MANASSES. His imprisonment, Repentance.



NASSE, the Sonne of Ezechias, forgetting the pietie of his Father, and the prosperitie which followed him, fet vp, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Deuill was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, hee himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the hoft of Heauen, as Gods, and 20 worshipped them : and of all his acts the most abhominable was, that he burnt his Sonnes for a Sacrifice to the Deuill Moloch, or Melcher, in the Valley of Hinnon, or Benhennon : wherein was kindled

the fire of Sacrifice to the Deuills.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, accompanied and maintayned those that had familiar Spirits, and all forts of Enchanters : besides, he thed fo much innocent bloud, as Ierufalem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abhominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reuerent Prophet Efay (who was also of the Kings race, and as the Iemes 30 code ons con affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neare vnto the Foun-Gheas Juga 75. taine of Siloe to be fawne in funder, with a wooden faw, in the eightieth yeare of his life:a crueltie more barbarous and monftrous then bath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are filent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eua chost 33:11 febius, and others, too many to rehearle, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the
Lord waght copon them the Captaines of the Host of the Kings of A 111 vs., which tooke
M A N A S S E, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and exercised him to Babel:

Where after he had lien twentie yeare as a captine, and dispoiled of all honour and hope; yet to his heartie repentance and continuall praier, the God of infinite mer-

cie had respect, and moued the Asyrians heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loved his father Ezechias, was the easilier. perswaded to restore Manasse to his libertie & chate. After which and when he was againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detelled his former foolish and denillish Idolatrie, and cast downe the Idolls of his owne erection, prepared the Altar of God, and facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Ierufalem: and dyed after the long raigne of fiftie five yeares. Glycas and Suidas report, that Manaffe was held in a case of yron by the Assirans: and therein fedde with bread of branne and water, which men may beleeue as it shall please their fancies.

of troubles in Agypt following the death of SETHON. The raigne of

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Hat the wickednesse of King Manaffes was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needes beleeue : for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt vpon Iuda. For the Kingdome of Agypt, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of Inda leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill diffention, and after two yeares, ill amended by a division of the government betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these,eletien of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or meere Marchie, that was in Egypt, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is 20 placed by Diodore, who omitteth Sethon, betweene the raignes of Subacus, and Plammiticus: but Herodotus doth let the Ariflocratie, or twelve Governours, imme-

diately before Psammitieue, who was one of them, and after Sethon. The occasion of this diffention seemes to have been the vucertainetic of title to that Kingdome (for that the Crowne of Agypt paffed by fuccession of bloud, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not fetled, vntill one had obtained the Sourraignetic.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preferue, they made strait couenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should 30 depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drinke offering, in Vulcans Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileft this vnitic lafted, they joyned together in railing a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neare vnto the Lake of Maris; a worke to admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beheld it, affirmes) no wordes could give it commendation, answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it felfe. I will not here fet downe that unperfect description, which Herodotus makes of it, but thinke enough to fay, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he faith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephelus, or any of the fairest workes in Greece. Diodorus reports this Labyrinth to have been the worke of Marus, or Menides, a King which lived five generations before Pro-

40 tem, that is, before the Warre of Trey, and from this Labyrinth (faith he) D.edalus tooke the patterne of that which he made for Minos in Creete. Who this Marus, or Menides was , I cannot tell. Reineceius takes him to haue beene Annemenes, which raigned immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees not with Diodore: for Dedalus and Mines were both dead long before Amenenes was King. Belike Reineccius, defiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Manethon, Charemon, and others, that are found in Infephus, touching Amenophis and his children, to the storic of A- Mandal mass, and Attisanes the Ethiopian, mentioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after

he had conjectured Manethons Amenophis, to be Diodor his Amalis, that Serbon frould be Actifanes, and that Annemenes should be Marue. If in this case I might intrude 50 a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which Reineccius hatherred in making fearch; Amasis was Anysis; Attifanes was Sabacus; and Marus was one of these twelue Princes, to whom Herodotus gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For Actifanes the Athiopian depoled Arnafis; Sabacus the Athiopian deposed Anysis; Attisanes governed well, and was milde in punishing

offendors; To likewife was Sabacus; Offarus the next King after Affifares built this Labyrinth; and the next (fauing Sethon, whom Diodore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabacus, performed the fame worke according to Herodotus. who was more likely to heare the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietic of names, and difference of times, wherein Diodore below. red the Priests, might bee a part of the Egyptian vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boalting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumitances remembred by Herodatus, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a folemne fealt in Fulcans Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Pricit, forgetting himfelfe, brought forth no more than cleuen Cups. Hercupon Planmilions, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brasen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon fet purpose, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being jealous of their citate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by Eigdore as a fable, which I believe to have beene none other: In the reft Heradotus and Diadore agree, faying, that Planmiticus hyred Souldiers out of Caria and Jania, by whose aide he vanquilled his Companions, and 20

made himfelfe fole King.

The yeares of his raigne, according to Herodotus, were liftie foure; according to Eulebius, fortic foure; Mercator, to reconcile thefe two, gines fortic foure yeares to his fingle raigne, and ten to his ruling, joyntlie with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for hee cannot in reason bee funnofed to have beene then a yong fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, must be thought to have lived vnto extreme old age, if he eruled partly with others, partly alone, threefcore and nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to Enfebius; but will not adventure to cut five yeares from the Artifocourse: though peraduenture Pfannitics was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or 30 as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeares companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeares of these Aegyptisms, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serue to till up the time, betweene the fift of Reliaboum, and the fourth of Ichoinkim. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from Sethons raigne; that was of vincertaine length; or elfe (which I had rather doe; because Functions may have followed better authoritie than I know, or than himfelfe alleageth, in gining to Sethon a time so nearely agreeing with the truth) wee must consound the last yeare of one raigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not infolent. 40 For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are fet downe in Chronologicall tables, raigned precifely so many yeares as are ascribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the furplufage of one mans time, supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last years of those fifteene, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of Pfannations; who furely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himfelfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in \* Egypt , who entertained any strait amitie with the Greekes; that he retayned in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom hee gaue large rewards and possessions; and that 50 he greatly offended his Agyptian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whileft his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more hono-rable place) in an expedition that he made into Sprin. Vpon this difference it is faid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thou fand, for looke their naturall

Countrie of Agypt, and went into Athopia, to dwell there: neither could they be renoked by kinde Meffages, nor by the King himfelfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when hee told them of their Countrie, their Wines, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrie, and that nature had enabled them to get other wives and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to bee brought up in such fort as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely. that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at

to the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, Becom, Becom, which word being found to fignifie Bread in the Phrygian tongue, ferued greatly to magnifie the Phrygian antiquitie. Goropius Becanus makes no finall matter of this, for the honour of his Low Dateh; in which the word Beeker, fignifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of Goropius his works, may finde enough of this kinde, to perfuade a willing man, that Alam and all the Patriarchs, yed none other tongue than the Low Fulch, before the confusion of languages at Babel, the name it felfe of Babel, being also Dutch, and given by occasion of this confusion: for that therethey beganne to bable, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not infift upon all that is written of Plammilious. The most regardable 20 of his acts was the flege of Azotu: in Palaflina, about which he fpent nine and twentie yeares. Neuerhaue we heard (faith Herodotus) that any Citie endured follong a siège as this; yet Pfammitieus carried it at the last. This Towne of Azetus had Estatents beene wonne by Tartan, a Captaine of Senacherib, and was now, as it feemeth relec-

ued, but in vaine, by the Babylonian, which made it hold out fo well.

Whatreference these Agyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of MANASSES. In what part of his raigne MANASSES. NASSES Was taken prifoner.

Ere it certainely knowne, in what yeare of his raigne Manaffes was taken prisoner, and how long it was before see obtayined libertie; I thinke wee should finde these Agyptian troubles to have beene no fmall occasion, both of his captinitie and enlargement: God so dispofing of humane actions, that even they, who intended only their

owne businesse, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civill warres in A-40 gypt that followed upon the death of Sethon; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were into twelue peeces; or the warre betweene Pfammitteus and his Colleagues; or the expedition of Pfammitieus into Syria, and the fiege of Azotus, might minister vnto the Babylonian, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or fuch necessitie of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make fure worke with the King of Inda. The fame occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliucric of Manasses, after he was taken. For he was taken (as to fephus hath it) by fubtilitie, not by open force, neither did they Mandalogad that apprehended him, winne his Countrie, but only wast it. So that the Ispec. hauing learned wit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming Amazia, were like to

50 be more circumspect, in making their bargaine vpon such another accident : and the Babylonian (to whom the Aczyptian matters prefented more weightie arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of Indacould affoord, had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, whereby hee should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agree-

ment; when by quitting his present advantage over the Iewes, hee might make his

way the fairer into Acgypt. Now concerning the yeare of Manaffes his raigne, wherein hee was taken prifoner; or concerning his captimitic it felfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are lilent, and Iolephus giaes no information. Yet I finde cited by Torniellus three opinions, the one of Beilarmine, who thinks that Manuffes was taken in the fifteenth yeare of his raigne; the other of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chronologie, who affirmes. that it was in his twentie feuenth yeare; the third, of Rabbi Kimbi vpon Ezekiel, who faith, that he was fortic yeares an Idolater, and lined fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is vpheld by Torniellus, who rejects the second, 10 as more ynprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleaged by Torniellus in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proughim to fauour the Cardinall, as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely diffent from him) than to have vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gaue his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of Bellarmine: the one, that Ammon the Sonne of Manailes, is faid by Iolephus, to have followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had Manafles growne old in his finnes, it is not like that hee should have contimed, as hee did, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of Manufes, might not be distin- 20 guilhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelue yeares old; though it were granted that hee continued in them (according to that of Rabbi Kimbi) vntill hee was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the second; how socuer it be a fearefull thing, to cash off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God will offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the finnes, which are not for faken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, shall bee punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of Torniellus, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That Manaffes continued longer in this wickednesse, than Bellarmine hath intimated, if not as long 20 as Rabbi Kimbi hath affirmed. In the fecond Booke of Kings, the cuill which Mawaffes did is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; fo that his amendment may feeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life, the florie of him 8. Kings 21.17. being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. Concerning the rest of the acts of MANASSES, and all that he did, and his finne that he finned, are they not writtenin the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda. The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearing the calamities, with which that Nation was punished in the time of Ichoiakim, the great Grand-child of

tenin the booke of the Chronicles of the Kings of Inda. The other place is in the foure and eventieth Chapter of the fame Booke, where in rehearling the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of Iehonkins, the great Grand-child of the State of this Mansiles, it is said a Swely by the commandement of the Lord came this vien Inda, that he middle place is the limited by the Inda, that he most of the State of M. N. N. S. S. according to all that 40, he did, and for the imnocent blond hat he shed (or he filed torul downwith moneent blond) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may finde small cause to pronounce it most saide. That the repentance and amendment of Mansiles was no carlier than fifteen eyeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was swentie seuen years when he was twentie seuen years.

when he was twentte lever years of on, derepenting, and becoming a two man, as used in the feare of God fortile years after. I will no longer dispute about this mateer, feeing that the truth can not be disconcred. It sufficient to fay, that two yeares of child differition in Aegpt, fourteene or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened, by partition of the Soueraignetic; the warre of Psammitical and the state of the state o

Manaffer, was the last yeare of Sethen in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of Meredach his raigne, or (accounting from the death of Mahaddon) the twenticht:
The feuen and twentieth of Manaffer was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the
three and tortieth of Manaffer was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the
three and tortieth of Maredach: his fortieth, was the twentie third of Pfammilieus
and the sit of Nabhalffer, the some of Meredach in Babylon: but which of these
the year of his imprisoment, or whether any other, I sorbear to shew mine opinion, least I should thereby seeme to draw all matters over violently to mine owne
computation.

This was the firft great mattrie that the Bubylanians had of the Kingdome of Iuod. For though Achie promifed Tribute to Salmaniflar, yet Excelsia neuer payed it. True it is, that hee hoped to flay Semscherib: enterprife againft him, by prefen-1,King 18, ting him with three hundred talents of filter, and thirtie of gold, besides the plate which courered the dores and pillars of the Temple.

But Mansifes being prefied with greater necefficie, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the Bahylanian would impose yoon him; among which it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeede a point of sentitude) that he emight not hold peace with the \*\*Expitians\*, whilest they were entmics to Bahylan. This appeares not only by his fortifying with men of warreall the firong Cities of Inda after his returne (which was rather against \*\*Planmitteus\*, whose partie hee had for fishen, than 20 against the Bahylanian, with whom hee had thenceforth no more controuers likewise by that opposition, which bese made afterwards to \*\*Plana\*\* 27cea\*, in fauour of \*\*Vabulassa\*\*, which had been eagainst all reason and policie, if it had not beene his dutie by courant. Of this I will speake more in connenient place.

### à. IIII.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the raignes of Ezekia, and Manasses Kings of suda

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Ow concerning fuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of Manafles, the most remarkeable were the Mussical in him Warres, which happening in this age, and being the greatestaction performed in Greece, between the Troian and Parssan Warres, deferue not to be passed out with filence.

The first Messensia Warre beganne and ended in the dases of Exekia; the second in the raigne of Manasser but to avoide the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best, to rehears the men both in this place. Other introduction is 40 needlesse, than to say, that the posserties of Intervales, driving the siste of Pelops, and the Achaems, out of their seates, divided their lands between themselves, and erested the Kingdomes of Leeckman, Augus, Mussel, and Corints, all which agreeting well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and Gought one anothers ruine with bloudie Warres; whereof these Messelman were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Meffenian Warre, are leave worth remembrance; they were so fleight. Ambition was the true cause of it, wherewith the Lucdarmonians were for transforred, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet other matter was alleaged, namely, that one Polychares 50 a Meffenian had slaine many Lucdamonians, for which the Magistrates of Spart defining to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The Meffenians on the other side, excused Polychares, for that he was growne frantick, through injuries received from Europhores a Lucedemonian. This Europimes had bargained to give pasture to the Cattell of Polychares, and was therefore to receive part of the increase:

but not contented with the gaine appointed, hee fold the Cattaile, and Slaues than kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, faving, that they were follen. Whileft the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the flaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The Lacedemonian being thus deprehended, confelled all, and promited large amends; which to receive, hee carried the Sonne of Polychares home with him; but bauing him at home, hee vilanously slew him. Wherefore, the Lacedemonians hauing refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to doc him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell, out of those things, which he did in that madneffe, whereinto they them felues had cast him. So said the Mellenians, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the judgement of the Amphietyones, who were as the generall Counfaile of Greece, or to any other faire courfe. But the Lacedamonians, who had a great defire to occupie the faire Countrie of Meffene, that lay close by them, were not content with fuch allegations. They thought it enough, to have some shew for their doings. which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sonding any defiance, secretly tooke an oath, to hold warre with Messene, till they had maltered it : which done, they seized upon Amphia, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaping.

Hercupon the Messenians tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious 20 battaile was fought betweene them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victorie. The Messenians did strongly encampe themselves; The Lacediemonians, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre beganne in the fecond years of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourtenth Olympiad, having lasted twentie yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the Lacedemonians wasting the inland parts of Meffene; and the Messenians, the Sca coast of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends. on both fides, were called into helpe. The Arcadians, Argines, and Sicyonians, tooke part with Meffene; the Spartans had, belides many Subjects of their owne, aide from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Crete. So a fecond, third, and fourth battaile to were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; fauing that, in the fourth battaile, the Lacedemonians were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still uncertaine though in one of them the Mefenians lost Euphaes their Kine.

in whose stead they chose Arifiademus.

Many yeares were spent, ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of monie to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the fame reasons, did the Mesenians, for sake all their inland Townes, excepting Ithome, which was a mountaine with a Towne vponit, able to endure more, than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the Laced amoniums were so obflinate, in this Warre, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten 40 yeares from Sparts, their wives fent them word, that their Citie would grow onpeopled, by reason that no children had beene borne them in all that time : Wherevpon they fent back all their ablest yong men, promiseuously to accompanie the yong women, who got fo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called Parthenians. Diodorus referres the begetting of thefe \* This Explose of their (validity and were called Partnermans, Diodorus reterres the begetting of thele was the youn-Partnermans to a former time. But in proceeds of this Messenian Warre, when the Dewas the youngest Sounce of will in an Oracle had admifted the Messenson to Sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of Maby Me \* Agyptus, that fo they might be victorious against the Laced emonians; the lot fal-Agyptus, that to they might be victorious against the Lucaemonians; the locial-ocycles, ling vpon the Daughter of one Lyefen; Epibolus the Priest, willing to faucher, said; area-thee was only a foltered child, and not borne of the wife of Lycifeta: which answere to of thich giving delay to the execution of the Maide, Lycifen fecretly fled away with herinto Sil- Sparta. Then Ariffodemiis, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his t first the own Daughters but a young Moble man, being in lote with the Maide, when other-paged, wife he could not premaile, faid openly that flee was no Virgin, But that he hadde-

floured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander : at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterward falling by other superstitions into despaire of prevailing against the Lacedemonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrie, which he loued most dearely. For after his death the Mesienians lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victualls, they craved peace; which they obtained under most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely fruits of their Land they were bound to fend vnto Sparta; and they, with their Wines, to make folemne lamentations, at the death of enery Spartan King; they were also sworne to live in true subjection to the Lacedamonians; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the Afmai, and fuch as had

followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the Mellenians not finding how to help themfelues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able your men, that were growne vp in the roome of those Mellenians, whom the former Warre had confumed, beganne to confider their owne ftrength and multitude, thinking themselues equal to the Lacedamonians, and therefore scorning to ferue fuch Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe 20 of these was Arislomenes, a noble Gentleman, of the house of Apytus; who perceiuing the vniforme defires of his Countrie-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the Argines, and Areadisms, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, beganne open warre vpon the State of Lacedamon. This was in the fourth years of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedamonians, basted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with fuch forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their Friends, to deale with their Enemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. So a firong battaile was fought betweene them, and a doubtfull; faue that the Mesenisms were pleafed with the iffue, for a fmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, 20 to thinke them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of Ariftomenes appeared fuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King; but he, refuling the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better prouided.

The Lacedemonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe: the Mellenians had the Argines, Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but Ariflomenes did so behave himselfe, that finally hee made the Enemies runne for their lines. Of fuch importance was this victorie, that the Lacedamonians beganne to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement. But one Tyrteus an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they 40 had gotten to direct them, reenforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this Aristomenes tooke by surprise a Towne in Laconia, and vanquished in fight Anaxander King of sparta, who did fet you him, in hope to have recovered the bootic.

But all these victories of Aristomenes perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or furely the profit, fell vnto the Lacedamonians, through the treason of Aristocrates, King of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with monie, fled away, and left the Meffenians exposed to a cruell butcherie. The loffe was fo great, that all Andania their principall Citie, and the Townes in Mesene, flanding too farre from the Sca, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not bee 50 fafe abroade, was conucied, as into a place of fafetic. Here the Laced amonians found a tedious worke, that held them eleuen yeares. For belides that Era it felfe was a firong peece, Aristomenes with three hundred flout Souldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the fiege. He wasted

all the fields of Mesene, that were in the enemies power; and brake into Laconia, ta-

king away Corne, Wine, Cattaile, and all provisions, necessarie for his owne pcople; the Slaues and houshold stuffe he changed into monie, suffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedie this mischiefe the Lacedamonians made an Edict, that neither Mellene, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrie, should bee tilled or hulbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet Tyrtess appealed this vproare with plealing Songs. But Aristomenes grew fo bold, that hee not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Townes, surprised, and sackt amyele, and finally caused the enemics to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelyhood of taking Era.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner: yet still he escaped. One escape of his descrues to bee remembred, as a thing yery ftrange and meruailous. Hee had with too much courage aduentured to fet vpon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp fenfeleffe, and carried away prifoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Cauc into which the Spartans vied to cast head-long, such as were condemned to die for the greatest offences. To this punilhment were Aristomenes and his Companions adjudged. All therea of these

poore men dyed with their falls; Aristomenes (how soener it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among 20 dead carcaffes, where he was like to periffi through hunger and stench. But after a while hee perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the toppe) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead bodie. Hereupon hee bethought himselse, that this beast mult needes know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, faued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ranne through an hole, at which came in a little light; and there did Aristomenes delue fo long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. 30 When some fugitiues of Messene brought word to Sparta, that Aristomenes was returned home, their tale founded alike, as if they had faid, that a dead man was reniued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedamonians in the fiege of Era, were cut in pecces, their Captaines flaine, and their Campe taken; then

was it easily believed, that Ariflomenes was aliue indeede. Thus eleuen yeares paffed whilest the enemies hourring about Era, faw no likelyhood of getting it; and Aristomenes with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a sauc, that had fled from Sparta, betraied the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her hufband went forth to watch. It happened in a rai- 40 nie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hidde her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the florme of foule weather was such, as bad made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest did; as for Aristomenes, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not looke abroade; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke-rainie-night, as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedemonian Campe with the newes. There hee found Emperanus his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon 50 for his running away, guided the Armie into the Towne. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darkeneffe, together with the noife of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by neare hope of

ending along worke; the other inraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the affiliance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the firects and other paffages, which admitted not manie hands to fight at once. But the Mesenians were incontinuall toile; their enemies fought in course refreshing themselues with meat and sleepe, and then returning supplied the places of their wearie fellowes, with fresh Companies. Aristomenes therefore, perceiuing that his men, for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as having beene three 10 dayes, and three nights, vexed with all miferies, of labour, watching, fighting, bunger, and thirst, belides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midft of the enemies. Emperamus Generall of the Lacedemonians was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open

way, leaving a faire pallage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arrived life in Areadia, where they were most louingly entertained. · Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Ers, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to the refere: but Ariflocrates their falle hearted King, faid it was too late, for that

all was alreadie lost. When Aristomenes had placed his followers in fasetie, hee chose out flue hundred the luftiest of his men, with whom he resolued to march in all secrethast vnto Sparta, hoping to find the Towne secure, and ill manured, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messene. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Laced emonians would bee glad to recouer their owne, by reflitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to joyne with him; but Arifforrates marred all, by fending speedie advertisement hereof, to Anaxander King of Sparta. The Epiffle which Anaxander fent backe to Aristocrates, was intercepted, by somethat mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falleshood, which being published in open 20 affembly, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his bodic vnburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note. That the Periurer cannot de-

Of Aistomenes no more is remaining to be faid, than that committing his people to the charge of his sonne Gorgus and other sufficient Gouernours, who fhould plant them in some new seat abroad, he resoluted himselfe to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the Lacedemonians worke at home. His daughters hee bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them Demagetus who raigned in the Isle of Rhodes tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marrie the daughter of the best man in Greec. Finally Aristomenes went with his daughter to Rhodes, 40 whence he purposed to have travailed vnto Ardys the Son of Gyges King of Lydia, aud to Phraortes King of Media: but death preuented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

ceiue God.

The Messenians were inuited by Anaxilas (whose great Grandfather was a Messense) fenian and went into Italie after the former war) being Lord of the Rhegians in Italie, to take his partagainst the Zandleansin Scicilie, on the other side of the straights. They did so; and winning the Towne of Zančie, called it Messee, which name it keepes to this day.

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twentie eight Olympiade. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home scrued 50 the Laced emonians found meanes to rebell; but were foone vanquished, and being driuen to forfake Peloponnesius, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages they were expelled by the Lacedamonians, and then followed, their ancient Countrimen into Italie and Sicilie; some of them went into Africa, where they chose vnto themselues a seat.

It is very firange, that during two hundred and four cfcore yeares, this banifhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cultomes, language, hattred of Sparta, and loue of their forfaken Countrie, with a delire to returne vun to. I. Inthe third yeare of the hundreth and fccond Olympiad, that great Epaminondae, having tamed the pride of the Laced-amonium, revoked the Anglonium home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelf abroad, into Pelapannefue. There did Epaminon-das reflore vun to hem their old possession, and he lep them in building a faire Citie, to which, by the name of the Province, was called Messes, and was helded by them cure after, in despiglit of the Laced-amonium, of whom they never from thenceforth flood in force.

Of the Kingsthat were in Lydus and Media, while MANASSES
Raigned. Whether DELOCES the Medewerethat ARPHANAD which is mentioned in the Booke of
INDITH. Of the hillower
INDITH. Of the hillows

R. DYS King of Lydia, and Phraortes of the Medes, are spoken of by Paulanias, as raigning shortly after the Messenian warre. Ardys since case ding wnto his father Gyees, beganne his raigne of nine and forticy yeares, in the second of the fine and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steppes of his father, who enchroaching ypon the Jonians

in Alia, hardys wanne Prient, and affailed Affairus, but went away without it. In his raigne, the Commertant, being expelled out of their owne Countrie by the Scylhians, our-ranne agreat part of Alia, which was not freed from them before the time of Alyattes this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They 30 had not onely broken into Lydia, but wanne the Citic of Sardez; though the Callle or Citadell thereof was defended againft them, and held flill for King Ardys; whose long raigne was vnable, by reason of this great florme, to effect

phrapries was not King untill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was live yeares after the Meffenian warre ended; the same being the law yeare of Manssies his raigne ouer Inda.

Dejoces the father of this Phraortes, was King of Media, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeares in which Manasses raigned. This Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his predecessors 40 had done. For they, following the example of Arbaces, had given to the people fo much licence, as caused cuerie one to desire the wholesome seueritic, of a more Lordly King. Herein Deinees answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a starely Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his perfon; he feldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durft prefume to spit or cough in his fight. By these and the like ceremonies, he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiellie which his Predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, hee did vprightly and fenerely adminifter justice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the King- 50 dome. Hee cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by enchroaching vpon others; but fludied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweenethis King, and fuch as were before him, feemes to have bred that opinion which Herodotus deliners, that Deioces was the first who raigned in Media.

This was he that built the great Citic of Echatone, which now is called Tauris, and therefore he should be that King Arphaxad, mentioned in the slorie of Indith, as also Bon Alexadea, by the same accompt, should bee Nahuchadonofor the African, by whom Arphaxad was slaine, and Halapharus sent to worke wonders, upon Phudand Lad, and Is know not what other Countries, For Irckon the last yeare of Deines to have been ethe nineteenth of Ben Caleradach; though others place it otherwise, some carlier, in the time of Waradach Baddan, some later, in the raigne of Nabulaj-jür, who is also called Mahuchanofor,

In fitting this Booke of Iudith to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene 10 Spent, with ill successe. The raignes of Cambyfes, Darius, Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Ochus, haue beene fought into; but affoord no great matter of likelihood : and now of late, the times, foregoing the defiruction of Ierulalem, have beene thought voon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best with the stories though others herein cannot (I fpeake of fuch as faine would) agree with him. Whilest Camby fes raigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the storie of Iu. dith, is found flanding and dedicated. The other two Persian Kines, Daring and Xerxes, are acknowledged to have been everif fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be Nabuchodonofor, whose part they refused to take, and who fent to destroy them. Yet the time of Kernes hath some conveniences, aprly fitting 20 this Historie; and about all the opinion of a few Ancient writers ( without whose iudgement the authoritie of this Bookewere of no value) having placed this argument in the Persian Monarchie, inclines the matter to the Raigne of this vain-glorious King. As for Ochus, verie few, and they faintly, entitle him to the bufine ffe. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be, a returne from captinitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt, Ioacim High Priest; and a long peace, of threefcore and tenne yeares or thereabout, enfuing. All these were to be among the lewes. Likewife on the other fide, wee must finde a King that raigned in Nimine, eighteene yeares at the leaft; that vanquished and flow a King of the Meass; one whom the Iewes refused to affift; one that fought to bee generally adored as 30 God, and that therfore commanded, all temples, of fuch as were accounted gods to be destroyed, one whose Viceroy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people,

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of Ioacim, with a returne from Captiuitie, are found concurring, with either the time of Manages before the destruction of Ierufalem, or of Xerxes afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of Xerxes; the rest of circumflances requifite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuitie of the lewes and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuerfie is, that the Booke of Iudith is not Canonicall, Yet hath Torniellus done as much, in fitting all to the time of Xerxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder Xerxes there were other Kings, among which Arphaxad might be one (who perhaps reftored and reedified the Citie of Echatane, that had formerly beene built by Deioces) and Nabuchodonofor might be another. This granted; he addes that from the twelfth yeare to the eight centh of Nabuchodonofor, that is flue or fixe yeares, the absence and ill fortune of Xerxes, in his Gracian expedition (which he supposeth to have beene so long) might give occasion vnto Arphaxad, of rebelling : and that Nabuchodonofor having vanquished and slaine Aphaxad, might then feek to make himfelfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he fent forth vnder Holofernes. So should the Jewes have done their dutie, in adhering to Xerxes their 50 Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances, rehearfed before be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iurie were agreeable to the Historie of Iudith, and fuch a King as this

cumtances, rehearled before be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Inter were agreeable to the Historie of Indith and such a King as this supposed Nabushodonofor, might well enough bee ignorant of the Ieves, and as proudas we shall need to thinke him. But the silterce of all Histories, takes away that he had been allowed to the heart of the leves, and as proudas we shall need to thinke him. But the silterce of all Histories, takes away that he had been allowed to the same that he had been allowed to the same that he had been allowed to the same that he had been allowed to the same that he had been as the same that he had been allowed to the same that he had been a same that he had been allowed to the same that h

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beliefe, from this coniecture : and the supposition it selfe is verie hard, that a rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of scuenteene hundred thoufand men, thould prefume to farre, vpon the ftrength of twelue hundred thouland foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he lift, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this deuise of Torniellus ; yet if there were anie necessitie, of holding the Booke of Indith, to bee Canonicall, I would rather 10 choofeto lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some desence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it felfe. That Indith lived under none of the Persian Kings, Bellarmine (whose workes I haue not read, but find him cited by Torniellus) hath prooued by many arguments. That shee lived not in the Raigne of Manasses, Tornielles hath prooued verie substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driven, as it were to breake through a wall, in faying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings Arphaxad and Nabuchodonofor, found out by Torniellus, are the children of meere fantalie, it is fo plaine, that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truly fay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselues (like naked men in a stonic field) haue chased Holosernes out of all parts of time, 20 and left him and his great expedition, Extra anni (olifque vias , in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer knowne.

Surely to find out the borders of IAPHETH, which were towards the South, and over against Arabia; or the Countries of Phud and Lud, that lay in Holofernes his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosinographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; having alreadie fo farre digreffed, in " ewing who lived not with Manaffes, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearle what others I finde, to have had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

## ò. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

HE first yeare of Manasses was the last of Romulus; after whose death,

a Sabyne chosen; a peaceable man and seeming verie religious in his kind. Hee brought the rudepeople, which Romalus had employed onely in warres, to some good civilitie, and a more orderly fashion of 40 life. This hee effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called Egeria, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which hedelinered vnto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these deuices of Numa were, in his owne judgement, no better than meere delulions, that ferued onely as rudiments, to bring the Sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by Romulus, to some forme of milder difcipline, than their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Bookes that were found in his graue, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a peece of ground that 59 belonged to one L. Petilius a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chefts of stone were in it, with an infcription in Greeke and Latine letters, which faid that Numa Pompilius the fonne of Pompo, King of the Romans lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found, his bodie being vtterly confumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped

in two bundels of wax; of his owne conflitutions feueu, and other feuen of Phyfollowhie. They were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie defiring to have a fight of these Bookes, when hee perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a folemne oath that they were against the R eligion then in vie. Hereupon the Senate, without more a doe, commaunded them to bee openly burnt. It feemes that Numa did meane to acquite himfelfe, vnto wifer ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene fo foolish as to believe the Doctrine wherein he inftructed his owne barbarous times. But the poylon wherewith hee had infected 10 Rome, when hee fat in his Throwne, had not left working, whenhee ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of Tully and Cafar, when the mift of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they ferued as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inuctorate.

Numa Raigned three and fortic yeares in continual peace. After him Tullus Ho-Stilius the third King was chosen, in the fix and fortieth of Manages, and Raigned two and thirtie yeares, bufied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field, but in regard of the danger, which both parts had 20 cause to scare, that might grow vnto them from the Thuscanes, caused them to bethinke themselues of a course, whereby without effusion of so much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might bee decided, who fhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twinnes borne at one birth (Dionylius faves that they were Cofen Germans) of equally eares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their fenerall Countries. The end was that the Moratii. Champions for the Romans got the victorie, though two of them first lost their lives. The three Curatif that fought for Alba (as Linie tels it) were all aline, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were flaine; but the third Hora-20 time, pretending feare, did runne away and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equall speede, to follow him at such diflance one from another, that returning upon them, he flew them, as it had beene in fingle fight, manafter man, ere they could joyne together and fet vpon him all at once. Diany flus reports it fomewhat otherwife, telling verie particularly, what woundes were given and taken, and faying, that first one of the Horaig was slaine, then one of the Curatii, then a second Horatius, and lattly the two Curatii, whom the third Horatius did comming feuer one from the other as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable thinges in the olde Roman Historic, both in regard of the action it felfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in wager, against Al-40 ba, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the Citie of Alba did immediatly become subject vnto her owne Colonic, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being remodued vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alba, as the mother Citie, had beene chiefe, became ere long dependent upon Rome, though not subject unto it, and diverse pettie States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were finall, yet many. I will forbeare to rehearfe (as being the works of fundrie ages, and few of them remarkeable confidered apart by themselves (vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to bee the maine subject of 50 this Historic.

The feuenth yeare of Hippomenes in Athens, was current with the fitst of Mans/fes. Also the three last Gouernours for tenne yeares, who followed Hippomenes, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find onely the names, Leogrates, Aplander, and Erizias. After Erixias yearely Rulers were elected.

These Governours for tenne yeares, were also of the race of Acidon and Codring,

but their time of rule was shortned, and from tearme of life reduced vnto tenne yeares; it being thought likely, that they would gouerne the better, when they

know that they were afterwards to line prinate men under the command of others I follow Dienzitus of Habearnallus, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiad, wherin the Chronologicall table, following this worke, doth fer them. For CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of MANASSES to the destruction of Ferusalem.

10

Of AMMON and Tostas.



MMON the fonne of Manaffe, a man no leffe wicked then was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all forts of Idolatrie: for which God 2. Willed 2. hardened the heartes of his owne feruants against 2, chron. 22 him:who flew him after he had Raigned two yeares: Philo, Eufebius and Nicephorus giue him tenne yeares. following the Septuagint.

Iostas succeeded vnto Ammon, being but a childe 2.King.22.
of eight yeares old. Hee beganne to seeke after the 1.6bvw.34-

God of Daud his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged Iuda and Ierufalem from the high places, and

the groues, and the carued and molten Images: and they brake downe in his light the Altars of BAALIM. He caused all the Images, as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. Hee also flew those that facrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses 30 of the Sunne to be burnt. Of Infias it was prophecied, in the time of Iereboam the first, when he creeted the Golden Calfe at Bethel, that a child should be borne vnto the house of Dauid, Iosias by name, and vpon thee ( said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall bee sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense upon thee. a prophecie verie remarkeable.

In the eighteenth yeare of his Raigne, hee rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time Helkiah the Prieftfound the Booke of Holes, called Deuteronomie, or, of the Lane, which hee fent to the King; which when hee had caused to bee read before him, and considered of the seuere commaundements therein written, the profperitie promifed to those that observe them, and the for-40 row and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commaunded Helkiah, and others, to aske counfell of the Propheteffe Huldah, or, Olda, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words. Thus faith the Lord, behold I will bring cuill vponthis place, and vponthe inhabitants thereof, enen all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they have read before the King of Iuda, because they have for saken mee, and burnt incense to other Gods. Onely for the King himselfe, because he was a louer of God and of his Lawes, it was promifed that this cuill should not fall on *Iuda* 2.8(10), 22.15, and *Ierufalem* in his dayes, but that hee himselfe should inherit his graue in 2.6(10):03.44

Influs affembled the Elders, caused the Booke to bee read vnto them, made 50 a couenant with the Lord, and caufed all that were found in Ieru(alem and Beniamin to doe the like, promiting thereby to observe the Lawes and commaundements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by Iolias vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets, at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to have extended vnto those

he not onely professeth himselfe to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning 12/40 Mille L.t. of times; but hath noted alwayes the yeares of the Greeks, how they did answere vn-14.345 to the thinges of Rome, throughout all the continuance of his Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first years of the seuenth Olym- 10 piad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of Charaps his gonernment in Athens; I hope I thall not need excuse, for varying from Paulanias, who settes the beginning of these Atlenians somewhat sooner.

In the Raigne of Manafies it was, that Midas, whome the Poets fained to have had Affes cares, held the Kingdome of Phrygia. Manie fables were denifed of him; especially that hee obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that all thinges which hee should touch, might immedatly be changed into Gold: by which meanes hee had like to have beene starued (his meat and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not Bseebus deliuered him from his miferable facultie, by caufing him to wall himselfe in the River Pactolus, the ftreame whereof hath ever fince for- 20 footh, abounded in that precious Mettall. Finally it is faid hee died by drinking Buls bloud; being inuaded by the Seythians,

In this age flourished that Antimachus, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Romalus) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or (as Eusebius hath it) the Athenians, having obtained some power by Sea, founded Macteratis a Citic on the coast of Egypt. Plannitions herein feemes to have affifted them, who yfed all meanes of drawing the Greekes into Agypt, accounting them his furest strength. For neither Miletus, nor Athens, were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in Egypt by force.

About this time Archius with his companion Mifeellus, and other Corinthians, 20 founded Syracufa in Sicile: a Citie in after-times exceeding famous.

The Citie of Nicomedia fometime \* Atlastis, was enlarged and beautified in Strate there is this age, by Zipartes natine of Thrue, Sybilla of Samus according to Panfanias lined

About these times also was Croton founded upon the Bay of Tarentum by Misthis Crieftin- cellus, the companion of Archias that built Syracufa: Strabe makes it somewhat deth. Pasfl.s. more ancient, and so doth Paulanias,

About the same time, the Parthenians, being of age, and banished Lacedemon, were conducted by Phalantus into Italie, where it is faid they founded Tarentum : but Iustine and Paulanias find it built before, and by them conquered and amplyfied. Also 40 about the same time, Manasse yet liuing, the Citie Phases was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in Sicily, Interamne in the Region of the Vmbri, now called Vrbin in Italie. About which time also Chalcedon in Asia, ouer against Byzantium, (now Constantinople) was founded by the Megarenses : who therefore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of Bosphorus. It were a long worke to rehearse all that is faid to have beene done in the flue and fiftic yeares of Manaffes; that which hath alreadic beene told is enough : the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, referring onely Ben Merodach, and Nabulaffar, to the bufineffe that will shortly require more mention of them.

\* Whence in

Grees Aftercones

a part of Pro-

CHAP.

Countres, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. Yet I doe nor thinke, that any victorie of loss in warre got possession of these places; but rather that Ezekias, after the flight and death of Senacherib, when Merodach opposed himselfe against Aarhaddon, did vie the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the Kingdome of Ifrael, as hee was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himselfe vnable to deale with Plananiticus in Syria (as wanting power to raise the fiege of Azolus though the Towne held out nine and twentie yeares) did give vnto Manaffes, together with his libertie as much in Ifrael, as himselfe could not casilv defend. This was a good way to breake the amitie that the Kings of Juda had fo 10 long held with those of Egypt, by casting a bone betweene them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territorie with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeeme the friendship of the Ienes, which had beene lost by injuries done, in feeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is faid, that Manaffer did s. chron. 3.14. after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captaines of warre in all the strong Citics of Juda; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making lerufalemit felfe more defenfible; yet I should rather belowe, that he having alreadic compounded with the Babylonian, did fortific himfelfe against the Agyptians, whose side hee had for saken, than that hee travailed in 20 making fuch prouitions, onely for his minds fake. The carnefineffe of Iofias in the King of Babel his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which Manasses had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly tearmes, as required not only a faithfull observation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could fuffice to make Iofias fit ftill, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutralitie, when Pharao Acco King of Agypt passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riper of Euphrates.

The last yeare of iosius his Raigneit was, when a New the sonne of Psimmittiess, came with a powerfull Armit courades the border of Indea, determining to a.c. times, 35-20, passed that way being the nearch toward Emphastice, either to throughten the passingers 30 of that River, about Careensist or Cerestians, for the defence of Syria (as long after this, Dwelessania Sind by Ammianus Ameelimus to have done) or perhaps to insude Syria (felse, For is seement but the tratalle of Psimmitus. bad not been eitledy consumed about that one Towne of Lastin, but had put the Lastinis in possession of no sind part of Syria, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vinto the Adules Kings of Damssson of Damsson.

Neither was the indultire of Neco lefte than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against Bubel. In which warre, two things may greatly have awaled the Agyptims, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinarie valour of the mercenarie Greeker, that were farre better Souldiers than Agypt could of it selfe 40 afford, and the danger wherein Asyria shood, by the force of the Obedes, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it selfe better; and to show what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seemes, that either some preparation of the Chaldams to reconquer, did enforce, or some disabilitie of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of Agypt, into the Countries bordering ypon Emphrates; whither Pharao Neco ascended with a mightie

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, Infinst addied with himselfe to which of 50 these he might addier, having his Territorie fet in the mid way between both, so as the one could not inuade the other, but that they must of necessitie tread your theverie face and bodie of his Countrie; Now though it were so that Neebimselfe desired by his Embassiadors, leave to passenge by Indas, protessing that hee

directed himselfe against the Assyrians onely, without all harmefull purpose against 10sia; yet all sufficed not, but the King of Israel would needs light with him.

mie, as did, soone after this, out face Nabhassa, yoon his owne borders, left vnto the Lewes, a lawfull excuse of Eare, had they storone to give it any checke yoon the 20 way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince Lossa, was not stirred yo onely by politicker espects, to stop the way of Neese, but thought himselfe bound in sitth and honour, to doe his best in defence of the Bassanasa Crownes, whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlagement of Manasses, or by the gift of such part as hee held in the Kingdome of the tenne T ribes. As for the Princes and people of Inda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Bassonans, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Esperiums, what availant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made

rians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Ar-

their enemie.

into his booke of Lamentations.

Some thinke, that this action of Iossas, was contrariet to the aduice of Ieremie 30 the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecie of Ieremie, nor can finde reason to beleeue. Others hold opinion, that hefograt to ask the counfell of God; and this is veric likelys seeing hee might beleeue that an enterpise grounded vpon fidelitie and thankfulnesse due to the King of Bubel, could not beed sipleasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednesse of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of Iossas in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionsels fairer from hearkung how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life thood betweene them and their punishment, should now bee taken from among them, and that in 49 such fort, as his death should giue enterance to the miseries ensuing. So Iossas leaving all the strength hee could make, neare vnto Aweisde. In the halfe Tribe the first principal countries of the halfe Tribe to the first possible to the halfe Tribe to the superior of the superior that the superior the halfe Tribe to the halfe Tribe to the halfe Tribe to the superior that the superior the halfe Tribe to the halfe Tribe to the superior that the superior the

of Manaffes, encountered Nesho; and there he received the stroke of death, which

pecially of Ieremie the Prophet: who inferted a forrowfull remembrance thereof

lingring about him till hee came to Ierufalem, brought him to the Sepulchers of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of Inda, es. Landing, was

59

of PHARAO NECO, that fought with Iosias: Of Ienoahax
and Ienolakin kines of Iuda

F these warres, and particularly of this victorie, Herodotus hath mention, among the acts of Neco. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might paffe, out of Nilus into the Redfea. It should have reached about a hundred miles in 10 length, and beene wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But

in the middest of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused Aeco to desist when halfe was done. There were confumed in this toile some businesse twelue hundred thousand Exptians; a losse great enough to make the King for fake his enterprife, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. How soener it were he was not a man to be idle; therefore hee built a Fleet, and leavied a great Armie, wherewith hee marched against the King of Babel. In this expedition he vied the service, as well of his Navie, as of his landforces, but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, faue onely this victorie against Iostas, where Herodotus cals the place Magdolus, and the Iewes Sy- 20 rians; which is a small errour, seeing that Indaa was a Pronince of Syria, and Magdoins or Magdala is taken to have beene the fame place (though diversly named) in which this battaile was fought. After this, Necus tooke the Citie of Cadytis, which In Ant. Inc. 1.10 Was per haps Carchemift, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all

Syria, as Iofephius witneffeth, Particularly we finde, that the Phanicians, one of the most powerfull Nations in

Merod l.s.

Syria, were his Subjects, and that by his command they furrounded all Africa, fetting faile from the gulfe of Arabia, and so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and fowed corne for their fustenance, in that long youage which lasted three yeares. This was the first nanigation about Africa, 30 wherein that great Cape, now called Of good hope, was discovered; which after was forgotten, vntill Valco de Gama the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the Phanicians held, for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sunne, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and fireights of Hercules (as the name was then) called now the firaights of Gybraliar, haung Africke ftill on the right hand : but the Portingals, beginning their voyage not farre from the fame firaights, leave Apricke on the Larboard, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phanicians, which Herodotus durst not believe, how the Sunne in this journie was on their right hand, that is, on

made hereof, makes mee the better to beleeve, that such a Voyage was indeed

But leaving these discourses of Neco his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Inda, while the Agyptians were busie at Carchemilh, had made Iehoahaz their King, in the roome of his father Iosias. The Prophet Ieremie cals this new King Shallum, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the fhott Raigne of Shallum King of the tenne Tribes: for Shallum of Ifraei Raigned but one moneth; Ieheahaz no more than three. Hee was not the eldeft fonne of Iolias: Wherefore it may feeme that he was fet up as the best affested vnto the King of Babel; the rest of his house being more inclined to the 50

the Northide of them, is a matter of necessarie truth; and the observation then 40

a. King. 34. 10.32 As explian, as appeares by the fequell. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as Acco had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Judga. This Countrie was now fo farre from making any relistance, that the King himselfe came to Riblah in the Land of Hamath, where the matter went foill on his fide, that Neco did cast him into bonds and carrichim prisonerinto Egypt, giuing away his Kingdome to Eliakim his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This Citie of Riblath, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappie to the Kings and Princes of Inda, as may bee obserued in diuers examples. Yet here Ieboiakim, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, fince he could no better vieit. But how cuer Jehojakim thrisped by the bargaine, Pharao sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stoute to give him peace. when he defired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward. Neco had a greater

10 taske lying ypon his handes, than would permit him to wast his forces ypon Iudea: but now the reputation of his good fuccesse at Meridde, and Carchemille, together with the diffention of the Princes Iofias his fonnes (of whom the eldeft is probably thought to have flormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gave him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet hee did for beare to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps upon the fame reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Iewes had suffered much, in the £gyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driven to for lake that partie and joyne with the enemies; to whom if they showed themselues faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaime 20 them; feeing they were fuch a people, as would not vpon eueric occasion shift side, but endure more, than Pharae, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them : so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuerthelesse he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reape at the present, some fruit of his paines

taken, and leave vnto them some document in the future, of greater punishment then verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So hee departed carrying along with him into Egypt the vnfortunate King Iehoahaz, who died in his Captinitie.

The Raigne of Ichonhaz was included in the end of his Fathers last yeares; o-30 therwise it would hardly be found, that Ieloiakim, his successour, did Raigne tenne whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short Raigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to bee vnworthie of disputation; and fo I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impictic was like his brother, in foction hee was altogether Agratian, as having received his Crowne at the hand of Pharas. The wickednesse of these laft Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall wordes, with reference to all the cuill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that 40 the poyfon wherewith Abaz and Manaffes had infected the Land, was not so ex-

pelled by the zealous goodnesse of Iolias, but that it still cleaved vnto the chiefe of the people, Tea unto the chiefe of the Priests also; and therefore it was not strange, that 2. Chrom.cap. 26. the Kings had their part therein. The Royallauthoritie was much abased by the serfator dangers wherein the Countrie stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they lifted; neither would the Kings for beare to professe, that they could denie them nothing. Yet the beginning of Iehoiakim had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him infolent and cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with Pria the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe ap-

peare to have been infligators. This Holy man denounced Gods judgements ago gainst the Citic, and Temple, in like fort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Errot: but fuch regard was had vnto lebotakim, that Vria was delivered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome vsed, both in

those dayes and since among all Civill Nations of giving refuge vnto strangers. that are not held guiltie of fuch inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind fhould be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned Pharas to give all contentment possible to Ishoiskim for the Alixvian Lion that had not flirred in manie yeares, beganne about these times, to roare folloud voon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Nilus, threatdrawne the house of Merodach from opposing the Agyptian in his conquest of Sy-

ning to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withris, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemift, where shortly after this, the glorie of Egypt is to fall.

## ò. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their befinefie in Syria: which caused them to loose that

ERODACH the sonne of Biladan who taking the advantage that Sennacheribs miladuenture and death, together with the diffention betweene his children prefented, made himfelfe King of Babylon, was e-Eleuen yeares troubled with a powerfull Eenemie Marhaddon the fonne of Senacherib, Raigning ouer the Affrians in Nininie; from

whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faine to omit all bulinefle in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto Ezekia, some part of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes. From this moleflation, the death of Afarhadden did not onely fet him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Affria if not (as is commonly but leffe probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How 39 greatly this was to the liking of the Affyrians I wil not here fland to enquire; his long Raigne following, and his little entermedling in matters of Syria make it plaine, that he had worke enough at home, either in defending or in claablishing that which he had gotten. In feph:us gives him the honour of having wonne Ninime it felfe; which we may beleeue; but furely he did not hold it long. For in the times foone following that great Citie was free, and vanquished Phraortes the Median, Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation; and refused afterwards to continue subject when the Kings being of the Chaldean race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some thinke that this was the Affrian King whose Captaines tooke Manafles prisoner; but I rather believe those that hold the contrarie; for which I have given 40 my reasons in due place, To say truth I find little cause why Meredach should have looked into those parts, as long as the Ierres were his friends and the Agyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselues quietathome, which was vntill the time of Pfammiticus, about the end of this Kings Raigne, or the beginning of his fonne.

Ben Overodach the sonne and succession of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is hee named by goods confent of Authours and that spoake little of his doing s. The length of his Raigne is gathered by inference to have beene one and twentic yeares, for fomuch remaineth of the time that paffed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Raignes (which is a knowne fumme) de- 50 ducting the yeares of his Father , and of his fonne Nabulaffar This (as I mke it) was he that had Manaffes Prisoner and released him. Hee spedillin Spria; where Pfammitious, by the vertue of his Mercinarie Greekes, did much prevaile. This may haue beene some cause that he released Manasses, and did put into his handes some

part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumflances alleaged before.

Nebulaffar that Raigned in Babylon after his Father Ben Merodach, had greater busines in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad; infomuch asit may bee thought to have beene a great negligence or ouer-fight of Plammitious and Neco, that they did not occupie some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that Phraortes King of the Medes inuaded Allyria, and beseiged Ninine; from whence he was not repelled by any force of Nabulassar, but constrained to remoue by the comming of Seythians, who in these ages dido-10 uer-flow those parts of the World, laying hold you all, that they could mafter by ftrong hand. Of these Soythians, and the Lordship that they held in A. it is convenient that I speake in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, vpon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering

Phraortes, the sonne of Deioces, King of the Medes, having by manie victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire polifibilitie of making himfelfe

That Citie (as Herodotus reports it) having beenea Soueraigne Ladie was not Hirod Eb. 1; forfaken of all her dependants; yet remained in fuch cafe, that of her felfe shee was an well enough.

This makes it plaine, that how focuer Merodach had gotten poffession of this imperiall feat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Countrie; yet it found the meanes to fet it felfe at libertie: as after this againe it did, when it had beene regained by Nabulaffar his Grand childe.

Sharpe warre, and the veric noueltie of fuddaine violence, vie to difmay anie State or Countrie, not inured to the like: but cuftome of danger hardeneth even those that are vnwarlike. Praise had beene the Palace of manie valiant Kings lately Raigning therein, it had fuffered, and refifted, all the furie, wherewith either Domesticall tumults betweene the sonnes of Senscherib, or forraigne warre of the Ba-20 bylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leffe wonderfull, that Phraortes did speed so ill in his journie against it. He and the most of his Armic perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumftances (perhaps he vndervalued their forces, and brought a leffe power than was needfull) It is enough, that we may herein beleeue Herodotus.

Craxares the fonne of Phraortes, a brauer man of warre then his Father, wanne as much of Asia the leffe, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys; hee sought reuenge vpon the Affrians for the death of his Father, and befreged Niniue it felfe, having a purpose to destroy it. Irather beleeve Evs EBIVs, that he tooke the Citie and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than HERODOTVS, that the Scythian Armie came upon 40 him whilest he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictoric (as Eusebius, though farre later than Herodotus, yet having seene other Authours, that are now loft, is to be valued according to his great reading) there doe I hold it beft, to yeeld ynto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Seythians came vpon Cyaxares, whilest hee lay before Ninine, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to bee suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that hee was faine to leave the Towne, when a warre so dangerous fell vpon his owne Countrie, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Soythian expedition brought into those partes, and with the State of the Chaldean and Affrian affaires en-

The Astruction of this great Citie is both foretold in the Booke of Tobit, and there iet downe as happening about these times; of which Booke whosever was the Authour, hee was ancient enough to know the Storie of those ages, and hath committed no such errour in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him

in this. As for the Prophetic of Nahum, though it be not limited vnt any certaine tearme, yet it appeares to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of Aimine by Nabnehodonofor, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of exerpt, foregoing this calamitie, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that afcribe more authoritie than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the Booke of Tobit, are carefull, as in a matter of necessitie, to affirme, that about these times Niniue was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victoric over ir, to Bere Aleredach : a needleffe conjecture, if the place of Eulebius be well confidered. Yet I holdit probable, that Nabulaffar the fonne of Ben Merodach did feize voon it, and placea King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Countrie of 10 الال was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Soythian warre ouerwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out readie to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Aminites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon fo affwaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if Nahulassar, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, tooke him and them into protection; though afterwards, to their confusion, this vnthankfull people and their King, rebelled againe, as shalbe shewed in the Raigne of Mabuchadencler.

#### . IIII

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Afia eight and twentie yeares.

## †. I.

OW that I have shewed, what impediment was given by the Affr- 20

R risms and the Medes, to the Babylonisms, who thereby were much dif-

The time of this expedition.

abled, to performe any action of worth vpon the Agypticus in Syria: it is time that I speake of that great Soythian expedition, which grievoufly alilicted not only the Babylonians, but the Ades and Lydians. with the Countries adjacent, in such wife that part of the trouble redounded cuen to the Agyptians themselves. Of the Soythian people in generall, Herodotso makes verse large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables, of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with confent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleffe to recite (bem, for they are farre enough diffant from the bufineffe in hand. The computation of times, which by 40 inference out of his relations, may feeme very firange, needeth fome answerein this place: leaft otherwife I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or elfe to bee too forgetfull of my felfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which i had alreadie buried. Eight and twentie yeares he faith that the Seythians Raigned in Afig. before Crawgres delivered the Countrie from them. Yet hee reports a warre, betweene Cyaxares and Halyattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of Ninine; the fiege of Ninine being ere the Soythians came. And further he tels, how the Soythians, hauing vanquillied the Medes, did paffe into Syria, and were encountred in Palastina by Pfsimilian King of Expt, who by giftes and entreatie procured them to de-59 part from him. These narrations of Herocolum may, every one of them, see trues though not in such order of time as he bath marshalled them. For Pfammiticus was dead before Cyanarus beganne to Raigne; and Cyanarus had front halfe of his fortic yeares, ere Halyattes was King of Lydia; fo that he could not, after those Lydim warres, Raigne eight and twentic yeares together with the Seythiams. It is true, that Eufebius dothallo call Pfammis the fonne of Phama Neva, by the name of Pfammis may, by fome fitained conjecture, beethought to have beene he that met with the Seythiams: for he lived with both Cyssae's and Halpates. But Eufebius himfelfe referres all that buffenffe of the Seythiam irruption in Plastime, to Pfammities with Father of Reva, whom he leanes dead before the Raigne of Malyates. Therefore I dare not relie vpon Merodotim, in this matter, other wife then to beleeve him, that fuch things were in thefe ages, though not in fuch order as he fest them downe.

10 It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a workenecessarie, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to be comitted in agenerall Historie; yet not calle, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformitie.

I have noted before, that in the Raigne of Ardys King of Lydia, the Cimmerians ouer-ranne that Kingdome, and were not expelled, virill Halyattes the Nephew of Ardys got the upper hand of them. In thele times therefore of Ardys, Sadvattes. and Halyattes, are wee to find the eight and twentie yeares, wherein the Seythians Raigned ouer Afa. Now forafmuch as Pfanmitieus the Agretian had fome dea-20 lings with the Scythians, euen in the heigth of their prosperite, wee must needes allow more than one or two of his last yeares, vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyattes his Raigne in Lydia, being three and twentie yeares compleat after the death of Pfammitieus, leaves the space verie scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meet the Agyotian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could bee drinen quite away. To increase this difficultie, the victorious Raigne of Nabuchodonofor in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his Kingdome against the . A cyptians and Iewes, had he stood in daily feare of looling his owne; to a more mightie Nati-30 on, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appeares to me; the victories ascribed to Cyaxares and Halyattes ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole bodie of their Armie, but were the defeatures of some troupes, that infelted their feuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, Nabulassar having the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardie Northerne Laddes. Wherefore wee may probably annexe the eight and twentic yeares of the Seytmans rule, to as manie almost the last of Nabulaffars

#### t. II.

Raigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can

fay of the time, wherein As fuffered the violence of these oppressors.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Iournic.

TOuching the expedition it selfe, Herodatus tels vs, that the Cimmerians being driuen our of their Countrie by the Septhians, insaded and wasted some part of
Assand that the Septhians not contented with hasing wonne the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remooued quarters of the
world, for the week by chances falling woon. Media and LEgypt, in this pursuit of
men that were gone another way into Lydis. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Septhian, as mischieuous and sooiling
or else Herodatus, and some other of his Countrimen, great slanderers of those, by
Whom

whom their Nation had beene beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grieuously ranfackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is fo well knowne, and their manie Conquetts fo well tellified in Histories of dinerfe Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is infunicient to flaine them with the note of Cowards. These were the polleritie of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose restow did ouerwhelme no small portion of Greece and Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we doe now entreat. He that would more largely informe himfelte of their originall and actions, may perufe Goropius Becanus his 4muse of manie things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned ortelins is faid to have spoken, of all Goropius his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, 19 but hard to conjute them: There wee find it proued, by fuch arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Seythians, and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howfocuer diftinguished in name, by reason of their diverse Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. Homer indeede hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Countrie whether he place in the West, as neare unto the Ocean and boundes of the Earth, Or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darknesses, certaine it is that he would have them neare neighbours to Hell: for hee had the fame quarrell to them, which Herodotus had, and therefore belike would have made them feeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as Herodotus writing his life affirmes) to infert into 20 his workes the names of fuch as lived in his owne times, making fuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himfelfe deferued. And for this reason it is proved by Euflathius, that the Cimmerisms were fo differed by him, because they had wasted his Countrie. Perhaps, that inuation of Phrygia by the Amazons, whereof Homer puts a remembrance into Prismas his discourse with Helen, was the verie fame, which Eulebius noteth to have happened formewhat before the age of Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inuaded Afia. This is certaine, that both the Amazons and the Cimmerij ( who in after-times

were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Ain; which though it bee not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with joynt forces, yet seeing they inua. 30 ded the felfe fame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journie of the amazons into Greece, mentioned also by Eusebius, was by the ftraights of the Commerians, as we finde in Diodore, who further to leth vs, that the Sevelians therein gave them affiliance. The fame Authour, before his entrie into which himselfe acknowledgeth to bee fabulous. doth report them to have beene Wines of the Seythians, and no lesse warlicke than their Hufbands; alleadging the example of that Queene, who is faid to have flaine the overt Perfian Cyrus. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carrie their wines along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those women; the terrible descent of them into Italie, when Asrius the Roman ouerthrew 40 them, gives proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; other place will give mee better leifure to speake of them; but seeing that they are noted by diverse Historians to have belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Serthians, and to the Sarmatians, wee may the better approous Goropius his conclusion. That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Soythians, it appeares to have been enone other than the fending a Colonic of them forth into Alia, with an Armie of Seythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new scat, and establishing the

The Sarmatians also were companions in this journie. For the Citic of None- 50 grad in Russia (which Countrie is the same that was called Samustia) friend in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes : and therefore it is no maruaile though manie Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voiage was that, which the same people made

fine hundred yeares and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Meetis; they were then likewise affifted (faith Plutareb in the most likely report of them) by the Seythians their neigh- Plutareb in the bours; they had in their Armicaboue three hundred thousand fighting men, be-lite of Martin, fides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer manie Countries, beating all downe before them, and finally, thinking to have fetled themfelues in Italie, they divided their companie, for the more calle passage thirther and were confumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Confuls. Mere necessitie enforced these poore Nations, to trouble the World, in following such hard aduentures. To For their Countrie, being more fruitfull of men than of full chance, and thut up on the North fide with intolerable cold, which denied iffue that way to their ourfwelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civile, people had. Their sturdie bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gaue them great aduantage ouer fuch as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore commonly they preuailed verie farre; their next neighbours giving them free paffage, that they might the fooner be ridde of them; others giving them, belides pallage, victuals and guides to conand duct them to more wealthic places; others hiring them to depart with great prefents; fo as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the

t. III.

more effeminate people.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

30 THE first Companie of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other fide, and behind them, the great Mountaines of Cancasius. These hauing passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Countrie of Pontus, and being arrived in Paphlasonia, fortified the Promontorie Herad.lib.4. whereon Sinope, a famous Hauen Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it feemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heaviest part of their cariages, vnder some good gard: as drawing neere to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazard. For in like fort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of 40 their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew necre vnto Gaule, vpo which they determined to aduenture themfelues in the purchase. From Sinope, the way into Phrygia, Lydia. and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines or any deepe

Rivers to state their march: for Iris and Halys they had alreadic passed. What battailes were fought betweene these inuaders and the Lydians, and with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of Ardys, the Cimmerians got pofseffion of Sardes the Capitall Citie of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas Herodotus tels of the acts performed by G. ges ond Ardys Kings of Lydia, before this invasion, and by Halyattes and Crasius in the times following: all that Ardys did against the Cimmerians, and all (faue burning the Milesians Corne fields) that was done in twelue yeares by Sadiattes his Son (who perhaps had his hands fo full of this businesse, that hee could turnethem to nothing elfe) is quite omitted. Hereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did anie thing

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worthie of remembrance in those warres, but were gladenough that they did not

Certainly, the miferies of warre are neuer fo bitter and manie, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, for faking their owne feates, labours to roote out the established possessor another Land, making roome for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the malterie are pacified with tribute, or with fome other feruices and acknowledgements, which had they beene yeelded at the first, all had beene quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring fo little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, even to the cradels of the sucking 10 infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with defperate resolution : seeing the one part must either winne, or perilh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loofe their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples hereof; and the mightie Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by fuch inualions. But our Isle of Brittaine can best witnesse the diuerlitic of Conquests; having by the happie victorie of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civile arts, in exchange of libertie, that was but flenderly inftru-Steel therein before; whereas the iffue of the Saxon and Danifb warres, was, as were the causes, quite contrarie. For these did not seeke after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Countrie, which the Saxans obtained, but with horrible 20 crueltie, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are alfo of the Cimmerian bloud) found fuch end of their enterprife, asit may feeme that the Commercians in Lydia, and Soythians in the higher Afia, did arrive vnto. So that by confidering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceine the fortune of the other. Manie battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of fuch importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Manie the Saxens wonne vpon the Danes, vet not fo great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of veterenmitie, had bred fuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of 30 both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no fmall number of the Danes became peaccable cohabitants with the Saxons, in England, where great flaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Countrie wide enough to receive them, as having difburthened it felle of manie thousands, that were sent to seeke their graves abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victoric of Halyattes may have haltened the conclusion, yet the wearifome length of time feemes to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so com- 40 pounded betweene the Cimmerians and Halyaites, thatthe River of Halys should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the River was the Countrie of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimerians and other Seythian people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have beene.

And hereunto the quarrell enfuing, betweene Halyaites and Cyanares the Oneile, hath verie good reference. For Halyattes (as is faid ) fought in defence of certains Seythians, vpon whom the Median fought reuenge. And it flands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall flaughters, the wid haue joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common fafetie: though 0-50 therwife it had beene dangerous to Halyattes, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome fo farre Westward, what socuer the pretences might bee, of ta king reuenge vpon fuch as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occalion of the warre betweene these two Kings, which Herodolus relates, I find it of little

waight, and leffe probabilitie. He tels of Soythians, that being chased out of their Countrie by faction, came vnto Cyaxares; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee inftructed in the Soythian tongue, and feate of Archerie. Now it for fell out (faith he) that these Seythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home formewhat with them, did neuertheleffe other whiles miffe of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, birterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was under their charge, whom dreffing like Venison they presented vnto him; which done they fled vnto Halyattes. This Herodotus deliuers, as the ground of a warre that lafted fixe yeares betweene the Medes and Lydians: the one King demmanding these Fugitiues to bee delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betraic such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Seythians, to betake themselves to either of these Kings. vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treacherie that he shewed in the massacring of their Countriemen, that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that wee should speake.

CHAP.28. S.4. +.4. of the Historie of the World.

#### t. IIII.

## The warre of the Scythians in the higher Alia.

A S the Commercans held their courfe Westerly, along the shores of the Eucine Sea; so the Seythians and Sarmatians tooke the other way, and having the Caspian Sea on their left hand, paffed betweene it and Caucafus through albania, Colthene, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Sernan and Georgia, and so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to anie agreement with them. This was 30 in the time of Phraortes, whileft Pfammiticus Raigned in Egypt. If it were in the fixt yeare of Nabulassars Raigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to have Raigned five and thirtie; otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach what we take from him) then doe the eight and twentie yeares of their Dominion end, one yeare before the great Nabuchodonofor was King; fo giving him good leave to provide fecurely, for the inualion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as Iofephus out of Berefus relates the Historie.

Now the Medes, defirous to faue themselves as well as they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refufed not to vindergoe the burther of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, AO that would ferue to remoone these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Seythians finding still the Countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did fuffer themselves to bee perswaded, that a little more trauaile, would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied to much you their owne valour, that they feared no reliftance; and being the brauest men, they thought it reason that they should dwel in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Agypt, I doe not thinke; Babylon was neare enough; whither if hee could fend these Locusts to graze, than should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his missortune. What shift Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had anie, dealings with them I doe not reade. But it is 50 well knowne, that his Dominions lay in the middeft betweene Media and Agyit, as also, rhat they made all those parts of Asia Tributarie; wherefore we may verie well beleeve, that they watered their horfes in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

P(ammiticus hearing of their progreffe (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife)

tooke care that they might not looke vpon Agypt; least the fight thereof should more earlived taine them there, than anie force or perfusation, that hee could vie. would fend them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, prefuming more on the great witts which he ment to bellow upon them, than on his Armie that should keepe them backe. egypt was rich; and halfethe riches thereof had not beene ill from in fauing all. Yet Pfammitions tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had beene so obstinate as to 10 refuse all indifferent composition. For hee lay close vpon the edge of the Wildernoffe in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palastina; whence hee neuer adnanced to meet with the Sorthians; but gaue them leave to feele as much of the Galding Sun-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as ni all the length of Syria could beat upon them. When they were come as farre as Afralon, the next Citie to Gaza, then did be affay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke to much the better, by how much the worfe they were pleafed with the heat of a Climate to farre different from their owne. Pfammitieus had at his backe a valt wildernesse, ouer the scorching fands whereof, the Septhians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrarie differences, could ill haue indured to purfue him, through vnknowne wayes, had they fought with him and preuailed: especially the Kingdome of Agypt being readic to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their wearie journie. Wherefore they were 30 content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visite their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Agyptian King (besides that he preferred his owne E state from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Armie to depart from him ) found all his coft well repayed in the processe of his wars in Swis, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more then euer troubled themselues, with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resoluting now to seeke no further, beganne to demaund more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grienous exactions, they prefumed to line at difcretion upon the Countrie, taking what they lifted from the Owners; and manietimes (as it were to faue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long yfed ouer the higher Afia, that is, ouer the Countrie lying betweene the Caspian and Red Seas, and betweene India and Alia the leffe. Happie it was for the poore people, that in fo large a space of ground, there was roome enough for these new comers; otherwife the calamitie that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those private men, to whose wealth anie Soythian did beare a fancie, would have lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it feemes that the heaviest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrie, not farre from their owne home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conflitution of their bodies: there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their 40 infolent Rule was taken from them.

Herod Lb. 1.

Cyanares King of the Medes, who in this extremitie was no betterthen a Rentgatherer for the Soythians, perceiving that his Land lay vomanured and wafte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions; and that the matter could not be remedied by open force; refolued to proue what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus delivered in briefe: That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Seythians; made them drunke; and flew them; recouring hereby the possession of all that they had

Such another flaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was re- 50 uenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelties than ouer they had practifed before. That the Seythians, which escaped this bloudie feast, made any stirre in Media, I doe not find; neither doe I read that either in reuenge hercof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inualion from Septhia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Armie returning home out of Media was verie ftrong, and encountred with opposition (as Herodolus reports it) no leffe then it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of Cyanares to free his Countrie, tooke good effect, with leffe bloud-fied than bath beene supposed. For if hee surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compolition. Manie of them doubtleffe, in eight and twentie yeares, had so well setled themselues, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without anie danger, to remaine in the Countrie; manie (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to

returne home, with what they had gotten; fuch as were not pleafed with either of these two courses, might goe joyne with the Cimmerians in Lycia, or seeke their fortunes in other provinces, among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are faid to have beene with Nabuchadnezzar, it may be understood, that a great part of the Seythians, vpon hope of gaine, or defire to keepe what they had alreadie gained, were content to become subject vnto Nabulasar: mens loue of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more virquiet loue of inordinate libertie. This is certaine, that Nabuchadnezzar, as euer after, fo in his first beginning 10:25.9. of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing, had beene accustomed, to deale with the Babylonians after another fallion: and this new successe of that 20 King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to fuch addition as this of new

Of the Scythian Armie returning out of Media, diverse Authours report a Storie, which confirmes mee in the opinion, that this Companie went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new scate, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behinde them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselues in their husbands absence, became bed-fellowes to their slaues. These got a lustie brood of youths, that were loath to be troubled with Fathers in Law, and therefore prepa. red to fight with them at their returne. If they were only the children of flaues,

20 which compounded an Armie (as Herodotus would have it, who tels vs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens eies) it must needs be that they were verie Boyes, or else that the Women did verie little while continue chalt. Wherefore I rather beleeue the tale as it is told by the Ruffes themselues, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Anceftors returning homewards, which I will fet downe, as I find it, in M1. Doctor Fletcher his exact discourse of the Russe Common-wealth. They understood by the way that Russemmon, their Cholopey, or Bond-flanes whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their 49.4. Townes, Lands, Houses, Wines, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the Villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so, not fare

AO from Nouograd, met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon adulting what was best to bee done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their hor fe-whips (which as their manner is every manrideth with all) to put them in remembrance of their feruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in ther hands, they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheepe before the Driners. In memorie of this victorie, the Novogradians ever fince have flamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nouogrodskoy, currant through all Russia herth the figure of a Horseman Baking a whip a lost in his hand. It may seeme, that all the 50 women of that Countrie, haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of this vniuerfall fault: for fuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her felfe, is the first present that the Mosconian Wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shalbe her husband, in token of subjection; being well assured, to seele

it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the Seythians, or rather

find not that they did. Thus much I thought good to fet downe of the Soythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to manie Countries; but for that it appeares to have beene a great cause, of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syrin, and about Indan, which 10 continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

# Of Princes lining in diverfe Countries, in thefe ages.



· Auing thus farre digreffed from the maters of Iuda, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I wil here inserte a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of Manaffes, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Agyptians, Babylonians, Wesles, and Lydians, I have spoken as much, as I thought needfull. In Rome, Tul-

Lus Hostilius held the Kingdome, vntill the one and and twentieth yeare of Iofius; at 20 which time Ancus Martius fucceeding Raigned Foure and twentie yeares. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but verierich, preuailed so far by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disapointing the fonnes of Anew, ouer whom he was Tutor. He beganne in the fourth yeare of Zedekia, and Raigned eight and thirtie yeares. In this time it was, namely in the second yeare of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedamonians, bethinking them how to bee auenged of the Arcadians, who gaue succour to the Messenians against them in the former warre, entred the Territorie, tooke the Citie of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. Cypfelus expelling the race of the Bacide made himfelfe Lord of Corinth about these times, and gouerned it in peace thirtie yeares; leaving for successour his sonne Periander, one of the feuen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, flew his owne wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women starke naked, burning their apparrell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceine that the wisedome of the Greekes, was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Coun-

In these times also were Zaleucus, and Draco, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italie, the other in the Citic of Atkens. The Lawes of Draco were fo rigorous, that he was faid to have written them with bloud: for hee rewarded eue- 40 rie small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soone abrogated, and power given to Solon, by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of Zaleucus were verie milde. He forbad anie Gentlewoman to walke abread with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, valeffe it were when shee was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnleffe it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse herselse vp in immodest brauerie, vnlesse it were to inueigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire : for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in fuch case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a fingular example of justice, that when his owne sonne had committed adulterit, and was therefore to loofe both his eyes, he did not cause him 50 to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to faue the yong man ( who alfo loft one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need, so farre to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collaterall to the Historie, for inserting them in their order of

## CHAP.28. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

time. The Chaldeans will soone fall under the Persians; the Persians, ere long, encounter with the Greekes, the Greekes, with the Romans, the Romans, with manie Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estates it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minoritie. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeares, which passed betweene the calling of Abraham, and the destruction on of Ierusalem, we finde little matter, wherein the Historie of Israel, had anie dealing with otheir Nations, than the verie nearest borderers. Yet reade we of manie Kingdomes, that in these manie ages, were crected, and throwne downe; as like-10 wife, manie memorable acts were performed in Greece and elfewhere, though not following one another at anic neare distance; all which must have beene quite omitted, or else reserved vnto a veric vnseasonable rehearfall, had they not beene difposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniencie, may pardon the necessitie.

# The oppression of Indea, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldeans.

OW to returne to the Iemish Storie, from whence wee have so farre digrefied. In the third yeare of Ichoiakim, Nebuchodonofor the fecond, his Father yet liuing, entred Indea with a great Armie, who befeiging and forcing terufalem, made teboialim his Vassall in despight of Acco, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges

Deniel, being as yet achilde, with Ananias, Misael, and Azertas. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but staicd not to search them throughly; for Necho 30 hasted to the succour of Ichoiakim, hoping to finde Nabuchodone for in Indea: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Armic, it being a Countrie of an euill affection towards him, as also farre off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, anie great strength of Seythian horsemen in his Armie; it was the more wifely done of him, to fall backe, out of that rough mourtainous, and ouer-hot Countrie, into places that were more euen and temperate. But belides all these reasons, the death of his father, happening at the fame time, gaue him iuft occasion to returne home; and take possession of his owner Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure : for the Egyptian was not readie to sollow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeare came in; which was the fourth of Ichorakim, the first of Nabuchodonofor, and the last of Neco. In this yeare the Babylonian lying vpon the Banke of Euphrates (his owne Territorie bounding it on the North-fide) attended the arrivall of Necho. There, after a resolued contention for victorie, Necho was flaine, and his Armie remayning forced to faue it felfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victoric Nabuchodone for so well purfued, as he recoucred all Syria, and what focuer the Agyptians held out of their proper Territorie towards the North. The Agyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Jehosakim held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Egyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the yeare 50 before; who contented with fuch profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to laie anie Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole referuednesse of Iehoiakim, was, on both fides, taken in ill part. The Agyptian King Pfammis, who fucceeded vnto Necho, beganne to thinke vpon restoring Iehoabaz, taken Prisoner by his

Father, and fetting him vp, as a Domestical Enemic, against his yngratefull brother.

Against all such accidents, the Ind.can had prepared the vsuall remedic, practifed by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne fonne techona King with him long before, in the second yeare of his owne Raigne, when the Boy was but Eight yeares olde. As for this rumour of Ichoahaz his returne; the Prophet Ieremie fortold, that it should proue idle, saying : he shall not returne thither, but hee shall die in the place whi-10.22.11.25 12 ther they have leddim captine, and flash see this Land no more. The Agyptians indeed, having spent all their Mercinarie forces, and received that heavie blow at Carehemile, had not remayning such proportion of sharpe steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of Neco was not in Pfanmis. Apries who Raigned after Pfammis, did once aduenture to thew his face in Syris; but to after a bigge looke, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with braue words, telling fuch friuolous tales, as men, that meane to doe nothing, vse, of their glorious acts forepaffed, against Iosias and Ichoshaz. In this case it was case for Ichosakim to gue them fatisfaction, by letting them understand, the sinceritie of his affection towardes them; which appeared in time following. But Nabuchodono for went to worke more roundly. He fent a peremptorie message to lehoiakim, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himfelfea Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto fuch fearefull threats, as made the poore Indian lay afide all thought of Joseph. Anti, lib. Pharaob, and yeeld to doe, as the more mightic would have him. So he continued 20 in the obedience of Nabuchodonofor three yeares. At this time Ieremie the Prophet

cried out against the Ienes, putting them in mind that he had now three and twen-

tie yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares a-

againe into their owne fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet Ie-

remie seemes to have beene in the fourth yeare of this Jehoiakim, at which time Ba-

ruch the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom hee sent to reade

them vnto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King:

but fearing the Kings furie they had first set seremie at libertic, and aduised him and

gainst him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captiuitie at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seuentic yeares. The fame calamitic hee threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Agyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idum.eans, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drinke out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of His furie, whom they had for faken, and after the feuentic yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the fame cup, and be veterly subuerted by the Medes, & the Ind.cans, permitted to return 20

Baruch to hide themselues. Iehoiakim after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoc but did cut the Booke in peices and cast it into the fire. All which Ieremie caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead bodie of Ieboiskim, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the 100 frost, and that there should bee none of his seede to sit on the Throne of David.

Time thus running on, while Ichoiakim refted fecure of all danger, as Tributarie to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Agyptian; the mightie Citie of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces; and vpon just considence of her owne Arength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now for asmuch as the terme of feuentie yeares, was prescribed vnto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Ierusalem, and other Townes and Countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this Citie vnto the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchosenofor, have fure authoritie for their warrant. Whereupon likewife it followes of necessitie, that the siege thereof beganne in the seuenth of his Raigne; as having 50

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the feuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath rifen much disputation. The third yeare of Iehoiakim, was the last of Nabulassar, who being

delinered from other cares, tooke notice of fuch as had revolted from him vnto Pharao Neco, and feat this Noble Prince, his fonne, with an Armie into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was Daniel carried away, who therefore makes Daniel Carried away. mention of the same yeare. The yeare next following, being the fourth of Ichoia- letem. 25.1 tim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which Ieremie affirmeth in expresse wordes; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeare he conquered £expt; and then beganne to Raigne as a great Monarch. finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeare it was, wherein he faw that vision, of the Image confishing of fundrie Mettals; which did prefigurate the fuccession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations : but returne vato the siege of Tyre, which beganne

in the feuenth of his Raigne. The Citie of Tyre coursed all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the maine by a deep & broad channel of the Sea. The Chaldrans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to vie them, excelled all other Nations; and euerie Winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the Citie. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt

the place; whereof neuertheleffe the judgements of God (denounced against it by Eliva-20 E(ay, Ieremie, Ezechiel,) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution Icon. of Nabuchodono for, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, Extended impatient of reliffance, vndertooke a vaft piece of worke; euen to fill vp the Sea. that parted the Island from the Continent. The Citic of olde Tyrus, that flood oppolite to the new, you the firme Land, and the mountaine of Libania neare adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and aboundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeares were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopeleffe businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for Alexander working upon that foundation which was remayning of Nabuchodonofors Peere; and being withall affifted by a ftrong Fleet, was yet feuen months ere hee could 20 make way into the Citie. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carrie away that wherewith Alexander laboured to couer a shelue; with much more vio-

lence could it ouerturne, and as it were confume, the worke of Nabuchodonofor. who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striuing as it were, to fill the emptic bellie of this Cormorant; whereas the Macedonian, did only Rop the throat of it. Euerie manknowes, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vie, either miracle, or fuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Farth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helpes. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to any vie the hand of mangeuen the hand of man striuing, as may seeme, against all refistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldaans Euerie

head was made bald, and euerie shoulder was made bare. Yet Nabuchodonosor would not Excl. 19. gine ouer till he was mafter of the Towne.

When he was entred upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutinie in his Armie, or (which is most likely; and so Iosephis reports it) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gaue courage to his cuill willers, Iehoiakim renounced his Subjection, and beganne to hope for the contrarie of that which quickly fell out. For Nabuchodonofor gane him no leifure to doe much hurt but with part of his Armie marched directly into Indea; where the amazed 50 King made so little resistance (the Egyptians having left him, as it were in a dreame) that he entred Ierusalem, and laied hands on Iehoiakim: whom hee first bound and

determined to fend to Babylon, but changing counfell, he caused him to bee slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be deuoured by beasts and ranenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, Iehoiskim or
K k k
Iceboniss

Iechonias his sonne; whom after three moneths and tenne dayes Nabuchodonofor removed and fent Prisoner to Babylon , with Ezekiel, Mardocheus , and Infedech, the high Priest. The mother of Iechonia, together with his scruants, Ennuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captines. This Iechonias, following the counfell of Ieremie the Prophet, made no refiftance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will; wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seemeotherwife, to fuch as confidered the cuill that befell him, rather then the greater euill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it feemes that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an in- 10 Higator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselse to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we reade in generall wordes, that he did cuill in the light of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his flead Nabuchodonofor eltablished Atahaniahis Vnclein the Kingdome of Inda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to fay, as the Instice of God. For like as Nece, King of Fgypt, had formerly displaced lehoshaz, after his Father losias was flaine, and set vp lehoiakim the forme of another Mother: fo Nabuchodonofor flew Ichoiakim who depended on the Exprians, and carrying his sonne Iechonias Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this Zedechias, that was whole Brother to that Icheahaz, whom Neco tooke with him into Agypt. From Zedechias hee required an oath for his faithfull obe- 20 dien ce, which Zedechias gave him, and called the lining God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine affured to the Kings of Chaldea.

In the first yeare of Zedechias, Ieremie saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes' the one fignifying those Indeans that were carried away captine,

the other those that staird, and were destroicd.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Jeremie wrote in a Booke all the cuill that should fall wpon Babylon, which Book or scrole he gaue to Sheraia, when he went with the King Zedechras to Babylon, to visite Nabuchodonosor; willing him first to reade it to the Captiue Iewes, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words. Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rife from the enill that I will bring upon 20 her. This journie of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that hee had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it feemes) to those viquiet courses, from which Ieremie dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he were about his owne necke, others hee fent vnto the fine Kings of Edom, Most, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visite Zedechias: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Iuda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they fhould then possessed enion their owne Countries; if not, they 40 should affuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Hee also foretolde them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in Ierusa. lem, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should bee restored a-

gaine.

The same yeare Ananias, the false Prophet, tooke off the wooden Chaine which Ieremie ware, in figne of the Captiuitie of the Ierres, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; reftore Iechonias, and all the Iewes, with the Veffels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But Ieremie in stead of his wooden Yoke ware a Coller of yron : and in signe that Ananias had 50 giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, hee foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second moneth. After this, when Zedechias had watered long enough betweene faith and paffion, in the eight yeare of his Raigne he practifed more feriously against Nabuchodonofor, with his Neighbours

the Edomites, Anmonites, Mabites, Tyrians, and others that were promifed great aides of the Azyptians: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the Babylonian Yoake. Hereof when Nabuchodonofor had knowledge, hee marched with his Armie in the dead of Winter, toward Ierusalem, and belieged it. Ieremie perswaded Zedechias to render the Citic and himselfe; but being confident of the helpe from Agypt and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpoilible that the Kingdome of Inda should bee extirpate, vntill the comming of Silo (according to the Prophecie of Iceob) hee despifed the wordes of Gen.49.10. Jeremie and imprisoned him. For Jeremie had told the King, that the Citie should be

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10 taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but bee taken Prisoner, and Ier.32.634. brought to the presence of Nabuchodonofor: that he should not perish by the sword.

but being carried to Babel, die his naturall death.

Icrusalem being, the following yeare, surrounded by Nabnehodonosors Armies the King of Agypt, Phaze Hophra according to Ieromic (Hordesta callerh him Apries) Jacques entred the border of Iuda, with his Armie, to fuccour Zedechias, of whofe repolt he had beene the principall Author. But Ieremie gaue the Ienes faithfull counfell, willing them not to have anie trust in the succours of Egypt : for hee assured them, that they should return again, and in no fort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldaans removed from Jerusalem to encounter the Agyp-20 tians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their

way homeward returned into Egypt, as if they had alreadie done enough; leaving the poore people of Ierufalem to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the Ierres, who, in their first extremitie, had manumised their Hebrew Bondmen (as Gods Law required at the yeare of Inbile) and made them free, Leuit as 39. thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the Chaldean Armic, repent them of their Charitie: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former flauerie. But the Chaldees being retur- 101.34. ned to the siege, the Prophet Ieremie, when the State of Ierusalem beganne now to grow to extremitic, counfelled Zedechias to render himselfe vnto them; affuring to see

o him of his owne life, and the fafetic of the Citie, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his

infidelitie and perjurie, bad prouided for him.

Three and twentie Moneths (as some doe reckonit) or according to losephus ico. 19. cighteene; the Bibylonian Armie lay before Ierufalem, and held it exceeding fireightly belieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Caloriyr bath it) ex- 1.56-2.54. trunerunt contra cam turrem ligneam per circuitum, they surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, so as the belieged could neither fally out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. Iofephus reports, that they ouer-topped the Wals, 106ph, 300, 320. with high Towers raifed vpon mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the lb.10,cep.11.

40 Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to for fake their flations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counterbuildings, like vnto these, Yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found meanes to overthrow all the Citizens endenours, and to beat downe as fast from without, as they raised from within, the bodie and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Wals of Ierusalem interposed; and theirs within, laied open to their enemics disturbance. Belides, both famine and peltilence (which commonly accompanie men fireightly belieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the Iewes failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and forcing an entric, to their Princes did feat themselies, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. Zede-

chias beholding this vncomfortable fight, and finding no remedie of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe together with his Wines, Children, Princes, and principall fernants, out of the Citic, by a way under ground; leaning his amazed and guidleffe people, to the merciles fwords

Icras.

of their enemies. Thus he, who, when Ieremie the Prophet perswaded him to ren der himfelfe, despised both the Counsell of God and the force of Nabuchodonolor: wied now that remedie, which Wolphius truly termeth : triste, turpe, of infelix, profull, Ihamefull, and unfortunate,

By this fecret fubterrane vault, Zedechias making his flealth, recoursed (by the helpe of the darke night) the plaines or deferts of Iericho: but by reason of the traine, that followed him and his, (querie one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) hee was casily traced and pursued. How great socuer Wifeb. dmin, lib. the companie was that attended on him, yet, as Iofephus reports it, they on whose fidelitic he most reposed himselfe, no sooner beheld the Chaldeans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Delarts as they to could. For whom God had for laken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom Zedechias being made Prifoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conneighed to Rebla or Reblath a Citie (as some thinke) of 2 ephtalim, where Nabuchodonofor then laie, as a place indifferent betweene Ierufalem and Tyre, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after Nabuehodonofor had laied before Zedekias the manie graces and benefits conferred ypon him, together with the notable falseshood and perjurie wherewith he had requited them; he commaunded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be flaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that ever hee should behold in the World, hee caused his eyes to 20 be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a flauish manner to Babel, where hee confumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruellous Prophecie of Ezechiel was performed; Adducam eum in Babylonom & ipfam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon and he shall not fee it.

Exceb. 23.

Thus in the Eleventh and last yeare of Zedekias which was the eighteenth of Nabuchodonofor, the Chaldeans entred the Citie by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the fword that they therein found.

In the yeare next following, Nabuzaradan, General of the Armie, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of terusalem: and after this fire had lasted from the secuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood 30 foure hundred thirtie and one yeares.

After this upon a fecond fearch, Nabuzaradan (not yet fatiated with bloud) commanded feauentie and two others to bee flaughtered, which had hidden themfelues from the first furie, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of Zedechias his men of Warre, fine of his House-should-servants, and others to that number; carrying away to Babylon the ableit of the people throughout all Indag, and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the partie of Nabuchedone for, to till the ground : ouer whom he left Governour, Godelia the Nephew of that Saphan, whom Iolias had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his juffice and equitie, by tofephus highly commended. This 20 man, a lew by Nation, left Zedechias, as it feemeth, in the beginning of the warre : and by Ieremies defire to line with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the fame aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto Zedechias, which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the Babylonian, who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore reliftlesse. The Prophet Jeremie being left to his owne choice, either to liue in Chaldea, or elsewhere, he made election of Godoliah, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced Ieremie, but gaue comfort to all the other Jewes that were left under his charge, promifing them fauour and libertie, fo long as they remained obedient Subjects to Nabuchodonofor, by whom hee was established 50 Prouinciall Gouernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that yeare was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the fiege of Ierufalem, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with Baalis King of the Ammonites) being followed by tenne other chosen men, while Godo ich feathed them in

Malpha or Mitipa, the Citie of his relidence, traiteroully flew him, together with diners Chaldeans and Iewes that accompanied him. This done, hee made an escape, and in his way encountring with eightic perfons, repairing towards Gadaliah wirb prefents, he flew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fieldes during the warre. He also tooke with him a Daughter of Zedechias, committed to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodonofor. This practife and intent of Ismael had beene formerly discourred vnto Godolia by Johanan, one of the Leaders of the few remaining Jewes: but Godoliah was incredulous.

Iudaa being now left without a Gouernour (for Ismael durst not take it upon himbut retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the Ammonites) the residue of the Jewes, fearing the reuenge of the Chaldeans, resolved to flie away into Agrat. and befought Ieremie to aske counfell of God for them; who readily made them answere, that if they remained in Indea, God would provide for them and shew them mercie, but if they fought to faue themselues in Egypt, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the Iewes held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining teremie and Baruch to accompanie them, they travailed into Egypt, and inhabited by the permiffion of Pharao, neere vnto Taphnes: where, when Ieremie often reprehended

them for their Idolatrie, foretelling both the destruction of themfelues, and the Egyptians also, he was by these his own hardharted and vngratefull Countrimen, floned to death: and by the Egyptians, who greatly reuerenced him , buried neare the Sepulchre of their own

Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

50



# "THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the destruction of Ierusalem to the time
of Philip of Macedon.

THE THIRD BOOK E.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betweene the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall of the Association of rian Empire.

ģ. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and prophane Historie.



HE course of Time; which in prophane Histories might rather bee discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in course worse foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from Zabonsifer, left furer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the warre of Troy, or any other token of former date; beginsat length in the ruine of stierufalem to discourse the connexion of antiquitie fore-spent, with the Royie of succeeding asset, Manistel it is.

ginsat length in the ruine of Henryldem to disconer the connexino of antiquitie fore figent, with that the originalland progresse of the florie of succeeding ages. Manisch it is, that the originalland progresse of thinges could ill bee sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp are not to be sound among those, that have now no state nor policie remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore purfued the storic of the world vnto that age, from whence the memorie of fucceeding accidents is with little interruption or fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs , I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what meanes and circumstances the historic of the Hebrewes. which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of fundrie mettalls, discoursed by God vnto 2Vabnchadnezzar, did raigne ouer the earth, when Ifrael was either none, or an vnregar-

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to infift upon those authorities, which giue, as it were by heare-fay, a certaine yeare of some old Asyrian King vnto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture : for together with the end of Ninus his line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch computations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus and his issue that occupied that Kingdome afterwards, depending upon the vicertaine relations of fuch, as were neither conflant in affigning the yeares of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie vppon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmonic, which some haue found in the yeares of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have beene forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, how socier it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could wee only 20 learne in what agreach of them lived, but not in what yeare his raigne beganne or ended, were it not that the raigne of Nabuchadnezzar is more precifely applied to the times of Iehojakim and Zedekia. Hence have we the first light whereby to discouer the meanes of connecting the facred and prophane histories. For vnder Nabuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captinitie of Inda, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of cyrus, whose time being well knowne affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeare of Cyrus his raigne in Persia, by generall consent, is is owned with the first yeare of the 55.0 (ympiad, where, that he raigned three and twentie yeares before his Monarchie, and seuen yeares afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controuersie. Giving therefore source hundred and eight yeares unto the distance betweene the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus; wee may easily arrive vnto those antiquities of Greece, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in fundrie parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approued faith and in-

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto Alexander, and from him to the battaile of Actium, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to fet downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captiuitie are the 40 markes whereby wee are chiefly directed, in paffing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any storie, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truly of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from Nabuchadnezzar vnto Cyrus.

ð. I I. 50

A briefe rehearfall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivitie: with an answere to the cauills of PORPHYRIE, mucighing against S.MATTHEW. and DANIEL, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde. that the captivitie then beganne when Jechonius was carried prisoner into Babylon, cleuen yeare before the finall destruction of terusalem vnder Zedekias. This they proue out of divers places in Exekiel, espe- szechet, was cially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diffin- 6.3.2.11.6.15.

ction betweene the beginning of the captinitie, and vtter destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuzaradan, in these wordes. In the fine and twentieth yeare of our being in captinitie in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth yeare after that the Citie was smitten. In which wordes hee beginneth the captinitie in plaine termes, cleuen yeares before the Citie was destroied. Beroaldus is of opinion that it beganne in the first of Nabuchodonofor, and the fourth of Ioakim, which hee ende-20 Hours to proue out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of S. Matthew. and Daniel, whose wordes afford matter of long disputation, but serve not to make good fo much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel, have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Chriftian religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not understanding how the fonnes of King Iosias were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the fonnes. or, according to fome translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the captiuitie. Vpon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth fpend the twelfth of his malitious bookes written against the Christians,

30 affirming that these prophecies and visions remembred by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This fond sup-position of his, Eusebius, Apollonius, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seuentie Interpreters who converted the old Testament about an hundred yeare before Epiphanes, did also turne this booke of Daniel out of Hebrew into Greeke, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound Parphyrie, than that of Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who lived divers yeares Mac. T. I. before Intiochus Epiphanes. For Iaddus the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards Ierusalem to have destroied it, this booke of Da- Toste ant. IT. niel, wherein he beheld his owne glorie foretold, as the same was plainely expoun-

40 ded vnto him, which not only staied his hand from the harme of that Citie and people, but his affurance and refolution was so confirmed and strengthned thereby, as despiling all future perill and relistance, he conquered Darius, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than Nabuchodono for had done one Citie, to wit, Tree in

It is true indeede that the lewes themselves give lesse authoritie to Daniel, than to Moles, and the Prophets, accompting his booke among those which they call Cetaphim, or Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they fav Eldras and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from Babylon. But first, that the booke of Daniel (I meane so much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonicall: secondly, that it so was written by Daniel himselfe, and not by Efdras and the Seniors; we may affure our selues by testimonie of Councells, and Fathers: For in the Councell of Landican held about the yeare of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and fortie yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was re-Aaa 2

ceiued, verified, and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the Epitonie of the fame Councellit may be feene, and fo doth Meliton the most ancient Bilhop of Sardis number it, witnesse Eusebins in his Ecclesiasticall historie, the fourth booke, and fine and twentieth chapter, fo doth the fame Author in the Catalogue of Car onicall bookes upon Origen, so doth Hilwins in his Preface upon the Psalmes, and Epiphanius in his booke of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde S. Hierome, Gregorie Nazianzene, and others. For the Hagingraphe bookes or holy Writings the lewes and Rabbines reckon to be these, Daniel, Psalmes, Prouerbs, 10b. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclefiastes, Hefter, Efra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. And that it was Daniel, and not Eldras, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement vnto him by his Angell, to feale vp the fame to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimonie. Yea which exceede thall strength of other proofe, our Sauiour Christ who citeth no Apocriphall Scripture, in Mathew and Marke alleageth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in the fift of Iohn, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in Daniel the twelfth, verse the second. S. Paul describeth Antichrist out of Daniel, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of Daniels visions.

Mark.13.14. Det.12.

ð. III.

That the 70. yeares of captiuitie are to be numbred from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of IECHONIA.

Auing thus farre digreffed, in maintaining that authoritie, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now connenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakenesse of that which Eusebius 20

and some few namelesse Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately reniued by Beroaldus; but will forth-with enter into confideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of Inda were carried away captines to Babylon: First, Manasses; then Iehoiskim, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet: thirdly, Iechonias, and with him Ezekiel: lastly, Zedekias, at which time the Citie and Temple were destroied. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I have read; to the fecond by few and with weake proofe; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For befides those places of Ezekiel al- 40 readiecited, there is a strong argument gathered out of Ieremie, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with Iechonias, vieth these words. Thus faith the Lord : After 70. yeares be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.

But it stands indeede with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecie out of circumftances, when the prophecie is fuch as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. Ieremie had alreadie, in the fourth yeare of Iehoiakim, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impositioncie of that obstinate people, in these wordes. Behold, I will fend and take to me all the families of 50 the North, faith the Lord, and Nabuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my feruant, and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hising,

and a continual defolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the Bridegroome, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the mill-flones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be defolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations is half serue the King of Babel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expreed, I will wisse the King of Babel. Here wee see prescribed vnto the captuitite the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophecie was vttered; nor when lehoiskim, who then raigned, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar; nor yet in the time of Iechonia; but with the vtter desolation of the Citie, whereof Ieremie did againe giue notice to those that were alreadie in Babylon, at such time

10 as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophecie, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appeares in the end of the Hiltorie of Iuda, where it is faid thus. They burnt the house of God, and lerem. 29. v.16. brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the pre- 17.018. tious vessells thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to 2, chron. 6, 19 Babel, and they were feruants to him and to his fonnes, untill the Kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of IEREMIA, untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the daies that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeares. But in the first yeare of CYRVS King of Persia (when the word of the Lord,

20 (poken by the mouth of IEREMIA, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of CYRYS. Wee seldome find one peece of Scripture so precisely and plainely expounded by another, as in this Prophecie, to have afterwards beene the Subject of altercation. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could have beene expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the suent of the prophecie have beene more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it bee requisite that we bring more proofe in so euident a case, the ninth chapter of Daniel yeeldstestimonie sufficient, vnto this exposition of Ieremia his prophecie, that Ierusalem was to lie wast 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of Darius the Mede. which was the last of the 70. Daniel obtained of God the deliuerance that had been 30 promised by praier, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expi-

red : as he telleth vs in these wordes. In the first yeare of his raigne, I DANIEL VI- Dange. derstood by bookes the number of the yeares, whereof the Lord had spoken unto IERE-MIAH the Prophet, that hee would accomplish 70. yeares in the defolation of Ierusalem. So that how focuer the time of Daniel his owne captiuitie bee reckoned from the taking of Iehoiakim, and that the people carried away with Iechonia, did accompt. as well they might, the yeares of their owne captinitie; yet with the generall defolation of the Countrie, wherein were few or none of the Ifraelites left remaining to inhabite, beganne in the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonofor the great captimitie, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of 70. yeares. This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authoritic of losephus and others af-

firming the same; for as much as that which alreadie hath beene produced, is enough to fatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrarie.

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d. IIII.

## ð. IIII.

Sundrie opinions of the Kings which raigned in Babylon during the 70. yeares.



Hat Kings raigned in Babylon, during these 70. yeares of the captiuitie, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their raignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or fuccee- 10

Xenophen. Cyro- ding. The conquests recounted by Xenophon of Syria, Arabia, (or rather some part ofit) Hyrania, Bactria, and perhaps of fome other Countries, may feeme fruits of the victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to case, and to the sumptuous building of his great Babel, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honor of his Majeltie, where it may feeme that he and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the Afgrian Souldiers, in fuch skirmilhes as afterwards they had with the Medes, doth argue no leffe. For whereas vnder Nebu. chadrezzar, they were fo flout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardie peece of worke, of winning the throng Citic of 20 Tree, by joyning it vnto the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole, or peere of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of Alexanders works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durft not approch nearer to the enemie than their bowes would carrie, but were readie to turne their backs, as foone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

xenophone. Cyro. Now as their actions, from the end of Nebuchadnezzars warres, till the ruine of pag,lib.1.6.1.3. their Empire, were not worthie to bee recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and raigne of their feuerall Kings, vnworthie of the great labour that hath 20 in vaine beene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuitie of Inda, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forbeare to fearch into the particular continuance of two or three flouthfull Kings, as wee are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their children, liuing in the Azyptian servitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe. Yet for as much as many haue trauailed in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it)

to approve the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the raignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the Asyrians themselues: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke, may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kinges themselues, and in setting downe the yeares of their seuerall raignes. The first (as I take it) the furest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authoritie of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name only three Kinges, Nabuchadnezzar, Euilmerodach, and Balthafar. Neither have they only the filence of Daniel, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecie of Ieremie precifely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his owne will, and making it knowne that he had some Counfrom 17. 0.7. tries here named, into the handes of the King of Babel, faith thus : And all Nations 50 Shall serve him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, untill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kinges shall serve themselves of him. These wordes expressing the continuance of the Chaldean Empire, and number of the Kings, will hard y be qualified with any diffinction. But indeede I finde no other necessitie of

qualification to be vied herein than fuch as may grow out of mens defire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this defire were not vnjust, if the confent of all histories were on the one side and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other fide.

But contrarywise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofes of their different reports are fo flender and vnfufficient, that the fuccession of these princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures. but onely fet downe by fome Author of equal credite with the reft . might verie well have found and descrued as good beliefe, as anie of those things which they tolerhous ania.

to have delivered in this point. For fome there are, who following tolephus, derive 16.10,0,0,0,12. that Empire, as by descent from father to sonne, through fine generations; beginning with Nabuchodono for the great, and giving to him 43. veres, to Euilmerodach 18, to Niglifar the fon of Euilmerodach 40, to Labofardach the fonne of Niglifar o. moneths, and lastly to Balthasar ( whom Iosephus intimates to be of the race of Nabuchodonofor, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (faue that he forbeares to reckon the yeares, and plainely calles Balthafar the fonne of Libofardach) Saint Hierome doth follow, alledging Berofus, and Infephus as a scetator of Berofus for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by Tofephis, report the matter farre otherwise. For he tells vs that Enilmerodach the sonne of Nabuchodono for did 1.6 contr. An-20 raigne but 2 yeares, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband pian. lub.1.

Nizsglifforoor, who occupied the kingdome after him 4 yeares, and left it to his owne fonne Laborofardach, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of 9 moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome given to one Nabonidus, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto Cyrus after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of Infephius, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authoritic, so that the names which they have inferted, are taken as it were upon truft. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of Enilme-30 rodach; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture; though I had rather

beleeue Xenophon, who faith that the laft king of Babylon was immediate succession Xenophone to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is foun-librader of this opinion, placeth betweene him that took Ierusalem, and Enilmerodach, another Nabuchodonofor: plaine it is that he hath, out of any Historie facred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. Enfebius, Sulpitius, Seuerus, and Theodoret, vpon better ground, haue supposed, that Euilmerodach and Balthafar were brethren and fonnes of the great Nabuchadonofor. This is built on the fift chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthafar (for of Euilmerodach there is none that euer doubted) is often called Nabuchodonofor his fonne. And fo common grew

40 this explication, that Saint Hierome called it the vulgaropinion. But the place of Icremy before cited, prooues that Balthalar was not the fonne indeede, but the grandchild of that great conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures;

and familiar in those Easterne languages, he was called the sonne.

Annius his Metasthenes hits very rightly the 70 yeres of captuity, giving to Nobel. chodonofor 45 yeares, to Euilmerodach 30 yeares, and to the three fonnes of Euilmerodach, nephews of Nabuchodonofor 14 yeares; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldeft fonne three yeares, to Lab-Affar Dach the second sonne six yeares, and to Balthafar the third fonne fiue.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole fumme of 50 yeares, and in the number of generations, I have fometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of Annius his edition . Yet could I not fatisfie my felfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few fuch of the moderne Writers as deferue to be regarded, have consented with this Metasthenes; and for that in making Balthasar to

fucceede vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against Xenophon, whose Historic of the elder Cyrus in his Affyrian warre I can not flightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while the king was at his drunken feaft.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscuritie, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto Balthafar, by Panelus garfe Amius his Metasthenes, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all fuspected that he hath faid in distributing what part of the 70 years hee pleased among the reft. For in the third yeare of Balthafar, Daniel faw a vision, after which he was ticke certaine dayes, but when heer ofe vp he did the kings butineffe : from 10 which businesse, that hee did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and line retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainely, both by the many words which the old Queene vsed to set out his sufficiencie, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were Daniel. Now to thinke that a man of fuch account and place as Daniel had held, could in two yeares have beene worne out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very strange conceipt, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole florie (thus related) a part of Annius his impostures.

Dan.2.49.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berofus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conicctures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captinitie being 70 20 yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his fonne and grand-child, must have raigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose raignes might fil vp the whole continuance of the captinitie, with which the time allorted by Berofus and others, to Euilmerodach and Balthafar, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteene of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Ierufalem was laid defolate) are

Therefore Mercator and others following him, fashion the yeares of Enilmerodach in this fort. They fay, that the 18 yeares given to him by Iofephus in the tenth of his Antiquities, should bee read and numbred 28 yeares, and the two yeares 20 that Berofus hath allowed to Euilmerodach should be written 23:in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the later there should have bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that Euilmerodach raigned 28 yeares, whereof fine together with his father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 25 which Nabuchodonofor lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, make 49, then 4 yeares of Niglisar according to Berosus, o moneths of Labaffardach his fonne, and 17 yeares of Labonidus or Balthafar make vp the number of 70 yeares to the first of Cyrus. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken, in all copies extant; vpon how weake a foundation do they build, who have nothing to helpe them, faue onely the bare 40 names of two vnknowne Kings, found in Authors manifeltly corrupted, and fuch as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthie, to have that place of Ieremie called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and raignes of the Babylonian Kings.



Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of Mercator, 50 I purposely forbeare to rehearse, as falling under the same answere. That of lofeph Scaliger I may not forget, as deferuing to be confidered apart from the rest. He gives to Nabuchadnezzar 44 yeres, to Enilmerodach 2, to Belfazer, 5: and to Nabonidus 17. So that from

the 10 of Nabuchadnezzar, in which Jerusalem was destroyed, vnto the time of Cyrus he accompteth onely 59 yeares; beginning (as many do) the captiuitie, 11 yeares fooner, from the transportation of Jechonia. But hercof enough hath beene said already. That which we are now to confider, is his distribution of the time running betweene the 10 of Nabushadnezzar, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire; wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition friuolous.

Concerning the length of Nabuchadnezzars raigne, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to Euilmerodach is very short, and more precisely agreeing with Berofus than with the Scriptures. For wee 10 find in Ieremy, that this Euilmerodach in the first of his raigne, shewing all favour to Jechonia, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eate bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King of Babel, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life terem, 52, verge vntillhe died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than 33.034. the authoritie of Berofus, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than 2 yeares, wherein Iechonia, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort fent by God, whose commaundement he had obeyed in yielding himselfe to 2\(\text{abuchadnez}\)zar. Indeed how long Iechonia did liue it can not be proued; but plaine it is hereby that all his remaining daies he did not cate bread before this King. Now that he li-20 ued not so short a while after this as 2 yeates, it is more than likely, for he was but 55 yeres old when he was fet at liberty, having been 37 yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18 yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that hee begat Salathiel, as well by the age of Zorobabel, who is faid to have beene but a yong

stances of his imprisonment it selfe. Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the next five yeares naming him also Laborofoardoch, I should wonder why he calles him Nahuchadnezzars daughters sonne, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out Berofus, by shifting in his Niriglissoror, as husband to Nabuchadnezzars daughter, and Protector of his 30 fonne 4 of these yeares; by which meanes there remaines about one yeare to Belfazer alone, agreeing neerely with the o moneths affigned by Berofus to the fonne of Niglifar. But Ieremy hath told vs that it was to Nabuchadnezzar, and to his fon, and to his fonnes fonne (not to his daughters fonne) that the Empire was promifed: which difficultie if Scaliger could not helpe, it was well done of him, to passe it ouer

man, and one of Darius his Pages three score yeares after this, as by other circum-

Nabonidus the last of these (whome others, desirous to reconcile Berofus to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with Balthafar, is by Scaliger thought to bee Darius of the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firme Berofian: for Berofius makes him of the same stocke or race a Babylonian. I speake not this to disgrace the trauaile of 40 that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not fo wedded to any author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himselfe having in some points disliked those Writers; whome in generall he approperty, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in Scaliger, that hee whome Berofus calles Nabonidus, was the same whom Daniel had called Darius of the Medes: First, the phrase of Scripture, which tignifies ynto vs., that Darius tooke the kingdome, not faying that hee wanne it by force of armes; Secondly, a fragment of Megasthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Nabonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the Originall; 50 or of the Greeke translation, which expressing no force of armes doth only signific, that Darius tooke or received the kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next king entred by Election : feeing Daniel relateth not the meanes and circumstances of Balthafars death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecie. Neither could it indeede haue properly beene faid (if Daniel had cared to vie the most expressione termes) that Darius of the Medes breaking into the citie, did win the kingdome; feeing this was performed by Cyrus in the abfence of Darius, though by his forces, and to his vie. Now concerning the fragment of Megasthenes, true it is, that in Eusebius his workes printed at Basile, in the yeare 1559. I finde onely thus much of Megasthenes, cited out of Alphaus; That Nabuchodonofor, was more valiant than Heronles; that hee subdued all Lybia, and the rest of Afra as farre as to the Armenians; and that as the Chaldrans report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a divine furie, he cried with a loude voice. O Babylonians, I foretell yee of a great calamitie that shall come vopon you, which nevther Bel, nor any of the Gods Shall auert : There will come a Perlian, halfe an Affe, 10 that shall bring slauery uppon yee : and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I belowe little or nothing, fauing that Nabuchodonosor knew before hand, that his Empire should be translated, as Daniel had foretold from the golden head, to the filner breast. But that he wan all Africa or Lybia, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If Scaligers copie of Eufebius were the more perfect, out of which Megallhenes tells vs that Nabuchodonofor wanne both Afrike and Spaine, I beleeue the fragment fo much the leffe: and am as little moued with the authoritie of it, where it calles a Median the pride and confidence of the Affrians, as where it tells of Nabuchadnezzar his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asse, by which he calleth Cyrus, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a Mule, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers fide, than on the fathers; as Mules are begotten by Afes vpon Mares. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnitie and coherence which it hath within it felfe, I eafily allow it. But this proues nothing, for meere fictions have not wanted their commendations: neither can any man beleeve that one so indictious, industrious and deepely learned as Iofeph Scaliger, would ouer-shoote himselfe in setting downerepugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from 30 which there is no appeale. And herein it seemes that Scalinger, well knowing his owne sufficiencie, hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecie of Daniel were true, that the kingdome of Balthafar was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians, either wee must thinke that Darius of the Medes was not Nabonidus, or else wee must bethinke our selves what Persian it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that Balthafar loft his life and kingdome, than that his kingdome was diviuided and given to the Medes and Persians. Neither did the Medes and Persians fall out and fight for it, as by supposing Nabonidus to have beene Darius, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject provinces, insomuch that the Greeke Historians did commonly call those warres which Darius, and after him Xerxes, made vpon Greece, The warres of the Medes. Yea to cleare this point, euen Daniel himselfe resembles that King, with whom Alexander fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the Medes and Persians. Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronologers were not to have been condemned by Iofeph Scaliger, for maintaining upon fuch good grounds, that Darius of the Medes, was partner with Cyrus in his victories, and not a Chaldean King by him fubdued. Neither was Insephus to be the leffe regarded for affirming that Balthasar was destroyed by Darim of the Medes, and his nephew Cyrus, though herein hee varied from Berofm, and to others, whose authoritie elsewhere he gladly citeth. For Iosephus had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, halfe so well as Daniels, whom I beleeue that hee vnderstoode as farre as was needefull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage al Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same

things that were contained in the writings of the lewes, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the Roman world, where they were ftrangers, and might feeme fabulous. Euen fo doe Eusebius, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in generall by the felfe same Eshmicke philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as tolephus in this case hath left Berofus. And thus much I thought it meete to fay of Scaligers opinion in this point; holding neuerthelesse in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had bin very great.

## What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of NABVCHO-DONOSOR his fuccessors.

T now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknes, who cannot find how the 70. yeares of captinitie are to be divided among them which raigned in Babylon, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wiseas already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to them which raigned in Babylon, though I finde that the distribution

the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely fay with Pererius, that 20 wee ought liberally to pardon those whose feete haue failed them in the slipperie wayes of Chronologie, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnesse, or heedelesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the judgement of Lyra and others (holding those onely to have raigned ouer Chaldmans, whose Names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearled. Not that I will take upon me to defend Lyra his Coniectures, when hee supposeth by Niglifar and Labofardach to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures Euilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but 30 onely to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seuenty yeares. First therefore let vs consider the raigne of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose eighteenth yere Ierusalem was taken and fackt, but in his nineteenth layd

Most of Writers haue given to him 43. yeares of raigne, following therein Berofus. There are who have added one yeare more, and some have made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainetie were needelesses for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall show the certaine truth.

vtterly defolate.

Manifest it is, that the 19. yeare of Nabuchadnezzar, is joyned with the 11. of 1. Kin. 2.5.8. Zedekia; as also that his eight yeare, was the first yeare of lechonia his captinitie; the of trem. 31.12 40 raigne of Zedekia occupied all the meane space being of 11. yeares. This is generally 2-1/2/12. agreed vpon, so that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his fuc- 2. Kim. 25, 27. ceffor Eurlmerodach, it was in the feuen and thirtieth yeare of Iechonia his captiuitie; & Icom, 52.31 so that Nebuchadnezzar after his eight yere (which was the first of Jechonia his bondage) raigned 35. whole yeares, and peraduenture a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as Iechonia was inlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the yeare. Substracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which Nebuchalnezzars raigne did wel-neare occupie, those eighteene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuitie of Iuda, and ruine of the citie, we have remaining fix and twenty yeares of the feuentie, that were almost wholy spent, when his some began 50 to raigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeres were divided betweene the kings ruling in Babylon untill the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as I faid before ) than greatly needefull : the whole fumme being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who

Dan,8,20.

were flouthfull Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. yeares, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjecturall; feeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely and desperate consectures in distinctions ding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before hand, that who focuer shall discouer my errour, must doe mee the pleasure (which I could rather with in a case more materiall) of making mee to vinderstand

Of the foure and fortie yeares remaining in accompt at Nabuchadnezzars death, we are to take away the latt, which was the first of Darius the Mede, and then hauing authoritie good enough to warrant vs from blame of prefumption, in guing vs feuenteene veares to Baltinalar, we finde left in our handes to bestow vpon Euilmero lach fixe and twentic yeares. Of the yeare belonging to Darius the Mede I have alreadie spoken what I thought sufficient, in delinering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captiuitie. That Balthafar did raigne feuentcene yeares, we haue the authoritie of 10 sephus, before cited in expresse wordes; We haue also the generall confent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting Berofus his Nabonidus, who raigned fo long; and Balthafar to have beene one. But nothing moueth mee fo Bance 8, v. 1. o much to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in Daniel, shewing that

20 13.00 15.001. in the third yeare of Balthafar he followed the Kinges businesse, and yet was forgot 20 ten ere the end of his raigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeares, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that Daniels emploiments tooke end cither that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the confideration of Cyrus his warres against the Affrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, and being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though wee make large allowance to his deedes in the lower Asia, which fell out in the mid-way: I haue alreadie shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the raigne of Eudmerodath was not short : and that men of great judgment have found it most probable that hee was King three and twentie yeares. More, I thinke, they would have allowed him, had not the defire of fatis- 20 fying Berofus caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that bookes of such antiquitic, as those of Berosus, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke paffages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all thinges else vnquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend vnto him in fome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie. How much lesse ought I to obay a broken fragment of his, containing only feuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleeue that follow him in the rest ? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to Nabuchadnezzar, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne : How long each of them held it, wee finde not expressed; 40 yet would we gladly know it of Birofus, or of any other that would teach vs; prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroy not thereby the generall truth. More wordes are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that Berosus or Josephus who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelesties of Scribes, and that it was as casse for those Scribes to erre in writing two for sixe and twentie, as for three and twentie, or perhaps more casie. For the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. lignifying 6. hatha nearer refemblance of & that stands for 2. than bath 2 which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes \$ 5 expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mis- 50 chance not vnufuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in  $\beta$   $\gamma$  standing

for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the arithmeticall figures now in vie, they

were long after the time of Iosephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine to this businesse; vnlesse we should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to make Berofus our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authoritie, by forsaking Ieremie and Daniel, when they feeme his opposites.

## d. VII.

Of the victories which NABYCHODONOSOR obtained betweene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of

Ith what actions this time of 70. yeares was entertained by the Rabylonian Kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue beene some cause that the time it felse was and is yet fought to becabridged, as not having left fufficient matter to witnessethe length of it. But by such an argument wee might as well

20 denie to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slouthfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruaile, if the posteritie of Nabuchodonosor, finding all thinges readie to their hand, which their hearts could have defired, betooke themselves to their case and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sonnes of greedie fathers, their owne wisedome greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the reftlesse trauale of purchasing. Though indeede the raigne of Nabu-chodonoso was so divided, that his youthfull and stronger yeares having been exercifed in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to bee spent in e-20 stablishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past.

The nineteenth yeare of his raigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mightie Citic of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with aboundance of spoile, and terrified all that would offer to refift him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, he laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Agyptions, though some of these were alreadie become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten downe and burnt. But the Tyrians whose Citic was founded on an Iland, fafe enough from any danger of a Land-Armic, and 40 whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to feare any enemie at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolu-

tion of this mightie Prince, imploying all his power to their subuersion. That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of Ierusalem (which had held the same course that Tyrus did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrell against the common enemie) it appeares by the wordes which Ezechiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus; AHA, the gate &zech. 26,2. of the people is broken, it is turned unto mee; for feeing shee is desolate, I shall bee replenished. Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonosor, that great worke of his whereof wee haue alreadie spoken, beganne to appeare about the wa-

50 ters, and threaten them with incuitable mischiefe. But those prophecies of Ieremie and of Esay, which appoint vnto this desolation Ieras. of Tyre the same terme of 70. yeares, that was prescribed vnto the raigne of the E/ai.23.15. Chaldaans, doe plainely show, that shee followed Ierusalem, the same nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodonofor, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities.

which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much wee finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Towne vnable to hold out, embarked themselues, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus. Neuerthelesse it seemes that this enasion served only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer fort vnto the enemies furie. For not only such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the fword; but the like execution was done in the fireets, into which with excelline labour the Afgrian made way for his Horses and Cha-Equbea. 18. riots. Thus NABYCHODONOSOR confed his Armie to ferue a great fernice against

Trs vs, wherein enery head was made bald, and enery (boulder was made bare, yet had be 10 no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to restcontented with the Honor of having defiroted that Citie, which in all mens judgements had even held inuincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Coc loading made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the cares of all the Nations thereavent, Nabuchodonofor yfed the advantage of that reputation which hee had obtained by victories alreadic gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with leffe paine. The Kingdome of Lerpt was the marke at which he aimed 3 a Countrie to abounding in all riches and pleafures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himfelfe strong enough, to seeke occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemie to the Crowne of Babylon, that had it beene poorer, yet either it must have beene sub- 20 dued, or the conquest of spria could ill haue beene established. Neuerthelesse it was needefull that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his denotion, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their fins had condemned to fall under the Babylonian swords, were fuch, as regarding only their owne gaine had some of them, like Rauens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feede upon the carcaffes that fell by the crueltie thereof, otherstaking aduantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Coun- 20 tries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonofor; all of them thinking, that when the Afgrian had fatisfied his furie, he should be faine to for fake those defolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand vponit. Particu-Excels 25.12. 20 larly the Edomites and Philiftims had showed much malice to the series when their Citie was taken. What good feruice they had done to the Chaldaans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their owne purpofes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to reloyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entred upon the Countrie of Gad, and tooke pos-

fession, as if not the Asyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practife had of Baalis King of the Ammonites, when hee fent 40 Ismael, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murther Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Gouernour ouer those that remained in Ifrael, and to carrie captine into the Ammonites Countrie the people that abode in Mizpah, than a defire of embroiling Wabuchodonofor with fo many labours at once, as should make him retire into his term.40.14.00 owne Countrie, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policie the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their diffimulation condemned,

41,2,0, 10. Ier,28,27,000.

as not doing right. All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border upon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost so cunning of their theeuish wits. But Nabuchadnezzar did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Efay, Ieremie, and Ezekiel, who fore-told, with little difference of wordes, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the mi-

ferie that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not ; it feemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand : for fo doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of E/ay, threatning Moab with destruction after three yeares, as having reference to the third yeare following the ruine of lerulalem: the next yeare after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition. This is manifest that all the principall Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made flaues, few excepted, who being preferued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much leffe to attempt any thing against 2 abuchodonofor, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuentic yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries; as well as of the Land of Inda.

## d. VIII.

That Agypt was conquered, and the King therein raigning flaine by NABVCHODO NOSOR, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors : who following HERO-DOTVS and DIODORVS, relate it otherwife.

Hen by a long course of victoric Nabuchodonosor had brought into subiection all the Nations of Syria, and the bordering Arabians, in fuch wife that no enemie to himfelfe, nor friend of the Agyptian, was left at his back, that might gue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did hee forth-with take in hand

the conquest of £77pt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly beene depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iffue thereof, the three great Prophets Efay, Ieremie, and Ezechiel, have written so plainely, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuerthelesse wee finde many and good Au-30 thors, who following Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to ftraine

, these prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense as gives to Nabuchodono for little more than the honour of having done some spoile in Agypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Aprics or Hophra to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with the ferimes or affaires. So prepofterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and fecond helps conducing to their purpose, that often times they preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to vp-hold a fentence giving testimonic to one clause, doe carelessy ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of 40 £gypt, which raigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke:

but that which they have spoken of Apries, was purposely reserved vnto this place. Herodotus affirmes that he was a very fortunate King , but wherein hee telleth not; Herodotas deligi (vnleffe we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre which he is faid to haue made vpon Tyrus and Sidon) that hee raigned fine and twentie yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne fubicets; who did fet vp Amife, as

King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Agyptians hee imputeth to a great loffe which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenium, by whom almost their whole Armie was destroied. This calamitie the people of Agypt thought to bee well pleafing to their King, who had fent them on this dangerous 50 expedition, with a purpose to have them confumed, that so hee might with greater fecuritie raigne over fuch as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends

of fuch as were flaine, rebelled against Apries, who fent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amasis became Captaine of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land confented vnto this new Election; whereby Apries Bbbb 2

c.na werle 30.

was driven to truft vnto his forraine Mercenaries , the Ionians and Carians , of whome bee kept in readinesse thirtie thousand good Souldiours that fought valuantly for him , but were vanquished by the great numbers of the Agyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of warre. Apries himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amasis for a while, vntill the Agyptians, exclaiming vpon him as an extreame enemie to the land, got him deliuered into their handes, and strangled him, yet gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of Hero-Timber Sic. 110. dolars, with whome Diodorus Siculus neerely agrees, telling vs that Apries did vanquilh the Cyprians and Phanicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished 10 Si lon, wanne the other townes of Phanicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally perished as is before rehearsed, when he had raigned two and twentie yeares. This authoritie were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of Apries his hisftorie, if greater authoritie did not contradict it. But the destruction of Agypt by the Babylonian, fore-told by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than have the traditions of Agypin Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to per-Bis. 20.001 4.5. fivade those that looke only into humane reasons. For Esty prophecied long before of the shamefull captinitie of the Azyptians, whom the King of Asslur should carry away naked, yong and old, in fuch wife that the Jenes who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the Afgrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men fo vnable to defend them felues.

But Fzekiel and teremy, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, fo they handled this Argument more precifely. For Ezekiel telleth plainely, that Agypt should be given to Nabuchschezzar, as wages for the service which hee had Probagging done at Tyre: Also he recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, faying, That these by name should be destroyed and goe into captiuitie; yea, that ing, That these by name should be delivoyed and goe into captunite; yea, that specified in the state of the s be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the iffue of such threatings to an infurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in segget, than change of the Kings person, wherein segget did succeed vn-39 to Apries, by force indeede, but by the uniforme confent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of Ieremie, wherein he foretelleth how the Iewes in Ægypt should see Pharaoh Hophra delivered into the hand of his enemies, as Zedekia had beene, were to bee referred vnto the time of that rebellion whereof Herodotus hath spoken, as the general opinion hath ouer-ruled it, then was it vainely done of the same Prophet ( which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himfelfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hil, those very frones, vpon which the throne of Nabucho done for should be set, and his pauillion spread. Yeathen was that prophecie no other than false, which expressed the end of Pharaobthus. Behold, I will visite the common people of Wo, and Pharaoh and Agypt, with their Gods and their Kings, cuen P H AR AOH, and all that trust in him: and I will deliner them into the hands of those that seeke their lines, and into the hand of NA-BUCHADNEZZNA King of Babel, and into the hands of his fernants. The clearenes of this prophecy being such as could not but resute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amalis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in sitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking upon Junius, who had in an other place taken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophrato be Amasis, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Agyptian Priests had notably deluded Herodotus 50 with lies, coined vpon a vaine-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And furely it may we'll be thought, that the historie of Nabuchidnezzar, was better knowne to the Ieres whom it concerned, than to the Greekes that fearcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I fee no cause why we should not ra-

ther believe Iosephus, reporting that Nabucho dono for in the three & twentieth years of his raigne, and the fift yeare of the destruction of Ieru(alem, did conquer £gypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his flead, than Herodotus or Diouore; kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his itead, than Herodaliu Or Diobaste; infolius de sin who being meere ftrangers to this businesse had no great reason to labour in search: infolius de sin ing out the truth, but might reft contented with any thing that the Priests would  $\epsilon_{i,1}$ . tell them. Now if fetting aside all advantage of authoritie, we should only consider the relations of tolephus, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might bee verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets or Agyptian Pricits; me thinks the death of Apries can no way be appro-10 ued as hauing beene wrought by confent of the people, but affords great matter of fulpition; yea though no man had opposed the reports of Herodotus and Diadore For the great loue and honour which the \*Egyptians did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimonie of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of Diodore himselfe. How then can wee thinke it probable, that Apries having wonne great victories, did for one only loffe fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may ferue to perswade vs, that a King of Azypt would feeke, or so demeane himselfe, that he might be thought to seke the destruction of his natural fubiects? As for that armie of thirtie thousand souldiours Carians and Ionians, which the King of Agypt whom Amalis tooke prisoner, 20 is faid to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that hee was a forrainer, and one that armed himselfe against the Egyptians, wishing them few and weake; rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the Country, as affuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than anie way needefull, to vse all Arguments that might be alleadged in this case. The very ceath of this supposed Apries, which the clamours of the people obtained of Amalis, who fought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forcen Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have defired to faue his life, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disproue that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had 20 flood vpon great apparance of truth, confidering that the voyce of Trueth it felfe cries out against it; but leave the circumstances proving the Conquest of Agypt by Nabucho dono for to be observed, where due occasion in course of the storie fol-

### ð. I X.

lowing shall present them.

## How Ægypt was subdewed and held by NABVCHADNEZZAR.

f x T is a great loffe , that the generall Hiftoric of the World hath fuffered, by the spoile and waste which Time bath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memorie of such famous acti-ons as were accomplished by this mightie Prince Nabuchadono; or; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vn-

certaine. That his victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were fuch as did more enlarge his dominion, than all his former warres had done, it may cafily be gathered out of Ezekiel: who reckons up in his thirtieth chapter (belides the whole Countrey of £gypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdewed by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these warres are in a maner veterly lostbut that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who wil take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular observation; that Pharoah, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe safe in Agypt by the well defenced fituation of his Countrey, did very vnwifely in suffering his enemics

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adhærents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than wea-

ric the Chaldean army, so the confidence and vaine securitie of the Agyptians, rely-

ing vpon the difficult paffages which the enemy was to make through the Arabian defarts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford vnto themselues, did litle auaile them in prouision for the warre, and much assonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being viually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the kingdome of Leypt had flourilhed vnder the rule of the Pharaohs, about a thousand fine hundred and foure score yeares; but from this time forward it remained fortie yeares without a King, vnder the subjection of the Babylonians, and then at length it began to recover by litle and litle the former greatnes, yet fo, that it was never dreadful vnto others, God having faid of that people, I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the Nations. For wher-Ext. 29.13,14, as it hath beene faid of Pharaoh: I am the some of the wife, I am the some of the auncient Kings : and whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it; the Princes of Agypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken and flaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeare after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth tofeph.Ast.Ind. of Nabuchadnezzar, at which time (faith Infephus) Hee flew the King then raigning, 20 placed an other in his roome, and carried captines thence to Babylon, the Icwes whome hee found in that Countrie. Now concerning the time which Iofephus gines vnto this bufinesse, and the businesse it selfe, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which infinuate the fame. As likewise the last destruction of lerusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that preatcity, which was in the same three and twentieth years of NEBVCHADNEZZAR. is not ynprobably thought by good authors to haue beene at the returne from this Leyptian expedition. But whereas Iosephus tells vs that there was another King put in the roome of Apries by Nabuchadnezzar, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a Vierroy, and not (as some have mistaken it) thinke that this was Amasis. For to place the beginning of Amasis his raigne in the three and twentieth of Nebuchadnezzer, were as well repugnant vnto the Prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronologie and historie. Some there are, which to helpe this inconvenience imagine that there were two fuccessively bearing t' a name of Amasis; others that there were two Apries, the one flaine by Nabuchadnezzar, the other by Amasis: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life and kingdome by the As-Syrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceine, that Apries of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the deputie of Nebuchadnezzar, feeing that hee was the Grand-child of Pharao Necho, and made warre (as they report) vpon the Phanici- 40 ans, who were, before the Agyptians, become subject vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde perhappes, that he whom Nabuchadnezzar left as Gouernour of A gypt, was more likely to have had fome Chaldean or Afgrian, than Agyptian name; vnleffe wee should thinke that hee had beene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that Nabuchodonofor made an absolute Conquest of Agypt; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may gueffe; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is confequent vnto the former, and hath authoritie of Iofephus; that this Gouernour (or some successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by Amasis, I see pro- 50 babilitie enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vse their libertie, and beleeue what they lift. As for the armie which this Egyptian King Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians and Carians; I hold them to be none other than the garrifons of mercenarie fouldiours which were left by the Afgrian

CHAP.I. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

for the guard of his Viceroy, and custodie of the new subdewed Prouince: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene and Barce, who togither with the friends of fuch as were flaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greeke Histarians. deposed and slew Apries, I take them to have beene the Agyptian fugitives which then recoursed their owne Countrie. Sure it is that this Prophecie of Ezekiel was verified, At the end of fortie yeares will I gather the Ægyptians from the people #304.30.01.2.

where they were scattered, and I willbring againe the captivitie of Ægypt, and will cause of

there a smallkingdome. If the Egyptian Pricits alluded hecreunto in the tale which to they made of Amalis his obtaining the kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, onely to keepe the Greekes from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, fince we know the truth with them.

them to returne into the land of Pathrosinto the land of their babitation, and they shall be

of the fundry accompts drawne from fundry acts of Nebve HADNEZZAR and of the destruction of Niniuie, by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.

Hele victories brought the greatnes of the Asyrian Empire to the full. and from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzars raigne in fundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of Nebuchadnezzar his times, might will note; that whereas Daniel was carried captine in the third yeare of Ichoiakims

raigne (which ranne along with some part of Nebuchadnezzars first yeare ) and was kept in diet three yeares more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of Nabuchadnez zars kingdome, wherein he interpreted the 20 forgotten dreame of the great image, foreshewing the succession of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which referre fundry matters vnto their fet yeares; as that of Ezekiel before-cited, where hee fore-tells that Aegypt should be given in reward for the service done before Tyrus, dating his prophecie in the feuen and twentieth yeare; and that of Daniel, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeere: for these yeares held no dependance vpon either the beginning of Nabuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine fearch.

Of any warre made by Nabuchadnezzar after fuch time as hee returned from the Conquest of Aegypt I doe not reade: excepting that against Niniuie, the destruction whereof was fore-tolde by the Prophet Naum. Niniuie had long before beene taken by Merodach (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Asyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as Iehoiakim & Zedekias tributary Kings of Iuda had done. talled likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Niniaie followed the Conquest of Aegypt, it appeareth by the comparison which Nahum the Prophet made betweene this Citie that was to fall, and the Citie of No in Aegypt that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paffe, it is (me thinkes) vnpossible Nabum 3.8.

to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronologie, that it was in the first of Nabuchadnezzars raigne; the place of Nahum last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchie, which beganne at the end of the Aegyptian warres; the whole Prophecie of Nahum which went betweene the one and the order, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time inter-

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current. So that to enquire into the very years of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether menaged by Nabuchodonofor in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiofitie of Tyberius Casar, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecuba; or to the like idle paines which he thould take, who would feeke to learne what woman that Huzzab Queen of Winiuie was, who se wofull captiuitie the same Prophet Naum likewise did fore-tell.

### δ. X I.

Of the later time of NEBVCHADNEZZAR; his buildings, madnesse, and death.



F the time which this great Monarch Spent in quiet, I thinke there are no monuments extant; faue those which wee finde among the prophecies of Daniel. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well that he brake out into these glorious wordes. Is not this great Babel that I have built for the

house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my maiestie? Surely if those thinges be true that are by tosephus rehearsed of him out of Berosus and Megasshenes, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such 20 goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is faid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Afgrian, and all the Perfian Empire, is faid to have beene reared, and finished in fifteene daies.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we finde little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to confider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vndeferuedly fell thefe judgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinesse in his ownelise, 30 but with a discouerie of thinges to come after him, yea and had approved the certaintie of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memorie, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the Prophet: hee neverthelesse became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that hee caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is the King of Kings. Hercof S. Hierome hath well noted; velox oblinio veritatis, vt qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc flatuam sibi sieri tubeat, "et spse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur : I hastic sorget-fulnesse of the truth, that hee who so lately had worshipped (DANIEL) the servant of God, as if hee had beene God himselfe, should now command a Statuato bee crected unto himselfe, wherein himselfe might bee worshipped as God. From this impictieit pleafed God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuerie of those bleffed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refuling to commit Idolatrie, were affifted by an Angell; preserved from all harme of the fire; loofened from their bands; and finally called out with gratious wordes, and reftored to their former honour, by the King: who amafed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by crection of his image he had violated. Yet this denotion of Nabuchadnezzar was not forooted in him, that it could 50 bring forth fruit answerable to his hastic zeale. Therefore was hee forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging ouer his head, which Daniel expounding, aduited him to breake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercie towards the poore, that there might bee an healing of his error. Hereby it feemes

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that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned, but this threatning sufficed not vnto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dreame and interpretation) vea compelled to dwell with the beafts of the field, and made to cate graffe as the Oxen, was a thing fo incredible in mans judgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame, and much more eafily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole veares leifure to repent was given to this haughtie Prince: which respite of the execution may seeme to haue bred in him a forgetfulnesse of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue moneths, walking in the roiall Palace of Babel, hee was so ouer-ioyed to and transported with a vaine contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heaticitudgement pronounced against lam, heevitered those loftic wordes before rehearsed, in vainting of the Maiesticall workes which he had reared, as well befeeming his maiesticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearfed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, which was fulfilled vpon him the very fame houre.

That Sa'omon and many other Princes and great ones, have taken delight in their owne buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I haueread of any, that were punished for rejoyeing in workes of this kinde (though 20 it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde to keepe a just measure) excepting only this Nabuchadnezzar.

The like may be faid of David: for other (and some very godly) Kings have mufired all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been knowne to have been punished as Dauid was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in those good things, wherwith God hath bleffed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulneffe to entertaine them with a fullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure cloudes, hindring the influence of that bleffed light, which clarifies the foule of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightnesse of eternall selicitie; so that insolent ioy, which 30 man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceineth of his owne worth, doth abone all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightening, and make vs to reflectour thoughts vpon our feeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom wee are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these mala mentis gandia; The enill loyes of the minde, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than forrowes, cares, and feares; not farre from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no vnlikely token of vengcance neare at hand, when these vnreasonable slushes of proud

pentance and acknowledgement of ill deferuing. 40 This was verified upon Nabuchadnezzar, whose punishment was fingular and vnexampled. For he ranne among beafts in the fields and woods, where for feuen yeares hee liued, not only as a saluage man, but as a saluage beast, for a beast hee thought himselfe fecundum furm imaginationem, as Thomas roteth, and therefore L. i. de Ref. fed himfelfe in the same manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that git he was changed in figure externall according to Mediana, in so much as he appeared Media 2 decea beaft to other mens eies, as S. Hierome in the life of Hilarius (how true God knowes) Ham Down fide speakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens fight a Cow, but to Hilarius 629.7. only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the Daughter of Agamemnon was faid to be into a Hinde, nor made a Monster as Dorotheus and Epiphanius drea. Dorin Syness.

and vaine joy, doe rage in a minde, that should have beene humbled with a just re-

50 med: but according to S. Hieromes exposition of these wordes. At the same time was Epin vil. Dan. my understanding restored unto me, &c. Quando dicit (laith S.H I ER O ME) sensum sibi redditum, oftendit non formam for amififfe fed mentem; When he faith that his fenfe waireflored unto him, he sheweth that hee had not lost his humane shape, but his understanding. Seuen years expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodonosor, both to his vnderstan-

ding, and his estate, for which hee acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power and euerlasting being; that he was the Lord of heauen and Date, 1, 31-6. earth, and wrought without relistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his faluation; namely S. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthusianus, and others. And for that place of E/ay the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to Balthasar, because Isay both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter speaketh of the King, and the destruction of Babylon iountly.

# Q. XII. of Evilmerodach.

Auing alreadic spoken what I could of the fuccession and yeares of Nabuchadnezzars posteritie; the most that may bee said of him, is said of Euilmerodach, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warrethat confumed it to alhes. He lost &-

gypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, which was for- 20 tie yeares after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of Herodetus, who allowes to Amasis four and fortie yeares of raigne; nor with that of Diodorus, who gives him five and fiftie, faying that he died in the third yeare of the three core and third Olympiad, when Camby fes did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but feuen and thirtie yeares, which paffed betweene the fecond yeare of the foureand fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of Euilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fift of Cambyses his raigne, wherein hee wanne Ægypt; of which seuen and thirtie yeares it is credibly held, that P samennitus, the fonne of Amasis, raigned three: so that Amasis could be no longer King than source and thirtic yeares. But feeing that these two Greeke Historians have been abused 20 by Agyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no maruale though they were also deceived in the length of his raigne. This is the plaine answere to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and foure and fortie set downe in stead of foure and thirtie, or that Amass did temporise a while with the Asyrians, and not beare himselfe as absolute King of Agypt, wntill the nineteenth of Entherroelach (at which time, and not before, it hath been proued out of Exekvel, that Ægypt became againe a Kingdome) I holdit a fu-

Whether these Agyptian troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with Enilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in fame, and reputation, gotten by the 40 decaied valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) fome foile received by the African invading Media, emboldened the Agyptians to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seeke to define. Xenophon tells that the first service of yong Cyrus in warre was under Astrages King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Asprian Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time Cyrus was fifteen or fixteen yeares old. If therefore Cyrus lined threefcore and three yeares (as he is faid to have died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinarie terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of Eailmerodach his raigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre beganne more early betweene these Nations, for as much as the manner so of their fight informer times, with other circumflances infinuating as much, are found in the same place of Xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodono for gaue courage vnto those that had felt him a trouble some Neighbour, to stand vpon prouder termes with the Affrians, than in his flourishing

Xenob.Caro-

CHAP.I.S.13. of the Historie of the World.

citate they durft have vied. Howfoener the quarrell beganne, weefinde that it ended not before the last ruine of the Asyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proude to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Perlians, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the leffer Alia. with gifts and firong perswalions, hoping so to ouer-whelme his Enemies with a frong inualion, whome in vaine hee had fought to wearie out with a linering

This happened after the death of Astrages, who left the World in the ninetcenth yeare of Eudmerodach, at which time Amalis tooke poffelhon of Agypt. So that the Affirian having his handes alreadie full of bufineffe, which more carneftly did affect him, seemes thereby to have given the better meanes onto the \* Egyptians, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did fundrie times finde occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the farre more mightie Persian.

The iffue of these great preparations made by Euilmerodach against the Medes, was fuch as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeares before vttered against Babel by Esay and Jeremie.

For the Asyrians, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the Medes, and Perfians, vnder their thicke shewers of arrowes and 20 darts, were encountred with an armie of flout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battaile, wherein Euilmerodach was flaine. So that great frame of Empire which Nabuchodonofor had raifed and up-held, being shaken and grieuously crackt under his unfortunate Sonne, was left to bee fultained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to have ouerthrowne it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way

### ð. X I I I.

A private coniecture of the Author ; feruing to make good those thinges, which are cited out of BEROSVS, concerning the Successors of EVILMER O-DACH, without wrong to the truth: the qualitie, and death of BALTHASAR.



Hough I have alreadie (as it seemes to mee) sufficiently proued that Balihafar was the Sonne, and immediate Successor Emilmendach, yet considering earnostly the consectures of those Writers, which following Berofus, insert Nigitar or Nirrgujjorog, and instounce 2009-

toeris a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that Citie; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what meanes it was possible that some errour might have crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needleffe trouble of fearching out the truth, as it were by candle light, in the vncertaine fragments of loft Authors, which we might have found by day light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I obferue, that the time which Berofus divides betwixt Euilmerodach, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which Nabuchadnezzar lived wild among brute 50 beafts in the open field : Secondly, that the fuddainenesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but worke much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtleffe the honour of fo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pittied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of Daniel finding reputation in that

clause which promised his recourrie, as being verified in that which had beene more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for fetling the government, whileft the King was thus distracted, we shall finde it most likely, that his Sonne and Heire did occupie the roiall Throne, with condition to reftore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule Enilmerodach being to supplie the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the vnripenesse of it in yong, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his Sifter Nitocris (if Nitocris were his fifter) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which Herodotus reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than Semiramis, as appeared in her magnificent and vietull workes about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Afgrians, and among It them Ninine. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers milgouernment, yfed practifes to get the rule into her owne handes, and afterwards as a Mother, to leave it vinto her vineratious fonne. Other time than this, wherein Nitocris could have raigned, wee doe not finde: but we finde in Berofus (as Iosephus hath cited him) that Niglifar, who got the Kingdom from Euilmerodach, was his fifters hufband; which argues this to have beene the fame woman. As for Labaffardach the sonne of Niglisar, if at the end of sine Monoths raigne he were for his leud conditions flaine by the Nobilitie, as the fame Berofus reporteth, it feemes that God prepared hereby the way for Nabuchadnezzars reflitution (whose terms of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more defired, both of the Princes and the People. I will not here vie many wordes to confute that which Berofus hath further fet downe of Enilmerodach, telling vs that he was flaine by his fifters hufband: for the plaine words of Scripture naming the yeare wherein he gaue libertie to Iechonia, doe plainely teflife that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers raigne, which was the last of his life.

This may fuffice to flew, that they who are faid to have fucceeded Enilmero dach in the Kingdome, might indeede haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of Balthafar who was his Sonne and Heire, we finde, that he had fuch conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the people. He was from his yong yeares of a mischieuous nature; having in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should have married his fifter, only for spight and envie to fee him kill two wild beafts in hunting, at which himfelfe having throwne his Jaueline had miffed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beautic, faid it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such 40 barbarous vilanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gratious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as soone as he was King. Neither doe I finde that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a Coward and a Foole hee loft all; fitting fill, and not once daring to give battaile to them that daily tooke somewhat from him; Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery fide, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable securitie, yet had not that happinesse (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vition, which had shewed his ruine not many houres before, 50 euen whilest he was drinking in that wine, which the swordes of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blond. It is therefore in this place enough to fay of him, That after a dishonourable raigne of seuenteene yeares he perifhed like a beaft, and was flaine as he deferued. The reft that concerneth him in question of his time, hath beene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of Cyru, to whose storie that of Balthasfar is but an apendix.

## CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatnesse of the Persians.

**∂**. I

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.



H E Line of Belachus being now extinguished in Balthafur, the Empire of Balylon, and of Alfyria, wasioyned first to that of Media, which then was gouerned by Cyssares or Darius (Medis), after whom Cyrus became Lord and Monarch, both of Alfyria and of Media it felfs.

Of the race of Phul Belochus there were ten Kings befides himfelfe, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metafikenes. These two Provinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the last branch of Ninus in Surdanapalus, divided between them the Easterne Empire.

Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call Darins Medus) the last of the race of Arbaces dying about two yeares after that the Line of Belebhus was ended in Balthafar; the Dominions aftwell of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Familie, namely, to Cyns of the house of Achamenes, the Princes of which bloud raigning in Persia, had formerly been dependents on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of same abroad in the World.

Of the Familie of Achemenes, and Line of the Perfian Kings, wee shall hereafter finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from Madds the third some of Laphet; that they had Kings some after the sloud, Lattentius and Diodous have bound record; For Lattentius remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called Hydafees, and Diodon speaketh of Pharms with his seuen Sonnes, slaine by the Assyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaes the first, that freed his Nation from the Assirius. I take the list and number from Eusebius, adding Davius Medius: of whome I have spoken in their proper places heretosore; and they are these.

Cccc

Arbaces

Lib.ve.

Arbaces. r28. yeares. Sofarmus. 30. yeares. Medidus. 40. yeares. 12. yeares. Cardicers. Diocles. Who raigned 13. yeares. Physortes. 24. yeares. Cvaxares. veares. Allyages. veares. Darius Medus.

And though the Greekes afcribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs that Davius was not only King of Media, and had the Perlians his followers, but that the Armie victorious ouer Balthafar was his; as the Afgvian and Babylonian Empire also was during his ownclife. For wee finde in Daniel that Darius of the Medes tooke the Kingdome being threefore and two yeares old.
And further what Officers it pleafed him to fet ouer the Kingdome. And fo was
equivariate it prophected by figs long before: Reheld I will first up the Medes against them, for,
that it is a first of the Arthur Leville and the Arthur Leville And by LEREMIE; The Lord bathraifed up the Spirit of the King of the Medes, for his purpole is against Babel to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepure against her the Mations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes 20 thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures Inlins Affricanus doth well open, who taking authoritie from Diodor, Castor, Thallus, and others, delinereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus beganne to raigne, which also agreeth with Strabe, where he faith. That as the Medes were fubiugated by the Persians, fo before that, both the Babylonians and Albrians were maftered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of Iustine, and Heronoius, are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

Ow the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the handes of Cyrus, it is a doubt not fufficiently cleared by Historians ; but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some

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there are who denie that Afrages had any other Successiour than Cyrus bis Grand-child by Mundan. Whereas Ciefius on the contrarie fide affir-40 meth that Cyrus was no way descended from Affysigs, (whom hee calleth Assigns or apana) but only that having vanquished him in battaile, and confined him to Baciria, he married his Daughter Amytis. But I finde the relations of Ctelias often cited and feldome followed, and himfelfe fometimes very justly reproued of willfull vntruth.

Figure a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Asystes had no such some as Cranares, or Darius Medus; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Instine, Strabo, Plato, Ariffolle, Ifeerates, and before them Castor, Thallus, and Phlegon, who doe not finde any fuch Succession. Neither doe Tallanes, Theophilus Antiochenus, Julius Affricanus, 70 C'ernens Alexandrinus, Iuftine Mertyr, Lactantius, Eufebius, S. Hierome, or S. Augufine, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath given other Sonne or Successiour to Alleages than Cyrus.

Yet feeing that this manner of argument abauthoritate negatine, doth neuer in-

force confent; we may bee the bolder (all this great lift of Noble Writers by him alleaged not with standing) to affirme that either Altrages himselfe must have beene Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or elfe to giue him fome other Succeffour, according to lofephus, and Menophon, the zondarene. fame whom Daniel calleth Darius. For it is manifelt, and without difforte, that the logant 100 c 13 King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Con- Kend, 8, P. ed. quelt, Cyrus during his life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armica and subject to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassalls of Darius, being joyned together to com-10 pound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie ouer Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe, not only for this action, but for the deliuerie of his Church ; a great ter worke in the eies of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchie, how powerfull foeuer.

And it may well bee thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that feruice did rather ascribe the glorie to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling your corns by fuccession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the same of by succession, and communing in an posterior, and much augment the faint of his vertue, which among prophane Historians oner-grew altogether thehonour due to Cyanares, both because hee was old, and did nothing in person; as also because hee soone after quitted the world, and left all to Cyrus, who was possest of whatfoener belonged to Darius, before the fame of any fuch King or Conquerour was carried farresoff.

And for the Greeke Historians, they tooke all thinges from the relations of the Perfixes; who gaue to Cyrus all the praise of a most excellent Prince; making none his equall. Only Daniel in the first, fift, and fixt Chapters of his prophecies, makes it plaine that himfelfe not only lived a great Officer under King Darius but that he continued in that estate to the first of Cyrus, which being the yeare 20 of Daniels death, could not have beene diffinguished from the raigne of Darius if they had begunne together and raigned joyntly; Neither can it bee imagined that Davius held the Kingdome by Cyrus permission, considering that Cyrus beganne after him.

## d. 111.

Name of the stand

XENOPHONS relation of the Warre which the Medes and Persians made with loynt forces upon the Asyrians and others.

A things. Hele Teltimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which \* Achaphan hath written of these warres : The cause whereof, accor-

ding to his report, was this. When the apprian had inlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all Spria, and many other Countries; hee beganne to hope that if the Medes could bee brought under his subjection, there should not then bee left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threefcore thousand foote, and about ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joyned made an exceeding

The Affrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited Crassus King of Lydia, a Prince very mightic both in men and treasure, and with him other Cccc 2

Lords of Affa the leffe to his affiliance, alleaging that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements strengthned with great presents, he drew to himselfs so many adherents as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foote, and therefore thousand solve, of which, ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foote were led by Crassus, who had great cause of enmittie with the Medes, in regard of the Watre made by them against his Father Affastes; But this great Armie was by Cyassus King of the Medes, and by Cyassus generall of the Person forces, veterly broken; Vp-pon which defeat the Assigns King for the Person forces, veterly broken; Vp-pon which defeat the Assigns King for all sols sine, so many of the Assigns are to uoted, as Bulyson it selfect could not longer be affaired without the succours of Merci anties, waged with great summes of money out of Afasthe lesse, & Asyps, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by Cyassus hoo following his aduantage, possess thin selfect as a sol made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following foone after, the Armielying before it being paid by Davius, whom Xenophon calleth Cysavers, and led by Cyrus his fifters fonne, premailed again Babbolic, as in due time shall be fet downe.

Those Perfusive which followed Cyrus, and by him leuted, are numbred thirtie thouland foot-men, of which a thouland were armed Gentlemen, thereft of the 10 common for were Archers, or such as vided the Dart and the Sting. So Attrew. Plans. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the patterne of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: So it cannot be desired, but that the bulke and groft of his Narration was sounded upon mere Historicall.

trinih

Neither can it indeed bee affirmed of any the like writer, that in curry speech and circumstance he hath precifely tied himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his owne insention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom hee treated. Parting therefore apart the Morall and Politique discourse, and examining but the Historie of thinges 3 queen, it will easily appeare that \*\*Zenophon\*\* hath handled his vadee takeh subjection such that by beautifying the face thereof, hee hath not in any fort corrupted the hodie.

### à. IIII.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this

Or it is commonly agreed upon, that Achamenes, the sonne of Perfes 40 being Gouernour of Perfes, did associate himselfe with Arbaees, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against Sardampalus, and that each of them after the victoric obtained, held sorbimselfethe Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the Aspri-

mins as allo that they conveyed ouer the fame honor and power to their polleritie; which in Media was not abfolutely Regall, but with (ome reftraint limited, vntill fuch time as Deieces tooke yoon him the full authoritie and maiefile of a King From the death of Sardampalus to the raigne of Perieses, are witally accompred aboutan hundred and fortie yeares, in the laft fixtie whereof there raigned in Africa mightie Princes, namely Samanaffar and his Succeflours, whole great archiuements in Syria 19 and elfe where witneffe, that the Meder and Persuns found it not for their aduntatege to under-take any offensine warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet betweene these the successions of Belechus, and Arbaces, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of Deigees to the first of Astrages, there past aboue minette yeares, in which it is redotus have written truely, that Paracres conquered Persia, and how he and other the Kings of Astesia by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commaunded many parts of Asia, it had beene but an vinaduised enterprise of the Astragaman, to have waited themseliues against the Syrians and Expressions, to lead on victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the Astesia had done nothing upon the South parts of Persia, and that the Persians themseliuses were not malters of Sussian in Naturbedones for time, it is manifelt in Daniel, who was then Gouernour for the Badylonian in Susa or Sussian, to the chiefe Cite thereof. It is true indeed, that the Astelians, either under Cyasares or Assiages, or both, had quarrell with Maspater the lather of Cressia, which after

fome fix yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Per/sa Rood in 16 many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It feement that the roughnelle of the mountannous Countrey which they then poffeth, with the confederacie which they continued with the \*\*Medes, gaue them more fecuritie than fame: For if their Kings, being the poffertite of \*\*\*Advances, had done any memorable acts, the greatmelle which they afterward obtained would not haue fulfered any forgetfulnelle thereof. But as we find all \*\*Zemphons\*\* reports, both of these Warres and the flate of those Countries to be very conformant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares.

that the race of Ashomens held the Principalitie of Perfa from father to some for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to Xenophon, who affirmeth, That Cambifyet he father of Cyrus was King of Perfa; than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that Assigned gauchim his daughter Assigned with the marriage, to the end that her some (whose naturite he seared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cause of griefe could it be to Assigned, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Assigned, it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-child should haue encreased, and his care to beene the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent

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Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first Author, and as I thinke the deuiser of the mischiefe intended against Gyrus by his grandstather, doth consessed. That the line of the Ashanenida was to renowned, that the great King Zerves in the height of his prosperitie did thence deriue himselfe and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, nor had they been the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this fort Xerxes in the feuenth of Herodotus deriueth himfelfe.

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Achamenes.
Cambyfes.
Cyrus.
Teifpeus.
Ariaramnes.
Arfamnes.
Hyflaspes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

50 Of the Achemenide there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the great, whose issue male sayled in his two sonnes, Cambries and Smerdis. This royall familie is thus set downe by the learned Reinecuius.

Cccc 3

Achamenes,

Achemenes, the fonne of Perfes, first King of Perfia.

Crrus, the first of that name, had Cambyses and Atossa, who, married to Pharmaces, King of Cappadocia, had Artyllona and other

Camby (es had

Crrus the Great, Cyrus had

Cambyles who succeeded him, and Smerdis slaine by his brother

Of the fecond were those seuen great Princes of Persia, who having ouerthrowne the vsurped royaltie of the Magi, chose from among themselues Darius the sonne of Hyltathes King.

This Kingdome of Persia was first knowne by the name of Elam, so called after Elam the fonne of Sem, and the people therein inhabiting Elamita; by Elianus, Ely-

Suisku derines this Nation Sometimes from Affar, Sometime from Magor, of Suib. G. e. S.d. whom they were called Magusai; which Magusai, according to Eusebius, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the 20 Maci or Wife men. So doe the Greekes, among many other their fayings of them, affirme. That the Persians were aunciently written Artei, and that they called themfelues Cephenes. But that they were Elamita, Mofes and the Prophets, Efay, Ieremie. Elag 11. 21. 22. Exechiel, Daniel, and Efdras in many places confirme: Which also S. Hierome vpon Ieremie the fine and twentieth, vpon Daniel the eight and twentieth, and in his Hebrew queflions approucth, faying: Elam à que Elamita Principes Persidis; ELAM, of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perfia.

E 300 h. 32. D.n.8. Eld. 4. 2.M.c.9. 1.Mic.6.

Gal.to.

And that Citic which the Author of the fecond booke of the Macchabees calleth Persendis, is by the Author of the first called Elimais, but is now called Siras. being the fame which Antiochus, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in 20 vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called Siras, was not the old Perfepolis; for Alexander, at the request of Thais the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of Persia to vs knowne, if wee follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of Genelis, was Chederlaomer, who lived with Amraphel or Winias, and ioyned with him in the warre against those Arabians, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of Abraham.

Gtn.19.

CHAP.

CHAP.2. S.I.2. of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. III. Of CYRVS.

of CYRVS his name and first actions



touching the name of Cyrus, Strabo fayth, That the same was taken from a River which watereth Persia; this great Prince having Agradatus for his proper name. But the great Cyrus was not the first of that name; Herodotus otherwife; and that Cyrus Strablis. fignifieth a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people,

It is true that for his Justice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of Cyrus had any fuch fignification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutareh hath a third opinion, affirming, That Cyrus is as much to fay as the That in vit; Sunne, in the same Language. How societ it be, yet the Prophet Esay, almost two drax. hundred yeares before Cyrus was borne, gives him that name, Thus faith the Lord unto CYRVS his annointed &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus Obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, and other Proninces thereto subiect, rogether with the taking of Crassus himselfe, are not recounted by Enseites, 20 Orosius, and others, but placed among his later atchieuements, whose opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that last warre against Crassus: and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victorie which Crrus had ouer Babylon, to the fine and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might have beene vsed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Melles from the honour of having woon Babylon it felfe, which in duc place I haue answered. The later seemes to haue reference to the second Warre which Cyrus made vpon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to revolt, Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with Herodotus, whome the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of Sardis to præcede that

Of CROESES the King of Lydia, who made warre upon CYRVS.



Haue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of Crassius, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed Lydia in more uncient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) as Lydus, the fonne of Atys: Which familie extinguished, the Kingand Lydins, the forme of Atys: Which familie extinguished, the formed dome was by an Oracle conferred upon Argon, defeended from Horacides and the former to

cules, wirercof there were two and twentie generations, Caundales being the laft, "to by shewing his faire wife naked to Gyges his fauorite, he was by the same Gyges

(thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day flaine. Which done, Grees enjoyed both the Queene and the Kingdome of Lydia, and left the fame to Atys his fonne, who was father to Sadyattes, the father of Halyattes throd, l.t. p.3, (who thrust the Cimerians out of Asia) and Halyattes begat Crasius: Which fine 4.55. Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdome an hundred and feuentic yeares. Halvattes the father of Craclus was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against Cyanares the Median, a Prince verie powerfull, and maintained it fix yeares, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions betweene them.

Altyages, the fonne of Cyanares, and grandfather to Cyrus, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining Aryenis, Crassis lifter, whom he married.

But Crafus lo farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territorie to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, and the Lydian: onely Nabuchodonofor, after he had ioyned Thanicia, Paleflina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no competitor during his owne life.

But Crafus, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babylonisms, he yet mastred Lolis, Doris, and Ionia, Provinces possest by the Greekes in Alia the leffe, adioyning to Lydia; gaue law to the Phrygians, Bithinians, Carians, My Sans, P. phlagonians, and other Nations. And that he also inforst the Ephelians to 10 acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with Dianaes giratheliasent. dle, tierodotus witneffeth. Moreouer, Athenaus out of Berofus (which also Strabo confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which Crassius obtained against the Saccans, a Nation of the Scythians, in memorie whercof the Babylonians his allies did yearely celebrate a Feaft, which they called Sacea: All which hee performed in

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of Cyrus fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of Apollo, whom her prefented with maruellous rich gifts, what fuccesse he might hope for against Cyrus, if he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; CR OE SVS passing oner the River Halys, shall dissolve a great dominion. For the divell being doubtfull of the fuccesse, payed him with marchandize of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruine of Perfia, or of his owne Lydia.

### à. III. CROESUS his Expedition against CYRVS.

Ereupon Crassis being resoluted to stop the course of Cyrus fortunes, AO if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by Sandanes to the contrarie, who defired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not couered with the foft filke of wormes, but with the hard skinnes of beafts;

not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he alreadic excelled; and if by them beaten, and fubicated, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solide Councell, Crassus having prepared a powerfull armie, he led the same towards Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pierium, a Citie of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he fought by all meanes to surprise or to force, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians encamped before it. That

each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not finde: for out of doubt, Crafus as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; fo was hee not under any in territoric and fame that then liued.

But as Cratippus of Mitylene answered Pompey when he complained against the Gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Commonweale against him who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Commonweales had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of Cræsus prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune readie to fall, and that of Crrus but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not 10 Admetis Herdman, Apollo, had given date to theone, and a beginning of glorie to

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainement of diuerse skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians beganne to ioyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and advancement of either Nation: and as the Persians had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each armie from the others view, Crassiss doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and with all speede possible retyred, and taking the next way into Lydia, recoursed Sardis his first Citie and Regall Scat, without any pursuite made by Cyrus to retard 20 him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting Cyrus approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the souldiors; and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of fiue moneths, acquainting his Commaunders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

# d. IIII. The Conquest of Lydix by CYRVS.



CHAP.3.S.4.

Yavs in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his armic in order to purfue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, at be delicouperd. But having good intelligence of Crassis his proceeding, he so measured his Marches, as he prefented not himselfe before Sardis, till such time as Crassis had disposed his armie to their

Wintring garrifons: when being altogether vnlooked for, and vnfeared, he furrounded Sardis with his Armie: Wherein Crafus having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinarie Gards, after foureteene dayes siege the same was entred by affault, and all executed that refifted. Crafus having now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, Sardis being on all parts firongly encompaffed, thruft him felfe into In common the heape and miferable multitude of his validate, and had undergone the common constitution of the following for the common for the common for the common for the following for the fo fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene better sortingan dumbe all his life (by extremition fraffion and feare enabled) cried out to the foul- Cort. diors to spare Crafus. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoyled of Memorian meall things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and fet on morvois el in the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be confumed to albes thereon. To citamentum which when the fire was fer and kindled, remembring the diffeourle which he had some conhad with the Athenian Law-giver, he thrice cryed out on his name, Solon, Solon,

Solon: and being demanded what he meant by that innocation, be first vsed silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he now found it true which Solon had long 50 fince told him, That many men in the rate and courses of their lines might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could differ the himselfe for happie indeede,

Of which answere Cyrus being speedily informed, remembring the changes of homine calumifortune and his owne mortalitie, he commaunded his ministers of Iustice to with-

draw the fire with all diligence to faue Crafu, and to conduct him to his prefence: Which done, Crm demaunded of him, Who it was that had perfunded him? Of what feller easfon had conducted him to insuade his territoric, and to make him of a firend an enemie? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my vn-prosperous delitaic (the Gracian God flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inneutrers and conductors of Crafu warre against Crms.

Cyrus being pierft with Crassus answere, and bewayling his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not onely spare his life, but entertained him cuer after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercie indeed, Que non causan sed

ortunam (bectat.

And herein is the reall difference difference betweene that behauior which wee call Benefeium Intonia, & gruium Principis: A theefe fometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniusly: A King that gineth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne cuill.

The report made by Xenoplon is, That Cyrus did friendly entertaine Crassia at the first light, not mentioning that which Haroslant deliuers, and is here alreadic fet downe, that hee should have been burnt aliue. It may well bee, that Xenoplon pourtraying (in Cyrus) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell fitter to be torgotten than telearded, as too much misbefeeming agenerous nature. And it is very likely, that neereness fee falliance might with hold Cyrus (had he been either with vitions) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsocurit was, the Morall part of the Storie hath giuen credit and reputation to thereport of time later, as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in cressianterwards may seem to argue, that Cyrus did not yellatin inhumanely at the first.

For as: Hordeius himselfe telleth vs, when Cyrus past with his armie ouer Araxes into Sey. Int., he lest Creijus to accompanie and adulfe his sonne Cambyles, Gouernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of Cyrus, and did afterward follow Cambyles into Ægipt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world tooke end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lydrans; in Balthafar, Cynnares,

# How CYRVS woon Babylon.



Fter this Lydian warre enflued the great Conquest of Babylon, which as gaue wnto Cyrus an Empire. So large and mightie; that he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuning wone arth. Howlong time the preparations for this great action took eyp, it is yntertaine; onely it seemes, that tenne whole yeares did passe betweene his ta-

king those two Citres of Sardes and Budylan, which neuerthelessed doe not thinke to have beene wholly occupied in prouisson for the Assignment of the properties of the properties of the properties of a war made by certain the strength and be referred that which be that darked the purchased. And hereinto perhaps may be referred that which be that hathin his fragments of a war made by Cyrus you the sephians, though related as foregoing the victoric obtained against Carasia. He telleth us, That Crus invaded Seythin, and beling victorious over that yo Nation tooke Amorges their King prisoner: but being in a second battaile overthrowne by the wife of Amorges, Sparetha, and therein taken, the one King was deligered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in

the lower Afia, grew foone after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after Cyrus was returned out of Afta the lefte, many Nations, conquered formerly by Crafus, and now by Cyrus, reupted from him; againft whom he imployed Patista, and then thangas, who in it reduced the Phasius wider their former obedience: and then the reft of the Greeks inhabiting Afta the lefte, as the immus, Carians, Abelium, and Lycians, who refoluedly (according to the fitrength they had) defended themselues. But in the attempt you Bushjan it felfe it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing though the did fet all his reft. And great reason there was, that he should be nall this care and frength with other taking of that Citic, which belied the fame and reputation that it held, a being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble value of great height, and furrounded with waters var-foordable, so plentifully victualled for many yeares, that the inhabitants were not onely free from all doubt and feare of their citate, but desired and derided all purposes and power of their beigents.

The onely hope of the 246,655 and Perfans, who despaired of carrying by affault a Citie 6 well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and o-20 ther necessariates; whereof though the Towne was faid to be flored sufficiently for more than twentie years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of peoples a dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soner appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vinwalike multitude. In expecting the successed this course, the bessegers were likely to endure much trauaile, and all in vaine; if they did not keep straight wach and strong eards you all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the valt circuit of those wals which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured where their Commander: The consideration whereof ministed vinto the Maylonians matter of good passime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and o-Manylogan-

30 thers, quartered about their Towne to keepe them in, who having beene their ped.htm; anneient friends and allies, were more likely to loyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vie much diligence on the behalfe of Gprus, who had, as it were, yefterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of feruitnde. Whileft the belieged were pleafing themfelues in this deceitful gladneffe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of fiddigine calamities; Gprus, whom the Ordinance of God made firong, conflant, and innentiue, deculied by fo many channels and trenches as were fufficient and capable of Euphrates, to draw the fame from the wals of Eufylus, thereby to make his approach the more facile and affured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed; hee flayed the time of his abuntage for the execution; for hee had left certaine banks or heads your, betweene the maine riner which furrounded the Citie, and his owne

Now Balds fire, finding noisher any want or weakeneff: within, nor any pofibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding funptions feaft, publike Playes, and other Palitines, and thereto innited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, be delect his wines, currizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the beliegers know, that his promitions were fufficient, not onely for all needfull vies, but even for jolitic and excesse: Orbecause he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distress were well neere broken, or in honour of 50 Bel his most freezeneed 1801: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing Daniels words) belisted binselfe op against the Lord of Hauen: For he and his Princes, wines and concubines, made carowing cuppes of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praysed his owne puppers,

CHAP.2. \$.5.

(fayth S. Huerome) drinking in golden Cuppes, to praise Gods of Wood and Stone. While Balthafar was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him certaine words which he understood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement feized him, as the joynes of his loynes were loofed, and his knees fmote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recoursed, he cryed out for his Chaldeans, Afrologians, and Southfayers, promiting them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this diffurbance and aftonifhment the Queene hearing what had palt, and of the Kings amalement, after reuerence done vied this speech: There is a man in thy Kingdome in whom is the flirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and understanding and wildome, like the wildome of the Gods. was found in him, whom the King NABVCHODONOSOR thy father, the King (1 fay) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Altrologians, Chaldeans, and Southfavers, because a more excellent fririt and knowledge and understanding eye, were found in him, even in DANIEL &c. Now let DANIEL be called, and he will declare the interpretation.

This Queene, to/ephus takes for the grandmother; Origen and Theodoret for the in Dan. logoph mother of Balthafar; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that thee was 20 not any of the Kings wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dauncing and banquetting, the came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction; and whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of Nabuchodonofor, grandfather to this Balthafar, and kept in mind both his religion and diuine gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him he prayed him together with promiles of reward and honour, to reade and interprete those wordes miraculously written to whom Daniel made answere in a farre different fiyle from that he yield towards his grandfather: for the cuill which he foretold Nabuchodonofor, he wished that the same might befall his enemies, but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these wordes, Keepe thy rewards to thy selfe, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing wato the King, and shew him the interpretation: Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence; whereof the King and all his Wifemen were vtterly ignorant: Which being written at large in Daniel, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his father, whom all Nations feared 19,20. and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprined him of his effate and understanding; so upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite 40 power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe up against the same God, and presumed both to abuse those vessels, dedicated to holy vies, and neglecting the Lord of all power, prayled and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Braffe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those wordes, from the Oracle of a true God delinered, (to wit) Mene Tekel, Vybraisin, gaue the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

The very cuening or night of this day, wherein Balthafar feafted and perifhed, Cyrus cither by his espiall, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himselse, 50 whose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no leffe filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the bankes and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut

downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of Eurbrates drie for the present, by whose emptie channell, his armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet fayth) in sleepe and wine: fuch as came in the Persians way were put to the sword, valesse they faued themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the arceteswith an vncertaine tumult.

the partie of Cyrus, did now conduct a felected companie to the Kings Pallace: which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, flew both him and them without any mercie, who ftruggled in vaine to keepe those liues which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecie of Ieremie fulfilled, and that of Esay two hundred yeres before this subuction, who in his three & fortieth Chapter and elsewhere writeth E/a. c.47. this destruction so feelingly and lively as if he had beene present both at the terrible flaughter committed, and had feene the great and vnfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the forrowes and bewaylings of

eueric furgiuing foule thereunto fubiect. His prophecie of this place he beginneth

Such Affyrian Lords as had revolted from Balthafar, and betaken themselves to

in these words: Come downe and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c. And againe, Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daugh-20 ter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes, For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed Nabuchodono for and the Chaldaans, to punish the idolatric of the Indaans, yet E/ay teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (layth: E/ay) in the person of God, I was wroth with my people. I have polluted mine in-heritance, and given them into thine hand: thou diddes show them no mercie, but thou diddest lay thy very heavie youke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, sayth the Isina. Lord of Hostes, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and Town Fullthe nephery. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found finall be firicken through; and meredach and

who focuer in wheth himselfe, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in Balibasar. 30 peeces before their eyes, their houses soyled, and their wives ravished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victoric of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posteritie after it happened, than Elay hath done in manie places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeares before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by divers grave Authors fet downe, might feeme altogether fabulous: for belides the reports of Saint Hierome, Solinus, and Orollus, Aristotle in the third of his Politikes, the second Chapter, received the report for true. That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of

Diodorus Siculus may be taken; who findes the compaffe thereof at three hundred Diod, La. and threefcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and fortie miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, as fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to Ctesias and Clitracus, three hundred threescore and fine foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. Strabe in the beginning of his fixteenth Booke of Geographie gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and fine furlongs, which makes eight and fortie myle and one furlong: but findes the wall farre under that which Diodor reports: And so doth Curtius measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hun-50 dred cubites; which is also very much: euerie cubite containing a foot and halfe

of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the same with Siculus, and eight furlongs more. Herodotus findes a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, foure hundred and fourescore furlongs in circle; the thick-

F.f.s.4.7. O

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Strab . l. 15.

nesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cubites, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same mettall : and therefore did the Prophet Efay rightly intitle Babylon The Princesse and glorie of Kingdomes.

But when Cyrus had woon her, he ftript her out of her princely Robes, and made her a flaue, dividing not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his fouldiors: but bestowing the inhabitants themselues as bondslaues upon those that had taken possession of

Touching the raigne of Cyrus, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and plea- 10 fore, I can fay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lafted onely feuen yeares: in which time he made fuch Conflitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wife Kings, that are defirous to establish a royall power in themselues and their posteritie.

### δ. V I. The end of CYRVS.

He last warre, and the end of this great King Cyrus, is diversly written. Herodotus and Infline deliver, That after the Conquest of Affathe lesse Cyrus inuaded the Mallagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Seythians, gouerned by Tomyris their Queene: and that in an incounter betweene the Perlians and these Northerne Nomades, Tomyris lost her Armie, and her Sonne Spergapifes, that commaunded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of warre, and following the warre against Cyrus, in a fecond battaile beat the Persian armie, and taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from his bodic, and cast the same into a bole of bloud, vling these wordes: Thou that hall all thylife time thir fled for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and fati- 20

It should hereby seeme, that Cyrus knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perfuaded to abate their furie by some forcible invalion and depopulation, because in the time of Cyaxares, father to Astrages, those Scythians innaded Ne in and Afia the leffe, and held the fame in a fernile fubication eight and

This warre which Metasthenes calleth Tomprique, lasted (fayth he) fixe yeares, and tooke end at the death of Cyrus.

But in this particular I beleeue with Viginer, that this Scythian warre was rather the fame which Cyrus made against the Sacians, before the Conquest of Lydia, ac- 40 cording to Ctefins before cited, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, though he deliver the Viz prim. part. fuccesse of that warre otherwise than Herodotus doth: The rather (sayth Viginer) because Strabo in his eleuenth booke reciteth, That Cyrus surprised the Sacians by the same stratageme by which Iustine sayth he defeated the sonne of Tomyris. And the same Ctelias also reporteth, That the last warre which Cyrus made was against Amorrhaus, King of the Derbicians, a Nation (as the rost) of Scythia; whome though he ouercame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he fuffe-

> Strabo allo affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of Pafagardes, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to bee read in his time; which is 50 said to have beene this: O vir quicunque es & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoraui: Ego sum CYRVS qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne innideas ; O thou man, who foeuer thou art, or whence foeuer

thou commest: for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am CYRVS that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is

This Tombe was opened by Alexander, as Qu. Curtius reporteth, either vpon Q curt. L. hope of treasure, supposed to have beene buried with him, or vpon delire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an olde rotten Target, two Scythian Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, Alexander caused to be concred with his ownegarment, and a Crowne of sold to be set vpon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of 10 Xenophon and Zonaras, fo they derogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his bodic Xon. ped 8.

And furely, had Cyrus loft the Armie of Perfia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his sonne would so soone have transported all his remaining forces into Segret. fo farre off from that quarter: the Seythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had Cambyfes beene able in such hast to have undertaken and performed fo great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe xenophon, saying, That Crus died aged and in peace : and that finding in himfelfe, that hee could not long enjoy the world, hee called vnto him his Nobilitie, with his two fonnes, Cambifes and Smerdis; or after Xenophon, Tanaoxares: and after a long Oracion, wherein he affured himfelfe, and taught others, of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deseruing of euerie man in this life; he exhorted his fonnes by the strongest arguments he had to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things hee vttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, when he gouerned Sula in Perlia; and that Cyrus himselfe had read the prophecie of Elar, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the deliuerie of his people) præordained. Which act of deliuering the Iemes from their Captilitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an 30 instrument of Gods power, vsed for the chastifing of many Nations, and the establilling of a Gouernment in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the graceto be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perish.

### ð. VII.

of CYRVS his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.



Auing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by fundry Historians, the glorie of all which was as a reward of this his feruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meete at length to speake of the Decree made in the first

of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that euer hee made, after his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captine Ienes should return again into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, having now endured and finished the threescore and tenne yeares captinitie, by the Pro-50 phets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessarie and wanting. He also restored vnto them five thousand foure hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Siluer, whereof Nabuchodonofor, the grandfather of Balthafar, had formerly robbed the Temple.

Dddd 2

1.8fd.2. Thillin bre.

The number of the Jewes, which returned out of Chalden under their leader Zorobabel, the fonne of Salathiel, and nephew to King Jeconius, and Jefus or Jofua the fonne of Ioladak, were about fiftie thousand: where as soone as they arrived, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and facrificed thereon, according to their owne 1.Ed.3.3.Ed. Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuil-

5.E/d c.4.0.5.

40

ding of the Temple. But no fooner did the Jewes begin to lav any one from than the Samaritanes and other idolatrous Nations adioyning gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Provinces vnder Cyrus altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no fort favoured the leves, nor the labours and purposes they had in 10

Effect, va6- hand. And not onely those which were but Provinciall Lieutenants and other officers of leffe place, but Cambyfes himfelfe; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while Cirus was buffed otherwife, countermaunded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that what socuer Camby ses did when himfelie had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Cyrus there was no fuch impediment or prohibition: They may berein refolue themselves out of Eldras. That Eft. 1.1.5.2.33, by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations the building was hindered all the

efel. 1. 6 2.5. time of King Creus life &c. And therefore it is true, that the Jewes themselves affirme, as it is written in the fecond of John, That the Temple was fixe and fortie yeares in fetting vp, bauing received fo many hinderances from the first foundation 10 to the fecond of Daries.

And if wee feeke the naturall and politique causes which moued Cambyles to withfland his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned under him, as when himfelfe became fole and foueraigne Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembred by Eldras, written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the reft, Presidents and Councellors in *Phanicia*, wherein they complaine, that the Iewes were cuermore rebelious and troublers of Kingssthat their Citie being once built, they would then result to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings,

E(4.1.6.2)

But that which for that prefent feemed the most forcible impediment was, that 20 Cambyfee having it in his refolution to invade Agypt, and that it was a common opinion. That the Jenes were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder Mafes, when they conquered India; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to Cambyfes Conquest, which they did to Senacherib, Nabuchodonosor, and other Kings of Babylon. For as it is written in Ezekiel, Agypt was the confidence of the house of I s-

But it is to be understood, as Codoman and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, to whom the Councellors & Gouernors of Phanicia complained against the Iewes, did not pracede, but fucceed Darius Hyflaspes, as in the fixt and seventh chapters of 40 Elder it is made plaine; and also that those Governors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclofing of the Citie, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings an-

Also in the fixt of Exra, the foureteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they governed, and Artaxerxes written after Darius; as: And they built and finished it (to wie the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Ifrael, and by the commandement of CYRVS and DARIVS, and ARTAHSHASTE King of Perlia. Laftly, in the feuenteenth of Ezra it is written; Now after these things, in the raigne of ARTAH-SHASTE King of Persia: which was as much to say as after the finishing of the to Temple in Darius time. And therefore Artaxernes in the fecond of Efdras is there named by anticipation not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of Hierufalem. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very flowly pursued

by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrus. The other ordinances of Cyrus, with his forme and manner of gouernment, are to be found in Xenophon. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest sonne Cambyles, appointing Smerdis or Tanaoxares his younger sonne to be Satrapa or Licutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadufia, and then died, after he had raigned (fayth Herodotus) one and thirtie yeares, or (according to Infine) but thirtie.

Of CYRVS his issue: and whether ATOSSA were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with Queene HESFER.



CHAP.2. S.8.

Y R v s had iffue two fonnes, Camby fes and Smerdis, with three daughters. Atoffa, Meroe, and Artyftona; Ctefias addeth to thefe, Amytis. Atoffa and Merse their brother Cambyfes married; Atofffand, Davius
Hyflafpes obtained; fo did he Atoffa, Cambyfes being dead: who (as
fome Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husband Davius, and

Xerxes after him, to inuade Greece, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell 20 intent that Aman (whom the old translation calleth a Macedonian) had against the Iewes, though the opinion of Iosephus be more probable, who findes Aman to be an Amalekite. But it is hard to be vinderstood, how Atolia, the daughter of Cyrus should have beene Esther; whose Historic seemes rather to appertaine to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes, or of Xerxes. The defire of Atoffa to have Greece brought vinder the yoake of Persia, was partly grounded voon the honour which thereby shee thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, Corynthians, Athenia and others of that Nation to be her bond-women: Wherefore I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codoman, who vpon the neere found of the two names. 30 Atoffa and Hadaffa (by the later of which Efther was also called) makes them to haue beene one person. For though it be true, that Esther concealing her parentage a while, might be taken for a great Ladie; yet Codemans inference is nothing probable, that the should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certaine it is, that Esther did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Histories could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobilitie, must needs have understood the truth: who neverthelessed do well know the parentage of Atoffa, that for her fake, as being daughter of

Cyrus, her sonne Xerxes was preferred to the Kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could haue pretended a verie weake clayme. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

Dddd 2

CHAP.

often elfewhere.

## CHAP. IIII.

# The estate of things from the death of CYRVS to the Raigne of DARIVS.

ð. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

20

and their times as followeth. Artaxerxes

the fuccesfors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; Asthat of Metasthenes, who hath numbred the Persian Kings

2 10 1 <b>1</b> /24/1			
36 N	Darius Medus, and Cyrus iointly	2]	
M	Cyrus alone.	22	
167 M	Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
	Darius Longimanus.	37	
5350	Darius Nothus.	19 yeares.	
2. WARNING	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerx	es Ochus.	26	
Arfes, or	Ar sames.	4	
Darius the	last, conquered by Alexander.	6]	

To which Philo agreeth; which number of yeares added make in all an hundred ninctic and one. But in this Catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Cambyses and Merxes, and names Artaxerxes Affuerus for the immediate successor of Cyrus in place (fayth Melansthon) of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes: for Metasthenes, as Melanethon conicctureth, doth not account Cambyfes in the Catalogue, because his 20 raigne was confounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of seder Olam, who finds but source

Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus have also a differing account from the Greekes; whom neuerthelesse Eusebius and most of the Latines follow. And so doth Krentzheim, who hath fully answered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account: For in this fort doe the Greekes marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their raignes.

Molandhan	Cyrus in all.	30)	40
gines Cyriff	Cambyfes, with the Magi.	-8	
but 29.	Darius Hystaspes.	36	
Melanet,but 20	Xernes.	21	
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40 Sveares.	
	Darius Nothus.	19 ()	
Melanti.but 40	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43	
Melantt. 16.	Artaxerxes Oshus.	23	
	Arsames.	3	
Melanti.4.	Darius the last.	رة	
	Which numbers, put together, make in all to	wo hundred and thirtie.	50

This account (as I have faid) the most Chronologers and the best learned approue. These Persian Princes being all warranted by the authoritie of the Scriptures, as Pencer in his historical! Animaduersions hath gathered the places; finding

Secondly, Cambyles in the 11th of Daniel who may indeed be well effected for one of those three Kings in the second verse named and so the marginal Commentor vpon the Geneua vinderstands that place; but, under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he faith in the fame note, that Darius Hillaftes was an enemie to the people of God, and stood against them: his great fauour and liberalitie to the Jewes being elsewhere proued.

first Cyrus in the second of Chronicles, chap. 36. ver/. 22, 23. Efra I. chap. I. ver/. I. and

Thirdly, is Darius Histafpes found in Ezra the first, c.4.v. v. who in the fixth verse In is also named Abassucrus.

Fourthly, in the eleventh of Daniel verse the second, Nerves is plainely foretold and described, and the great warre which hee should make against the Greekes by Daniel remembred.

Fiftly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezrathe fourth, verse seuen, who is also called Arthalasta, c. 4. I.lib. Ezrav. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. verf. 24. & cap. 5. verf. 6. Nehem. cab. 12.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nehe, c. 2. v. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes Ochus, and Arlames for Darius the last he was of another Familie, the Line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Nerves the sonne of Atossa, Cyrus his Daughter; and the iffue male of Cyrus failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede. Eulebius with the Latines, following the Greekes, apply the beginnings and ends of every Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of Allyages (Cyrus his maternall Grand-father) and Alyattes (Craelus his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus raigne to the nis rather; forms the and forecast Dympiad; in the explaining of Cypus raighe to the beginning of the fine and fittieth Olympiad; The tasking of Sands by Cypus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuation of Agypt by Cambyles to the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, and to of the reft. Which reference with good agreement betweene feuerall formes of computation adde the more cereating of the computation and the three control of the computation and the more cereating of the computation and the control of the computation and the control of the computation and the control of the control of the computation and the control of the control of the computation and the control of the control of the computation and the control of the cont 20 dit vnto both.

Againe, this historicall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomicall com- Ptol. in Almag. putation of Ptolomie, who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the 12. lib.3. cap.8. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentith yeare after Nabonassar. And the Fra of Nabonassar beganne on the fixe and twentieth of Februarie : which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the first yeare of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accompt of the Olympiads, as doe the Greeke Historians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolomie, we shall finde every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For Ptolomie reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twentie Iulian yeares, and an hundred and fortie daies from Nabonassar, to the sixteenth of Iulie in the feuenth yeare of Cambyles.

The Greekes, and namely Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Agypt by Cambyles in the second or third years of the threescore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyles feuenth years in the first of the threescore and fourth Olyntpiad: which first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad runnes along with part of the two and twentieth of Nabonassar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of Cyrus.

Likewife the twentieth of Darius, who fucceeded Camby fes, is according to Ptoloone the two hundred and fixe and fortieth of Nahonaffar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassars . Era and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greekes. In this Josephus agrees with the Greekes throughout, fauing that he joyneth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyanares, with Cyrus, in the destruction of Babylon, which is true, and not contrarie to the Greeke computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearled, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

# Of CAMBYSES, and the conquering of Agypt by him.



E will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of Perlia to Cambyfes, the sonne of Cyrus, though degenerate in all thinges, sauing the delire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire : whereof hee was posses in his Fathers time while Cyrus made warre in the North. Ctehas with others give him a longer raigne than agreeth with the Gra-

cian accompt before received.

In the fifth yeare of his fole raigne, and in the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, according to Diodor and Eusebius, he invaded £gypt, and having 20 ouerthrowne the King thereof, Pfammenitus, he not only caused him to bee slaine, Herda, pages, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his

Herodotus and Gtesias give for cause of this Warre (being no other indeede than the Ambition of Camby (es) that when he fent to Amalis King of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessour, which Camby les disdained.

Howfoeuer it were; true it is, that Camby fes gathered an Armie fit for fuch an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Levet, Amalis died and left Pfammenitus, whom Ctessas calleth Amyrtaus, his successiour; who in- 30 ioyed Agypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeares.

But how long foeuer he held the Crowne, in one battaile he lost it, and was himfelfe taken prifoner.

It is faid that Camby les following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare \*Neither did life to the conquered King, but that hee also trusted him with the gouernement of Leypt, and that upon some revolt, or the suspition thereof, hee caused him to bee flaughtered. But the race of this King was not fo extirpated, if wee may belieue Herodotus and Thurydides, but that he left a Sonne called Inarus, who caused the Agyptian to reuolt both from Xerxes and Artaxarxes.

That Pfammenitus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyses, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated amalis the King of Agypt, who died before his arrivall, that hee caused his body to bee drawne out of the graue, and after divers indignities vsed, commanded the same to Tailouis, or like bee burnt, contrarie to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the for like, be-cause himselse Egyptians vsed to powder their dead bodies with falt, and other drugges, to the had vittombed end the wormes might not deuoure them. The \*Persians durst not consume the carkaffe of them with fire, which they effected as a God, and therefore feared to feede it Cains Maries with Carrion.

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10

ð. III.

ð. I I I.

### The relt of CAMBYSES his acts.



Fter this victorie obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes fent an Armie into Cyprus, and constrained Enelthon King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet bulied himfelfe in £gypt, he fo much detefted the Idolatric of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with

to the Temples wherein they were worthipped, to bee torne downe and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his Armie into Lybia, to ouer-turne the Temple of Juniter Ammon; but the Deuill in defence of his Oratorie raifed fuch a tempel of Steel, et al. Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Countrey is coursed, as the Persians were 1.1.

Page 87.83. there-with choked and ouer-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misaducnture, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disday- Her. 13. Sen. 14. ning to be relisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-fent troupe had tried, hee changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power oner men, yet the Elements doe not obay them, according to 20 that old English proucibe, Goe faith the King, stay faith the Tide.

After his returne from the attempt of Athiopia, hee caused Apis the Agyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be flaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and beene executed as in seruice of him that only is , and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that Smerdis did fit in the royall Throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) hee gaue it in charge to his fauourite Praxaspes, to murther Smerdis his brother. And having married his owne fifters, contrarie to the Persians Lawes, hee committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder upon the one of them, called Meroe, then by himfelfe with child, because shee bewailed the death

30 of her brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Camby fes, That because his Prede- Her. Mar 80, 20. ceffors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marrie his owne fifter: it being his owne intent fo to doe; The Iudges ( who had alwaies either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answere, that there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they not with standing found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the Persian Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and fo, as Nauclerus termes it, inuenerunt occasionem: That is as much to fay, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselues. And yet, where it con-40 cerned not the Kings private fatisfaction, he caused Sisamnus one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestious match, to bee flaied a-line for an vniust judgement given, and the same his hide to bee hung vp over the judgement feate. After which bestowing the fathers Office on his sonne, he willed him to remember, that the same partialitic deserved the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the some of his beloued Praxalpes was very strange and vngratefull. For when he desired to bee truely informed by him what the Perfians thought of his conditions, Praxafpes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many observed that hee tooke more than vsuall delight in the tast of Wine. With 50 which taxation inflamed, hee yled this replication: And are the Perfians double tongued, who also tell me that I have in all thinges excelled my Father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes that then witnesse, whether in this report they have done meeright: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it salse that hath beene spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted

ever confirme their dead to othes, till the time of Sylla Diffator,who caused his owne to be

Her. 1.3. Plin,1.7. c.54:

true, and my subjects beleeved. This being spoken, he directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke, Cambriles commanded his bodie to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monfirous T yrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father with this faying, in stead of an Epitaph: Now PRAXASPES thou maiest resolue thy selfe that I have not lost my wits with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties hee exercifed, till at the laft, according to the phrase of our Law, he became selon de soy. For when he was informed that Patizites, and Smerdis the Magi, (Cedrenus writeth them Sphendanes and Cimerdius) Ministers of his domesticall affaires, taking advantage of the great resemblance betweene Smerdisthe Kings brother, and Smerdisthe Magus, poffet them selves of the Empire, hee made all haft towards Perfia, and in mounting haftily on horfe-backe, his fword dif-theathing pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late and remedileffe repentance of the flaughter which hee had executed voon his owne brother, he foone after gaue vp his wicked ghoft, when hee had raigned eight yeares, accounting therein those seuen Moneths in which the Magi gouerned, while he was abfent.

In Cambyfes the Male line of Cyrus fuled. For he had no iffue either by Atoffa or Zonaras com, Alivoe : yet Zonaras out of Hierome giues him a Daughter called Pantaptes, and a fonne called Orentes, who being drowned in the River Ophites by Antioch, the fame 10 was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called Orontes.

He built the Citie of Babylon in Agypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly feated, and that of Meroe in the Hand of Nilus, calling it by the name of his fifter

### ð. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum betweene CAMBYSES and DARIVS.



YRVS and his two fonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the Migi, the counterfait of Smerdis, the Princes, or Satrapes, or Provincial Governours of the Empire (to Davin, who were all descended from Achamenes the first Person King, having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surpri-

fed and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and affistants. In which action (faith Iustine) Interhernes and Afphalines were flaine; but Herodotus otherwife, that they were only wounded, for he auoweth, that all the feuen Princes were 40 present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Gouernour, these Princes grew into confultation how the fame might be ordered from thence-forth. Otanes one of the fetien did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by inft lawes defend their libertie in equalitic, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of Cambyses; As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to infult, & to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants do commonly vie the feruices of wicked men, and fauour to them most, they vsurpe vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wines by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Aegabyzus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannic of a multitude was thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all thinges without without judgment runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouer-bearing flouds.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wifest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because euen among few diuturnitie of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforst the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, faith Darius, farre fafer to observe the Lawes of our Countrie, by which Kingly gouernement bath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to Darius, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernement by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoide partialitie, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sunne-rifing should first ney or bray. In the cuening after this appoint- Her.l.3, p.200, ment was made, it is faid that Darius confulted with the Master of his horse Ocharus, 101. who in the Suburbs of the Citie when the election was refolued of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning Darius was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the o-20 ther fixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged Darins for their

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the feuen Princes, whereof Darius himselfe was one, that delivered the Empire from the vsurpation of the Magi, hee divided the whole into feuen governements; Herodosus faith into twentie Satrapies.

# Снар. V.

Of DARIVS the Sonne of HYSTASPES.

of DARIVS his Linage.



ARIVS was descended of the ancient Persian Kings. to wit, of the Achemenida, of which, Cyrusthe Great was the lineall Successour. For in this fort Herodotus deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had Teifpius, who begat Ariaramnes, who was father of Ar famnes, the father of Hyftafpes, the father of Darius, furnamed Celes, the father of

Hystaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great in the warres against the Scythians, at which time Cyrus being made jelous of Darius by a dreame of his owne, caused him

to be fent into Persia, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was delivered, and made Governour of the Persian Magi. He afterward followed Cambyles into Egypt; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the Magi, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he \* Her. 163 237. Obtained the Empire, which he the more affured to himselfe by taking two of Crrss

Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

 $P_{eg,130,...,(S^*,O)}$  Hyflaspes, according to \* Herodotus, had besides Darms these three sonnes, who were P. 9. 150.192 great Commanders in the warre which Darius made in Afa the leffe, Thrace, Macedon, and Greece; Marnes, Artaphernes; and Artabanus, who diswaded Xerxes from the second Gracian warre. Hystaspes had also a Daughter married to Gobryas the Fa- 10 ther of Mardonius, who commanded the Armie of Darius in Macedon, and married ther of Mardonius, who commanded the Armie of Darius, artozoftre his Cosen germaine.

Reineccius giues to Hyltaspes fiue sonnes, Darius who succeeded Cambyles, Artabanus. Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two daughters.

of DARIVS his governement, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.



ARIVS deuised equall lawes whereby all his subjects might beegouerned, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gaue accesse to all his fubicets, and behaued him felfe fo mildly to all men that many Nations delired and offered themselues to become his Vassalls. Only bee laid disconsistent of the second his Vassalls. Only hee laied divers paiments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in Cyrus time, to the valew of foureteene thousand fine hun-

dred and three score talents, faith Herodotus.

The warre which Camby (es made a farre off in Agypt, and the contention betweene the Magi, and the Princes of Persia, for the Empire, gaue heart to the Babylomians to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the Persian yoke, whereof Darius be- 20 ing aduertifed, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he yled the service of Zopirus, who for the loue he bare Darius, did cut off his owne Eares and Nofe, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flie to the Babylonians for succour, to whom he accused the crueltie of Darius: who, for having given him advice to give over the fiege of their Citie, had in this fort difmembred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gaue him that credit as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when Zopirus had obtained, after some small colourable ouer-throwes given to the Perfians vpon fallies, hee delivered the Citie into Darius his handes, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths.

Her.l.3.

Q. III.
Of DARIVS his favour to the lewes in building the
Temple.



N the fecond yeare of Darius, hee gaue order that the building of the Temple at Hierusalem should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuennues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernours of those Provinces which are 50 fituate betweene Euphrates, and the Phanician, and midland Sea,

(whom Ezra calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the worke in Camby fes his time, Darius gaue commandement that they should not thence-forth come neare ynto Ierusalem, to give any impediment to the building, but that they

should with-draw themselves, and get them farre off till all were finished and at an end. In the old Latine it is written, procul recedite ab illis; With-draw your selues farre from them: In our English. Be vee farre from thence, to wit from the Citic, and Temple, now in building.

Hee also made a decree, which concerned his owne Subjects. That who some rearests. should thence forth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the Timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh innocation to God, That hath caused his name to dwell there, (to) destroy all Kings and People that put to their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c. In foure yeares after which decree (the Jewes being really furnished with money and all thinges necessarie from Darius) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the fixth years of Darius Hyltalpes, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne. E37.6.

ò. IIII.

of DARIVS his Southian Warre.



Fter the recoucie of Babylon hee inuaded the Soythians, whose King Ber.I.4. Instine calleth Lauthinus; and faith, that Darius under-tooke this warre 14st, Lin against him, because hee refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into Seythia, hee built a Bridge of small Vessells ouer the River Ister or Danubius, and gave the custodie of the

fame in charge (among others of Afia the leffe) to the Ionians and Aolians, among whom was Miltiades, who perswaded the Asian Gracians to breake downe the bridge, to the end Darius might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was relisted by Histiaus Prince of Milet, a Citie of Jonia, which Nation being a Colonie of the Greekes, Diodorus calleth Traitors to their Countrie, because they loyned themselves to Darius. But the Seythians Diedlist.

20 more elegantly termed them good flaues, for as much as they would not runne away from their Mafter, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of libertie as could have beene defired. For the great Armie of Darius entring the defart Countrie called Beffarabia, found in it neither people to relift them, nor any fustenance to relieue them. For the Scythians were then, as are the Chrim Tartars, their posteritie, at this day, all horse men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grafiers, driving their Heards from one place to another as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These Wag-40 gons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, removeable at their pleasures. Neither hath the Em-

perour himselfe, called now the great Chrim, any other Citie than such an Agora, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore Darius had wearied himscife, and wasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victualls to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either hee himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he beganne to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet fetting a good face vpon a badde game, he fent braue meffages to the Soythian, bidding him to cease his flight, and eiso ther to make triall of his valour and fortune in plaine battaile, Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeeld by faire meanes, and become his Subject, gi-

uing him Earth and Water, which the Persians vsed to demand as a signe that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the Soythian returned an Hieroglyphicall answere; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and fine Arrowes: which dumb shew

### **♦. V.I.**

The first occasion of the Warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with a rehearfall of the government in Athens, whence the - quarrell grew.

Ow the better to understand the reason and moriues of that great Warre, which followed foone after, betweene the Perlians and Greecians, it is necessarie to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which Citie indured the hardest and worst brunt of Darius inuasion on that fide the Sea with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any importinencie, to be large in vnfolding every circumftance of fo great a bufineffe, as gaue fire to those warres, which neuer could be throughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great Persian Monarchie, Persepolis the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an Athenian Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the Persians had raised in Athens,

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how Athens, and other parts of Greece, were anciently gouerned, the same being alreadie set downe. though scatteringly, and in severall times, among other the Contemporarie occurrents of the Easterne Emperors, and the Kings of Indea; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember agains the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the Lacedamonians they maintained fill their ancient policie under Kings, though these also after some fifteene descents bridled by the Ephori.

Codrus King of the Athenians in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the fafetie of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthie to succeede him) they changed their former government from Mo-30 narchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which Medon the sonne of Codrus was the first, after whom they were called Medontida; and of these there were twelve Ge-

netations belides Medon, to wit. Agastus.

Archippus, in whose times the Greekes transported themselves into Ionia. after Troy an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to Eusebius: which migration all other Chronologers (fuch as follow Eufebius herein excepted) find in the yeare after Troy fallen one hundred and fortic. Ther lippus.

Phorbas,

Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gaue lawes to the Spartans. Pheredus.

Ariohron.

Theifins, in whose time the Asyrian Empire was over-throwne by Belochus, and Arbaces.

Agammestor.

Afchylus, in whose time the Ephori (according to Eusebius) were ere-Cted in Lacedamon.

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the Athenians ele-Eted Decennall Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and fixteene yeares. The first of those that gouerned forten yeares, or the first Archon, was Charops, then

Æ symedes.

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wherein those creatures line, and his weapons withall into his handes. But Gobryas. one of the fourn Princes who had flaine the Maei, construed their meaning a-right. which was thus; O yee Persians, get yee wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for elfe yee shall not escape our arrowes. And this interpretation was foone verified by the Seythians themselves, who affailed the Persian camp, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexing the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night, were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his fight, they did not forbeare the passime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs Darius was so discouraged that he for sooke his Camp by night, making many fires, and leauing all that were ficke and weake behinde him, and so with all speede marched away towards the River Ister. Hee was purfued hardly by the Seythians, who mist him, yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the Ionians to depart, affuring them that the Perlian King should never more be able to doe them either good or harme. Which wordes had certainely beene proved true had not Hrflians the Milesian prevailed with his people, to attend the comming of Daring. whom the Seythians did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from Mer to fecke him out.

# Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Soythian



ARIVS having thus escaped out of Soythia, determined the invasion of Thrace and Macedon, in which Warre hee imployed Megabasus, who mastered the Parnians, and transplanted them, and possest Perinthus, Chalcedon, Bizantium, and other places, being allo soone after subjected, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the sonne of 30

Sysamnes whom cambyses had excoriated for fulfe indgement. So were the Cities of Selybria and a Cardia likewise taken in for the Persian, who having now reduced under his obeyfance the best part of Thrace, did send his Embassadours to Amintas King of Macedon adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Souca Cardia, a citie raignetic ouer that Kingdome. Amintas doubting his owne ftrength, entertained voon the chort the Embaffadours with gentle wordes, and afterward inuiting them to a folemne and magnificent feast, the Persians greatly defired that the Macedonian Ladies might bee present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and prefumed upon their greatnesse, and many victories, beganne to vse such imbracings, and other lascinious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as Alexan- 40 der the Kings Sonne, great Grand-father to Alexander the Great, diffaining the Persians barbarous presumption, befought his father to with-draw himselfe from the affembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embaffadours, whom withall hee entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselues for a while; promifing their speedie returne. This being obtained, Alexander caufed the like number of well-fauoured yong-men to clothe themselues in the same garments, and to vie the same attires which the Ladies had worne at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the Persians offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after given by Darius for a feuere reuenge of this murder. But Alexander, somewhat before the death of Amintas, gaue his fifter Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principall Commander of Darius forces on that fide, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of Macedon would proue for the invalion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexan-

to the South of

Ecec 2

Elydicus.

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Elvdicus.

Hippomenes. Leocrates. . Absander.

Erixias, was the last Archon of the decennal Gouernors, which forme continuing threefcore and ten yeares, was then changed into annuall Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which Theleus was the first, according to Paulanias : others finde Leoftratus; and then

Pauf.pag.159. Dionif.l.z. Pauf.p.169. Paulan 170. Pag.331.

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Antholthenes. Archimedes. Miltiades. Damalias.

Draco.

Megacles. Solon, and others, who are the leffe to bee regarded, by reason of the

This Solon being a man of excellent wifedome, gaue lawes to the Athenians, which were published according to Gellius, in the three and thirtieth yeare of Tarquinius Priscus, and were in after-ages derived vnto the Romanes, and by the Decem viri (Magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Ta- 20 bles, which were the ground of the Romane lawes. But these goodly ordinances of Solon, were in his owne daies violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practife and maintenance of a popular gonernement; the effate of Athens was very foone changed into a Monarchie by Pififratus the sonne of Hippocrates: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions whereof Megacles and Lycurgus two Citizens of noble Families were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plaulible, for that he feemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this meanes obtained love and credit, he wounded him felfe, and faining that by malice of his enemies he had like to have 20 beene flaine for his loue to the good Citizens, he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of Athens, hee made himselfe Lord of the Towne; Hegesistratus being then Gouernour. But the Citizens who in every change of gouernement had fought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could fo ill brooke this vfurpation of Piliftratus, that he was driven for lack of helpe to flie the Towne, as soone as Megailes and Lycurgus ioyning their forces attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyrannie founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; fo was it foone after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when Megacles found the power of Lyourgus to grow 40 greater than his owne, he did (as is the viuall practife of the weaker fide) call in the common enemie Pifistratus, to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Familie of the Alemsonida, whereof Megaeles was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so that Pifistratus by their power was made Master both of them and all the reft. But this agreement held not long; the Alemaonida, and especially Megaeles being incenfed against Pifistratus for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so sarre, that Pissiratus upon the first discouerie of their intent, perceived no other remedie for his affaires than to with-draw himselfe to Eretria, where hee remained cleuen yeares. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of Greece, hee againe recourred the principalitie of Athens: after which third obtaining his effate, hee governed Athens feventeene yeares, according to Ariffolle, and raigned in all thirtie and three yeares, faith Elianus, but as Instine hath it four and thirtie, accounting the time belike as well

Her.l. 12: of Eubers, by others called Stelane, by Stephames Eretria.

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World.

before as after his feuerall expulsions. Herodotus gives the Father and the Sonne Her. 16. fixe and thirtie yeares; Aristotie fine and thirtie. But Thuesdides affirmeth, that Thuesdides.10 hee died very old, leauing for his Successours his two Sonnes Hippias and Hippar. chus, who gouerned the Athenians with fuch moderation, as they rather feemed the Lineall fuccessours of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and fome three yeares before Hippias was expelled out of Athens, his brother Hipparchus was murdered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thueidides hath written at large. And though Hipparchus were charged with vnnaturall lust after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled 10 Hipparchus, doth greatly magnific him, affirming that hee was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandall. Hippias fearing that this enterprise upon his brother had more and deeper rootes than were apparent, first sought to discouer the further intents of Harmodius and Aristogiton, by a Harlot of theirs called Lemnia: who because shee would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did Hippias, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amitie with Antides, Tyrant of the Citie Lampfacus, whom hee knew to bee Lampfacus acigreatly favoured by Darius, to whose Sonne Hipoclus hee gaue one of his Daugh- tie of Missia vp-

ters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting pen the Helle-20 I know not what strong practise against himselfe, hee beganne to viethe Citizens Her.l.s. with great seueritie, which neither Pifistrains the Father, nor Hippins himselfe had Thuridisan cuer exercised during their vsurpations till this time. And therefore the Athenians fearing leaft that this difeafe might rather increase, than diminish in Hippias, they flirred vp Clistines one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practife their deliuerie: who calling to his affistance the banished Alemanida, together with an Armie of the Lacedamonians, ledde by Cleomenes their King, to affrighted Hippias, as by composition hee gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of Athens, and from thence imbarking himselfe tooke land at \* Sigeum, whence hee went to Lampfacus \* Sigeum a proin Mysia gouerned by £antides, who presented him to Darius. Hee was deprimenence of oued of his estate, as Herodotus and Thucidides agree, twentic yeares before policy to the left trades.

the battle of Marathon : all which time he continued, partly with Lantides, at which Million other times with Artaphernes Lieutenant for Darius in Sardis, the Metropolis of Animal. calls Lydia; perswading and practising the enterprise vpon Athens, which Darius in ide promontethe end to his great dishonour vinder-tooke, twentie yeares after Hippias had refigned his effate.

Thus farre I have digreffed from Darius, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that Hippias had to bee restored to Athens by the helpe of Darius, which made him solicite and perswade the Persians to conquer Greece, was one; but not the most

VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betweene Greece and



Nother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the tonick warre. breaking out in Asa about the same time. The Colonies transported out of Greece in Alia, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enioyed their libertie about fine hundred yeares, euen from the Ionick migration, to the time of Crafus, were by this Lydian King made Tributaries, and afterwards, as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by

Eccc 3

Cyrus, and left as hereditarie Scruants to the Crowne of Perfia. But as it is the cultome of all Nations halfe conquered (witnesse heland) to rebellagaine vpon enery aduantage and opportunitie: fo did the Jonians, and other Greeians, both in Cyrus his life, and after him, feeke by all meanes possible to free then felues.

At this time they found fuch men readic to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the Persian been egiuen vnto them for bridles, to hold them in subjection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the Persian, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull af- 10 fection they had well declared, when, Darius being in great extremitie, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had beene lost) out of the Southing hand. Of this great peece of feruice lifthen the Tyrant of Myletus expe-Etec the chiefe thankes, as having beene chiefe Author of their expecting Darius, when the real, either perswaded by the Seythians, or carried away with their owne delires, were readicto hauc abandoned him. But it came fo to passe that Darius being more fearefull of the harme that Hiflians (being powerfull and craftie) might doe to him in the future, than mindfuil of the good which he had alreadie received at his hand, found meanes to carrie him a-long to Sufa, where hee detayned him with all kinde viage of a friend, yet kept fuch good espiall vpon bim, as an enemic, 20 hee could not flart away. Hifteen had fubtilitie enough to discouer the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, haung a small T critoric, than to fit and feaft at the great Kings table, and heare the counfailes by which a large Empire was menaged; being himfelfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of libertie, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow vpon

Wherefore he bethought himfeife of railing of fome tumults in the lower Afia, to pacific which if he might be fent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to flay at home, and either 20 farisfig the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resoluing vpon this course, he sent very secret instructions to Aristagoras his kinsman, whom he had lest his Deputie at Mileten, admiting him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These dire-Etions came feafonably to Ariflagoria, who having failed in an enterprife vpon the like of Acros, through the falle dealing of a Perfian his Affociate, flood in leare of diffgrace, if not of fome further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the

Kings treasures to no good purpose. Therefore he readily embraced the counfaile: and the better to draw the whole Countrie of Ionia into the same course, which he determined to runne, hee abandoned his tyrannie, and did fet Atiletus at libertie. This plaufible beginning wanne 40 vnto him the hearts of the Milesians: and his proceeding with other Ionian Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slanes to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to bee at his command. The Persian fleet, whereof hee lately had beene Admirall in the enterprise of Maxos, hee had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers, and Captaines, fo that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asa would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to peeces, vnlesse that he were able to raifean Armie that might hold the field, which the tonians alone were infufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a journey to Sparta, where having affaied in vaine 50 with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie talents, to win to his partie Cleomenes King of the Lacedamonians : hee went from thence to Athens, and with better fucceffe belought the people to lend him their affiftance. The Athenian Embaffadors which had beene fent to the Persian Kings Lieutenants in the lower Asia, desiring

them not to give countenance to itiphias, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answeres, having found verie churlift entertainement. So that the cuill which they were to expect in all likely hood from the Perfun, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their confanguinitie with the Ionians, and the perfualions of Ariflagoras, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie shippes the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the Eretrians added fine more in regard of ancient kindnesse that had passed betweene the Ionians and them. With these and their owne forces joyned, the Ionians entred the River Caiffrus, which falleth into to the Sea by Ephefus: by which advantage they furprifed Sardis when no enemie was heard of or suspected; infomuch, as Artaphernes, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of fafetie, than by retreating him felfe into the Caftle; which

the Gregians could not force: from whence he beheld the flaughter of the Citizens. and the Citie flaming.

The Persians at length, mixt with the Purgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the Riner Pactolus, which ranne through it, and borrowing courage from desperation, they both desended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well adulting themselves, made all the half they could toward the Sea fide . But Artaphernes having gathered all the

ac firength he could, purfued the Greeians, and found them necre Epinelius; where letting resoluedly vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Armie; the reit faning themselves in Ephefus. In this fight Enalcides, Captaine of the Eretrians, perished; but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet Simonides preserved. After this ouerthrow, the Athenians, which were fent to Ariflagoras and to the Iowhats, could by no arguments of theirs, no, not by their teares, be perfuaded to make any second triall of their fortunes, on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noyfe in the world, than the good fucceffe which the Persians had in one or two skirmilhes, could rayle. Wherefore the Ionians brauely proceeding, woon a great part of Caria; and fending their Fleet into 30 the Hellefpent, got Bizantium and other Townes into their hands . Yea, the Cypri-

ans, lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the Ionians, who were able to give them aid by fea, rebelled a-

gainst the Persians.

These newes comming to the care of Darius, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreame hatred of the Athenians, vpon whome hee vowed to take sharpe reuenge. As for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not have dared to attempt fuch things, but by the instigation of those, to whom their ignorance of his great might had affoorded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the 40 Warre commenced by Darius, and purfued by Nerves against Athens: To which, the folicitation of Hipping, before remembred, gaue onely fome forme and affiffance:

the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like ynough to have proceeded, though he had perished ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of Darius against many of the Handers, if not against the whole Nation of the Greekes; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Handers moreouer did helpe to furnish out a Nauic of three hundred and fixtie sayle against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a defire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at Sardis, was but 50 by furprise In eueric fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost

the fruits of their discipline, wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all their auncient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the voper hand; but they were Phanicians, Agyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any vie to them; the Cyprians, in whose aid they came,

Herod.lib 6.

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being vtterly beaten by the Perlian Armie at Land, and reduced into their old fubjection. So had the Persians likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes vpon Hellespont, with some Lolian and Jonian Cities: when Avillagoras with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, desirous to feat himselfe in Amphipolis, a Colonie of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territorie belike hee landed, ouerthrew him, and cut his troupes in pieces.

About the same time, Histiaus the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who having vndertaken the performance of great matters to Darius, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whome his double-dealing was 10

But this cuasion preserved him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, least the King fhould pardon him upon remembrance of old good turnes; as it feemes that hee would have done, by the buriall which he commaunded to be given to his dead bodie that was crucified and by his heavie taking of his death.

Hilliam had fought to put himselfe into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his condition, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselues, without his helpe. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet which promifed vnto them the libertic of 20 an open sea, emboldened them to trie the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forfaking them vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should have affisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being affaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens flaine, their wives and children made flaves, and their goods a bootie to the Persians, whome for fixe yeares space they had put to so much trouble.

The Warre which DARIVS made upon Greece, with the battaile of MARATHON and DARIVS his death.

His warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe fide with variable fuccesse: Darius obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the warre but against the Athenians and Eritraans, who jointly his embaffadours demaund an acknowledgement from them all : among whome, fome of them not so well resolued as the rest, submitted themselues; as the Aginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed (by the affistance of the tween Thefisia Lacedemonians ) after divers encounters forft them to give pledges, and to relinquish I do not know; the partie of the Perfians. Cleomenes led the Lacedemonians in this warre, and caused but those bo: his companion-King Demantus to be deposed : who thereupon fled to Darius, farre derers. & next the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civile warres among the Greekes. He therefore gaue order to Hippagor as to prepare a Fleet of shippes fit to transport his Armic ouer the Hellespont: the same consisting of an mie he committed to Datis, accompanied and affished by Hippias, the sonne of Pistfiratus, expelled out of Athens twentie yeares before, and by Ataphernes his brother, um, not farre Gouernour of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the lesse. These Commaunders ha-

affifted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia) did now by 40 hundred thousand foot, and tenne thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Aruing their Companies brought downe to the Sea-fide, imbarked themselues in fix

hun-

hundred Gallies and other Veffels; and first of all attempted the Islands called Crclades, which lay in the mid-way betweene Alia the leffe, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the Erean Sea; but on the contrarie they might alwayes both relieue themselves in their passage, and shrowd themselves from all suddaine tempests and

To this end they first possess themselves of Samos, secondly they attempted Nawas: Which Island the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which Apollo was native: Which Island Darius did not to onely forbeare to facke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to Apollo erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubera; for that Citie 10 Hered. (as alreadie bath beene fliewed) had affifted the Ionians at the taking and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Persians tooke ground, and besieged Eretria veriestraitly, and after fixe dayes affault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus and Philagius, they tooke it, fackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus farre the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Eubas the Persians past their Armie into Attica, conducted and guided by Hippias, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea, where 20 they landed, towards Athens.

The Athenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their owne vertue against Fortune, and to cast lots for their libertic, for their wines, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resiflance, and withall fent away with speed to the Lacedamonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one Phidippides; who passing through Arcadia, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be Pan, who willed him to affure the Athenians of victorie, promifing that some one of the Gods should be present at the battaile to affift them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. Phidippides at his returne feeing he could not bring with him any prefent fuccours

20 from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly anailing to bring newes from the Gods, and promife of affiftance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have beene more stirred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solide reason. The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the Plateans (who having beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremitie witnesse their thankefulnesse and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the wals of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with fuch forces as they had, the same consisting of tenne thousand Athenians, 40 and one thousand of the Plateans. In the end, and after great diversitie of opinions,

Miltiades, who perfuaded the triall by battaile, prevailed. The Armies being now in view, and within a myle of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the bodie of a battaile. The Persians, when they perceived so small a Troope advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposses of their understanding, than possess with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and relistlesse the Persans esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemics then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victorie being doubtfully ballanced for a while, fometime the vertue of the Greei-

50 ans, and fometimes the number of the Persians prevailing, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of Darius were difordered and put in rout; the Athenians following their victorie euen to the Sea-shore: where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, faued themselves in their shippes.

The Persian Armie confisted of an hundred thousand foot and tenne thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place sixe thousand three hundred and of the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelve. For how socuer it came to passe, either by ftrange visions, which were afterward called Panici terrores, or by some other affright, it feemeth, that the inuading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemie, and lost that number, by Herodotus set downe, in their diforderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for Iufines report. That two hundred thousand of the Persian Armie were slaine, the fame hath no apparance nor poffibilitie of truth. In this fight Hippias the persuader of the enterprile was flaine, fayth Justine and Cicero; but Suidas tels vs, That he esca- 10

ped and died most miserably in Lemnos.

The greatest honor of this victoric was cast upon Miltiades, who both persuaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himfelfetherein answerably to the counsell which he gaue. Themistocles had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Gracians, of marke and commaundement, that fell in the first encounter, were Callimachus and Steflous. It is also said, That Cynegyrus following the Persians to their embarking, layd hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprined, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threescore and 20 twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the Warre made by Coviolanus against his fellow-Romanes: Alexander the fonne of Amintas being then King of Macedon, and Phanippus then Governour of Athens, according to Plutareh; or Hybilides, after

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the leffer Alia, Miltindes fought and obtained an imployment against the llanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and paffing ouer his Companies in threefcore and tenne Gallies, after fixe and twentic dayes affault he brake his thigh, in feeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, wherewith him felfe being made vnable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forget- 30 ting all his feruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perfusion of Xantippus, the father of Perides (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of siftie Talents; where his weake and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his effate to pay the other, he after a few daves ended his life.

Which enuie of the better fort to each other, with their private Factions, affifted by the vnthankfull and witleffe people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation to base subjection and slaverie. Militades left behind him one fonne called Cymon, begotten on Hegispila, daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who (favth Plutarch) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to 40 Themistoc'es in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good go-

Now Darius taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than forrow for the loffe received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike prouisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great ftrength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinvalion of Greece. The diffention also among his fonnes; of whom, the yonger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as A:0//a, disdained to give place to his elder brother, borne before Darius obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him . And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations 50 and enterprifes, and joyned him to the earth of his auncestors, about a yeare after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had raigned like and thirtie yeres. He left behind him five fonnes, namely Artabafanes, born before he obtained the kingdome, Xerxes who succeeded him, Achemenes gouernor of Agypt, Massiles and Anabignes.

CHAP. VI. Of XERXES.

The preparation of XERXES against Greece.



axes received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre; one to be made against the Agyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the fame was performed : the other against the Gracians; of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the fuccesse ridiculous. In the confultation for the profecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly commaunded in Thrace and Macedon,

under Darius, and had also Hystaspes for his grandfather, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes his fifter Artozoftres, perfuaded by many arguments the European warre. But Artabanus, brother to the late Darius, and vncle to Xerxes, maintained the contrarie counsell, laying before Xerxes the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late invalions, which Darius had made contrarie to his counsell: The one in person vpon the Seythians, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the Greekes; in each of which Darius left to his enemics both his Armie and his honour.

30 He therefore belought Xerxes to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselse in this businesse. For whatsoeuer undertaking hath deliberate and found counfell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwayes answere the probabilitie, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of her owne nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power,

But so obstinate was the resolution of Xerxes in prosecution of his former intent, that Artabanus, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counfell) affifted the Gracian Expedition with all the 40 power he had.

After the Warre of Agypt was ended, foure yeares were confumed in describing and gathering an Armie for this invalion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the Persian Empire, consisted of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, Her, It. and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may believe Herodotus: for of this multitude, Trogus findes the number leffe by feuen hundred thousand footmen.

The Commaunders of the scuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of Persia, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commaundements of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of 50 their owne leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on Mardonius, the sonne of Gobryas by a lifter of Darius, to whom were joyned some others of Xerxes his neerest kindred, as Generals over all; faving that the charge of tenne thousand select Persians, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died

Ad Att.

or were flaine, there was another prefently chosen in his stead) was given to Hydrans; the eightic thousand horsemen were led by the sonnes of Datis, who commanded the late Armie of Datis in Greece.

The Flect of Gallies were two thousand two hundred and eight, surnished by the Phometans, who had Commanuders of their owne Nation, and by the Cyprietz, Cicians, Papilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Innians, Acidians, and Italessonians; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, and these of mendands by the Princes of Perss, as by Artislagues the sonne of Darians, and others. The rest of the Vessels for trust post attention of the Vessels for trust post attention of the Vessels for trust post and the Salaries furnished by Artensis, arthe daughter of Lygdames, Princesses of Balacans, such as the Salaries for the Vessels for the Vessels and the Islands adiopning, which her selse commanuded. Those Gallies by the prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Flect, excepting those of Ziden, in which Areas bimelse was insbarked.

### δ. I I.

XERXES Armie entertained by PYTHIVS: Ilis cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Bostes over the Hellespont: and the diffeories betweene him and ARTABANYS expenses the theory of the Commic.

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Hen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he cauded all the Nations of which it was compounded to make their Rendez-vois and repaire at Surdis in Lydis. And when hee had affembled to the number of Teuenteene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the bodie of Celens, he was by one Pythins the Lydism entertained, who out

of his Flockes and Heards of Cattell gaue food to xerxes and his whole Armic. The Feathended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Siluer, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the Persian Daries, which make so many of our markes.

The King our come with the exceeding liberalitie of Pythius, did not only refuse his treasfure oftered, but commanued that feuen thousand Durial should be giuen him to make vp his soure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when Pythius besought him to spare one of his site somes from his attendance into Greece (because himsless was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne sonne). Notes most barbarroully caused the young man, for whome his father sought exemption, to be fundered into two parts, commanuating, that the one halfe of his carkasse shalles hould be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea fide. The one was a paffage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount Athes, making the fame (with the halic Illand or Headland, whereon it flood) to be an entire Illand, fundring thereby from the Continent of Thrace fine Cities, befides the Mountaine and the Cher/fine or Necke of Land it felfe: a worke of more oftentation than of Vegand yet an enterprife of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough onely for two Gallies to paffe in from. The Cities so fewered from the maine, were Dien, Olephysus, Acorbhon, Thyfin, and Cleone.

He alfo gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the Hellesport 50 betweene Abidus and Session, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne assinder and dissenced: wherewith Xerxes being more enraged than dissouraged, commaunded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threefcore and

foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge, which by the art and induftrie of the Phemitans was fo well anchored to refit both windes blowing into and from the Euxine Sea, as the fame being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of feuenteene hundred thoufand foot, and fourefcore thoufand Horfe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, palt ouer in into Europe in feuen dies and feuen nights, without intermiffion. This transportation of Armies did Cafar afterward vfc. And Calagula that mad Emperour, in imitation of Aerxes his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armic brought neere to the Sea side, Xerxes tooke to a view of all his Troupes affembled in the Plaines of Abidus, being carried up and feated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and commaund so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moned with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one furnine of that maruellous multitude: the cause of which fudden change of palifion when he vttered to Artabanus his vncle, Artabanus fpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diffolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it felfe which we enjoy is yet more milerable than the end thereof: for in 20 those few dayes given vs in the world, there is no man among all these, nor essential where, that ener found himfelfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleafed himfelfe better with the defire and hope of death than of living; the incident calamities, difeafes, and forrowes whereto mankind is fubicet, being for many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appeare vnto vs ouerlong; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reft but in defired death

With this melancholie discourse Xerxes being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus not to ouer-cast those joves which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that Artabanus vtterly condemned the 20 inualion of Greece, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, delired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vilion, he was confident of good fucceffe? Artabanus notwithstanding that he affured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which maruelloufly affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wir, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of fo great a Fleet: infomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all 40 the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Hauens thereof affoord them any fafetie: and therefore when fuch shelter shall be wanting vnto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremitie men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemie, by how much the vnfatiate defire of man to obtaine more and more thereof doth lead him forward : for were there no man found to give relifance, yet the want of meanes to feed fuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be preuented, will without any other violence offered disinable and confume it. By these Arguments Artabanus hoped to have diverted Nerves, not during perchance 50 to vtter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if Xexxes his obstinacie had not misprised them. For to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince prefuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding.

derstanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second vpon England in the yeare 1588, who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

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Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that Xerxet his Armie, which could not have less in it than two millions of Soules, besides his bealts for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing Matahaudi words, Mourire sant engles, site without a knife. For it was impossible for Greece, being a reaged, strait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what served themseltes) for twentie hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall to what source they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleeue Heredouts, the Armie of Xerxes, being reviewed at Thermoppla, consisted of fine millions, two hundred eightic three thousand two hundred twentie men, besides Laundres (Es, Harlors, and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a specific shamine.

The effect of xerxes his answere was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that who focuer should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, hee should never purfue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his predecesfors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatnesse, or posfelt fo many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did, and therefore concluded, 20 That great enterprises were neuer undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of Xerxes was not to be condemned, if any necessitie had enforst him to that warre. But feeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commaunded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperitie of the Persians endured, and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of Xerxes Dominions (of whose resolution his father Darius had made a deere experience) the fruit of this warre was answerable to the plantation, and the fuccesse and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne judgement not sufficient (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of Thrace 20 and Macedon) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the Greekes by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and refolution, whome he conducted. For it is wifely faid of those vncountable multitudes: Non vires habent (ed pondus, & impedimenta potius funt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in force, and rather a luggage than an aid.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Armie, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers. Languages, bred the same confusion among the Perfus Commanders when they came to hight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if Exercise had of his sine millions compounded tenne Armies of fiftie thousand chosen souldiors in each, and sent them yearely into 40 serees well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or fort them to for sake their territorie, or brought them in obedience by necessitie and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while Exercise scole to out downe the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both in his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the Greekes, both by Land and Sea 3, yea, he himselfe, conducted by his fears, feel shamefully into Assi.

A great part of his Armie was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintred in Thessiate, and the department of the same the same the same summer following with the declaraction himselfe slaine.

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è. III.

### ð. III.

Of the fights at Thermopyla and Artemisium.



Fter fuch time as Xerxes had transported his Armic oner the Heele
font, and landed in Thrace, (leauing the description of his passage alonght that Coast, and how the River of Lusser was drunke drie by his
multitudes, and the Lake neere to Pissers by his cattell, with other
accidents in his marches towards Greees I will speak of the encoun-

ters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received: As first at Thermopyle, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying betweene the Mountaines which divide The false from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had rayled a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance Leonidas, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedamonians, affifted with one thousand Tegesta and Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, and other Pelovonnessans, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seven hundred Thesbians, and all the forces (fuch as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the paffage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the Persians. The valour of the 30 Greekes appeared to excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight xerxes is faid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had etterly despifed : and when the second dayes attempt upon the Greekes had proped vaine, hee was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might have continued. had not a run-agate Gracian taught him a fecret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of Mountaines, and set youn the backes of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greekes, then did Leonidas, King of the Lacedemonians, with his three hundred, and feuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, 20 refuse to quit the place which they had vidertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely relift that world of men which charged them on all fides ; but iffuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies; that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. Xerxes having loft in this laft fight, together with twentie thousand other Souldiors and Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of fuch as had not beene present at these battailes, with whome he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he flood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring 40 into the field. It is reported of Dieneces the Spartan, That when one thought to haue terrified him by faying, That the flight of the Persian Arrowes was so thicke as would hide the Sunne; he answered thus: It is very good newes, for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable refolution having as freely been expressed in deedes, as it was vetered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citic of Sparta could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other Lucademonians, though inferiour to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of Demarkut, a banished King of the Spartans, who had alwayes well aduited and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course 50 were fitted to be taken in his surther proceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, That all the Land-forces would alsemble together to defend the splamus, that straight necke of ground which joyneth relopomes to the Continent. For which cause he aduited, That three hundred shippes well manned should be fent vno the Coast of Learnia, to Spoyle the Countrey, and to hold the Lacedemonians and their

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neighbours bulied at home, whileft Xerxes at his leafure having subdued the rest. might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining deflitute of fuecour would be too weak alone to make relistance. To this purpose also the same Demaratus further aduised, that the said fleet of three hundred thips should seife your the Hand then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neere to the Coast of Lacenia, might ferue as a fit place of Rendez-vous vpon all occasions either of their owne defence or endamaging the enemie : whereby that auncient speech of Chilon the Jacedemonian should be verified, that it were better for his Countrie-men to have that He drowned in the Sea than fland so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken had it been followed it is not casse to guesse. But a 10 contrarie opinion of Achamenes brother to King Kernes was preferred as the fafer. For the Persian fleet had bin forely vexed with a grieuous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were loft vpon the coast of Magnesia foure hundred ships of warre, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as Artabanus had foreseene, that if any such calamitic should overtake them, there would not be sound any Harbor wide enough to give them fuccour. Therefore Achamenes perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleete; for if (faid he) after the losse of foure hundred shippes wee shall send away other three hundred to seeke aduentures, then will the Greekes be strong enough by Scato encounter the rest of the Nauie, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counfell Nerves yeelded, hoping that his Land-armic 30 and fleete should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course and lay not farre asunder. But herein he was farre deceived; for about the fame time that his armie had felt the valour of the Greekes by Land, his Nauie likewife made a forrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at Sea . The Grecian fleete lay at that time at Artemissium in the straits of Enbara, where the Persians thinking to incompaffe them, fent two hundred faile about the Iland to fall ypon them behinde. vling a like stratagem to that which their King did practife against Leonides in a case not vnlike, but with farre different successe. For that narrow channell of the Sea which divideth Eubers from the maine was in the same fort held by a Navie of two hundred threescore and eleuen faile against the huge Persian Armada, as the straits of 30 Thermopyle had formerly beene maintained by Leonidas, till he was fo circumuented as this Nauie might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred shippes that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voiage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleete and soone enough disclosed to the Greekes, who setting faile by night met them with a counter-furprife, taking and finking thirtie veffels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather they were driuen vpon the rocks and all cast away. Contrariewise the Nauie of the Greekes was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three Athenian ships, and one Lemnian which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces incouraged the one side: so the feare of Xerxes his displeasure stirred up the other to redeeme their losse with 40 some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate pollicie, they refolued in plaine fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselues into the forme of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the Greekes, who readily did present them battell

The fight indured from noone till night, and ended with equall loffe to both parts. For though more of the Perfams (hippes were funke and taken, yet the leffer loofs fell altogether as heatievpon the Greekiff fleet, which being finall could worfe beareit. Herein onely the Barbarians may feeme to haue had the worfe, that they forfooke the place of fight, leauing the wracke and fpoiles to the enemie, who neuerheleffe were faine to abandon prefently cuen the paffage which they had vn euerheleffe were faine to abandon prefently cuen the paffage which they had vn derraken to defend, both for that many of their flips were forely crufth in the battaile, and effecially because they had received aductrisfemen of the death of Econidas at Thermopyle. Before they waied anchors, Themifooles generall of the Athenians engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either

they should reuolt vnto the *Greekes* or stand neutrall; which perswassion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Perssass*.

### d. IIII.

The attempt of XERXES upon APOLLO's temple: and his taking of Athens.

Hen kæres had paffed the firaites of Thermopyla be wasted the Country of of the Phôsians and the regions adioning: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flie, and reserve themselves to a day of battaile, than to aduenture their liues into his hands, typon hope of fating their wealth by making proffer vnto him of their service. Part of bis arms.

miche fant to spoile the Temple of Delphis, which was exceeding tich by meanes of many offerings that had there been made by diuers Kings and great personages; Of all which riches it was thought that Appear had better Innentorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great askonillment that fell you the companies which arited at the Temple to have facked it, and of two 20 Rockes that breaking from the mount Parassifies our whelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peraducture somewhat superstitions. Yet theredatus, who lined not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained cuen to his memorie in the Temple of Minerus, whither they rowled in their fill. And sirely this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for seeing he beleeued that Apollow was a God, he should not have dared to entertaine a couctous delive of intehing himselfe by committing faciled group on his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastic his impictie in such manner asis reported, was granted wno the Diuell, by that Holie one, who saith, Will a man spoile his Gods? and elsewhere; Itash any nation shamged their Gods; whiches the office has the sait of the saith supration shamged their Gods; which yet are no Gods! Got to the lite of Kittim, and behold, and some the suppose the committed of the suppose of the su

The remainder of that which xorxes did may be expressed briefly thus. He came to Athens, which finding for faken he tooke, & bowns the Cittadel and temple which was there40 in. The Cittadel lindeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisedome, who literally interpreting apollo's Oracle; shat Athens should bee safe in woodden walls, had fortified that place with boords and Palissades: too weake to hold
out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first affault, that they might haue yeelded it woon tolerable conditions, had they not vainely relied ypon the prophecie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of
Themsslotels, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the wordes to the
present neede, than fashioning the business to work the present needed, than fashioning the business to work the present needed, than fashioning the business to work the present needed, than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed than fashioning the business to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to work the present needed to be the present needed to be the present needed to be the present needed to be the present needed to the present needed to be the present needed to be the present needed to be the present need

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How THEMISTOCLES the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

He Athenians had, before the comming of Xerxes, removed their wives and children into Trazene, Agina, and Salamis, not fo highly prizing their houses, and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of Greece. Neuertheleffe this great zeale, which the Athenians did 10 of Greece. Neuerthelelic this great zeale, which the Athemans did thew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other Creekes, who with much labour were hardly intreated to flay for them at Salamis, whilest they removed the wives and children out of their Citie. But when the Citic of Athens was taken, it was prefently resoluted vpon, that they should forfake the Ile of Salamis, and with-draw the fleet to Ishmus: which neck of land they did purpose to fortiste against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnes by Land, and Sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the furie of the enemie. So should the llands of Salamis and Ægina have beene abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have beene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution Themistocles, Admirall 20 of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the Pelaponne frans were to possessed with feare of looking their owne, which they would not hazard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their difireffed friends, and Allies. Many remonstrances Themistocles made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemic at Salamis; As first in private vnto Eurybiades the Lacedamonian, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the felfe same feare which made them for fake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to diffeuer the fleet, and euerv one of the Confederates to with-draw himfelfe to the defence of his owne Citie and chate; Then to the Councell of Warre which Eurybiades vpon this motion 20 did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at Ishmus would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the firaights ; and that, befides the fafeguard of Egina, Megara, and Salamis, they should by abiding, where they then were, sufficiently defend Islamus; which the Burbarians should not so much as once looke vpon, if the Greekes obtained victorie by Sea: which they could not fo well hope for else-where, as in that present place which gaue them fo good advantage. All this would not ferue to retaine the Pe-Ispennelisms, of whom one, vnworthy of memorie, vpbraided Themistocles with the loffe of Achens, blaming Eurybiades for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that 40 had no Countrie of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull objection it was, to lay as a reproch that loffe, which being voluntarily fultained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate Themistocles, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as availed more than all his former persuasions. Hee told them all plainely, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citie, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; having well-neare two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the Grecian fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselues in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremitie 50 had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italie belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth hee) will we plant our felues, leauing vnto you a forrowfull remembrance of my words,

and of your owne vnthankfulneffe. The Peloponne/jam hearing thus much, beganne to enter into better confideration of the Albenians, who se affaires depended not, as they well perceived, you so weake termes, that they thould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and con-defend vent on the vitermost of their owns demands.

descend even to the vttermost of their owne demands. For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessitie should inforce them so farre, for the preservation of their libertie; did imploy the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no fuch calamitie should be fall them by land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victorie at home, or a secure passage to any other Countrie. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their Nauic. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they beene vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either prefent death, or perpetual flauerie; neither could they hope to be victorious without the affiftance of the Athenians, whose forces by Sea did equall all theirs together : the whole confifting of no more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would have flood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had for faken them; were foone perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad cuent, to forget the leffer, which they had conceived of the Persians: and laying a-fide their infolent brauerie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis.

### ò. V I.

How the Persians consulted about giving battaile: and how Themistocles by policie held the Greekes to their resolution; with the vidoric at Salamis therewoon ensuing.

N the meane sason the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were consenient to offer battaile to the Greeker, or no. Therest of the Capatines gaining fisch adults as they thought would best please the King their Matter, had Soone agreed upon the fight: but Astemish, and Concens of Hallesmallis, who followed Xerxet to this warre in person,

Queene of Halicarnaffus, who followed Xerxes to this warre in person, was of contrarie opinion. Her counfaile was, that the King himfelfe directly should march toward Peloponne (is, whereby it would come to passe that the Greeke Nauic, (vnable otherwise to continue long at salamis for want of proution) flould pre-ferrly be diffeuered, and cuery one seeking to preserve his owne Citie and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had wonne so farre vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will bee great in forbearing to giue battaile; to on the other fide the danger will bee more (faid shee) which wee Thall under-goe, than any neede requireth vs to aduenture upon; and the loffe, in cafe it fall yoon vs.greater than the profit of the victorie which we delire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is no more than they would have done, wee fitting still: but if they, as better Sca-menthan ours, put vs to the worst, the journey to Pelapannefus is ytterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs, will soone renolt vnto the Greekes. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had fent for that purpose to the fleet, related vn-50 to his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of Artemisia. The King well pleased with her aduise, yet resolued vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse have beene the same which Artemisia gave, had not feare and

flatterie made all the Captaines vtter that as out of their owne indgement, which

they thought most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeede that Xerxes had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence you the shore to behold the conside, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the Sea-fide, pitching his owne Tent on the mount Agaleus which is oppolite vito the Ile of Salamis, whence at case hee might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write downe the a. Is and behaviour of every Captaine. The neare approch of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen shewed in fortifying the Ishmus, and of a Persian Armie marching a-pace thither, did now againe fo terrifie and amaze the Pelapennefians, that no intreatie, nor contestation 10 would fuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meère madneffe to fight for a Countrie alreadie loft, when they rather should endeauour to faue that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if looling the victoric, they should be driven into Salamis, there to bee that vo. and belieged round in a poore defolate Hand.

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to set faile for Isthmus: which had presently beene done, if the wifedome of Themistocles had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had stopt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholfome decree a not fuffering the very houre of performance to find him buffe in wrangling 20 altercation. As soone as the Councell brake vp, hee dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the Persian Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight. and exhorting them to fend part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incompaffing the Greekes might preuent their escape; giving them withall a salse hope of his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard than believed these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne affured, if the Athenian fleet io yned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for fo doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with reflitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the Greekes very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they 30 found themselves inclosed round with Persians, who had laboured hard all night. fending many of their thips about the He of Salamis, to charge the enemic in reare. and landing many of their men in the Isle of Plyttalea, which lieth ouer against Salamis, to faue fuch of their owne, and kill fuch of the Gracian partie, as by any miffortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meere necessitie enforce the Grecians to undertake the battaile in the Straights of Salamis, where they obtained a memorable victorie, stemming the formost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one your another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is that the Scribes of Xerxes had a wearifome taske of writing downe many difa- 40 fters that befell the Perlian fleet, which ill acquited it felfe that day, doing no one peece of service worthie the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the Greekes, they might well feeme to have wrought out that victorie with cquall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of Agina, and to the Athenians, of whom it is recorded. That when the Barbarians did flie towards Phalerus, where the Land-Armie of Xerxes lay, the ships of Ægins having poffessed the straights did sinke or take them, whilest the Athenians did valiantly give charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of relifting.

). VII.

d. V I I. Of thinges following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of XERXES.



Free this victorie, the Greekes intending, by way of ferutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had belt merited of them, in all this great service; cuery Captaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his owne name, but in the second place, as best descruing next vnto himselfe, almost enery Suffrage did concurre

10 ypon Themistocles. Thus private affection yeelded vnto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was ferued. The Perfian King, as not amazed with this calamitic, beganne to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in fuch falhion, that they which were best acquainted with his remper, might casily discerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Especially Mardonius, Author of the warre, began to caft a warie eie voon his Mafter, fearing leaft his counfaile should bee rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purpoling rather to aduenture his life in purfuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by under going his Princes indignation; he aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promifed to reduce all Greece under the subjection of the Persian Scepter. Here-20 withall he forgot not to footh Xerxes with many faire wordes; telling him that the cowardife of those Agyptians; Phanicians, and Cilicians, with others of the like mertall, nothing better than flaues, who had fo ill behaued themselues in the late Seaferuice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies beene victorious, and had alreadie subdued the better part of Greece, yea taken Athens it selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These wordes found very good acceptance in the Kings care, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more haft, for that he vinderstood, how the Greekes had a purpose to faile to Hellesbont, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the Greekes had no fuch intent, but rather wished his haffie departure. 20 knowing that he would leave his Armie not fo ftrong, as it should have beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did Eurybiades give counsaile that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, least necessitie should inforce the Persians to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beafts. Wherefore Themistocles did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement to this timorous Prince, advising him to convay himselfe into Alia with all speede. Before his bridge were dissolved : which counsaile Xerxes tooke very kindly, and haftily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell. 40 it is not greatly materiall; though the Greekes did most willingly imbrace the later of these reports. Howsorer it were, this flight of his did well case the Countrie; that was thereby difburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouer-whelmed it.

### d. VIII.

The negotiations betweene MARDONIVS and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and Lacedamonians; after the flight of XERXES.



ARDONIVS with his three hundred thouland had with-drawne himfelfe into Theffalie, whence he fent Aexander, the fonne of Amyntas King of Macedon, as Embassadour to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their loffes received, and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne delires; allowing them to retaine 70

their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with Xerxes, and affift him in that

The Athenians had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought back their wines and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be fecure, till the Armie of Mardonius were broken and defeated. Wherefore the Lacedemonians, understanding what faire conditions this Embaffadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, leaft hee should finde good and readic acceptance. Hercupon they likewife very speedily dispatched their Embassadours for Athens, who arriving, before the Atacedonian had audience, vied the best of their perswasion to retaine the Athenians firme. They alleaged that neither Xerxes 10 nor Darius had any pretence of Warre against the rest of Greece, but had only threatned the subuersion of Athens, till they and all their Confederates arming themselucs in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the thenisms without much crueltic of injustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue indured great calamities; loofing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to for fake the Towne, the houses whereof bee ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wines and children among it vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who have alwaics procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all Greece into flaueric and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promifes are large, 10 but their wordes and oathes are of no affurance. It was needleffe to vie many arguments to the Athenians, who gave answere to Alexander in presence of the Spartan Embassadours; That whilest the Sunne continued his course they would be Enemies to Nerxes, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might feeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promifed to fustaine themselves, only defiring the Laced emonians, that with all speede they would cause their Armie to march, for as much as it was not likely, that Mardonius would long fit Rill in Theffalie, having once received fuch a peremptorie answere. In this their opinion of Mardonius his readinesse to inuade attica, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as 20 foone as Alexander had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his Armie towards them, and their Citie: they having now the fecond time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their Confederates.

From Athens he fent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promifes to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was that either the people, wearied with forfaking their houses so often, would bee desirous to preserve them from fire, and to have those which were alreadic laid wast, reedified at the Kings charges; Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needes they 40 would relie vpon their old Confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might bee wonne with great rewards, to draw them to his purpole; all which projects if they should faile, the destruction of Athens would be a good meane to please his Master King Xerxes, who must thereby needes understand, that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the ftrongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers. that when one Lycidus, or (as Demosthenes calls him) Cyrsilus, aduised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Counfaile-house heard what he had said, immediately fet vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or money, that had moudd him to vtter fuch a vile fentence. Yea the women of Athens in the Ile of Salamis, hearing of his bad counfaile, and bad end, affembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution.

All this braueric notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the Peloponnelians in giving them aide, they were faine to betake themfelues to Salamis againe, the old place of their fecuritie. Remaining there, and feeing little forwardneffe in those whom it most concerned to affilt them, they sent very severe messages to Sparta, complaining of their flackneffe, and threatning with all, to take fuch course as might fland best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was fo little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatoric anfweres, which enery day grew colder, when as the Pelovonnelian Wall, builded athwart the Illimus, was almost finished. But as the Lacedamonians waxed carelesse and dull, fo the Athenians hotly preffed them to a quicke refolution, giving them plainely to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatorie courses, it would not be long ere the Citic of Athens tooke a new course, that should little pleafe them. All this while the Persian fleet lay upon the coast of Alia, not daring to draw nearer vnto Greece, as being now too weake at Sea. Likewife the Greekills Nauie contained it felfe within the Harbours vpon Europe fide; both to doe feruice where neede should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had adventured ouer farre. So mutuall feare preferued in quiet the Ilands lying in the middest of the Agan Scas. But it was well and feafonably observed by a Counsailor of 20 Sparta, that the wall vpon Isthmus would ferue to little purpose for the defence of Peloponnesus, if once the Athenians gaue eare to Mardonius : considering that many dores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as foone as the Enemie should by winning the friendship of Athens, become the Master of the Seas about it. The Lacedamonians vpon this admonition, making better perviall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to give fatisfaction to the Athenian Embaffadours, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea as it feemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away fine thousand Spartans in the evening, vnder conduct of Paulanias; they gave audience the next day to the Embaffadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; 20 deeply fwearing that the Armie of Sparta was alreadie farre vpon the journey; and giuing them leaue to take vp other five thouland Lacedamonians, out of the Region

adjoyning, to follow after them. The Athenians, though distasting such want of grauitie, in a matter so important, were neuerthelesse contented with the finall conclusion; and leaving the number appointed of Lacedamonian Souldiers, made what hast they could to incamp in Attica. The other Gracians were nothing flack in fending forth Companies, whose neare approch caused Mardonius to forsake Attica as a rough Countrie, and therefore of much disaduantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the Citie of Athens, beating downe the walls of it, and rui-40 ning all that had formerly escaped the furie of Warre.

The great battaile of Platae.



T were too long a rehearfall to shew all that happened in many skirmilhes betweene the Greekes and him, in the Countrie of Baotia, which Mardonius had chosen to bee the seate of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Armie of Mardonius contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of Xerxes his Armie ; to whom were adjoyned the forces of Thebes, Macedonie, Theffalie, and other parts of Greece, that now fiding with the Persian,

furnished his Campe with fiftie thousand men. Against these the Lacedamonians, Athenians, and their Confederates, had leauied an Armie of one hundred and ten thousand, of which fortie thousand were waightily armed, the rest were only affiflants to these fortie thousand, being armed more flightly, as rather to make excurfions and give chafe, than to fullaine any flrong charges.

72

These two Armies having eleven daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable peece of feruice; Wardonius, whose victualls beganne to faile, resolued to beginne the fray. The Greekes were promised victorie by an Oraele, if they fought in the Land of the Athenians, and in the plaine of Ceres and Proferpina, making praiers vnto certaine Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Orsele deligned. For the plaine of Ceres was indeede in the Territoric of Athens; but there was also an old Temple of Ceres and Proferpina, neare vnto the place where they lay, at that time encamped, as likewise the memorialls of those Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the same place, vpon Mount Citheren, and the ground ferued well for foot-men against horse; only the Land belonged vnto the Plat.cans, and not vnto the Athenians.

Whileft the Greekes were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull orade; the Placents, to make all cleare, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Towne vpon the Athenians.

This magnificence of the Plateans caused Alexander the Great, many ages after, 20 to readifie their Citie, which was ruined in the Peloponnesian warres.

All thinges being readie for battaile; the Lacedemonian Generall thought it most meere, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should entertaine the Thebans and other Greekes which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the Athenians changed place with the Lacedamonians; which Mardonius vnderstanding (whether searing the Athenians, of whose valour the Medes and Perfians had felt heavie proofe, or defiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the brauest Souldiers of Greece) hee did also change the order of his 30 battaile, and oppose himselse to Pausanias. All the Greeker might well perceive how the Enemie did shift his wings, and Pausanias thereupon returned to his former Station; which Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the Greekes at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into confultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemie, lie neare to that Fountaine which did serue all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Armie being sent away before day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which 40 to him seemed to proceede out of meere cowardise) he charged them in reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valor, That the Lacedemonians being ouer-taken by the Enemies horse, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly lit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victorie were happily ended, though many of them were burt and flaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as Pausanian had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the supershtion of that Age and Countrie accounted fortunate; hee gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did fit vpon the ground, as was 10 their manner, arofe altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barbarians, that came thronging vponthem without any feare of fuch notable refishance. The rest of the Greeke Armie that was in march, being renoked by Paufaming, came in a-pace to fuccour the Lacedemonians: only that part of the Armie

which was led by the Athenians, could not arrive vnto the place of the great battaile, because the Thebans, and other Greekes confederated with the Perlians. gaue them check by the way. Neuertheleffe, the Spartans with other their Afriitants, did so well acquite themselves, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius with many thousands more flaine in the field; the rest fledde into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden walls, and there defended themselues with such courage as desperate necessitie inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, because the Landamonians were not acquainted with the manner of affaulting Fortreffes, and Walls. In the meane feafon the Athenians. to having found ftrong opposition of the Thebans and Thessalians, did with much labourand courage obtaine victorie, which having not long purfued, they came to helpe the Lacedamonians, whom they found wearily bulled in affaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselues under-tooke it. and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all fides, the Greekes entred, with fuch furie, and inft defire of vengeance. that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive,

excepting those who fled away with Artabazus, when the Persian Armie first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were fo. that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselues into it, greater than of the Assailants; yet they being of seuerall Nations and Languages, and having loft their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was vnpoffible that they in fuch a terrour and aftonishment should make good that peece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrie, against an Armie of men, farre more valiant than themselues, and inflamed with present victorie. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their lives, by holding out the Enemie, did now impale them. and leave them to the flaughtering furie of unpittifull Victors. Artabazius 20 fled into Thrace, telling the people of Theffalie, and other Countries in his way. That hee was fent by Mardonius vpon some peece of seruice : For hee well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have beene hostile vnto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquilhers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loft, hee came to Byzantium, whence hee shipped his men ouer into Asa. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vnder-taken by Xerxes against the Greekes, vpon hope of honour: and great Conquest, though forting otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had fore-scene, and rather worse, for as much as it beganne the quarrell, which 40 neuer ended, before the ruine of the Persian Empire was effected, by that Nation of the Greekes despised and fought to have beene brought into flauerie. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to Xerxes, was from God him-felse, who had formerly disposed of those thinges, ordaining the subucrfion of the Persian Monarchie by the Greekes, who, thus prouoked, entred into greater confideration of their owne strength, and the weakenesse of their Enemies.

ð. 2

The hattaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the

He fame day on which the battaile was fought at Platee, there was an other battaile fought at Myedle, a Promontoric, or Head-land in Alia, where the Persian fleet rode.

Leutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus the Athenian, Admiralls of 10 the Greeke Nauie, at the request of some Handers and Ionians did faile into those parts, to deliuer the Samians, and procure the Ionians to renolt from the Persian. Xerxes himselfe at this time lay at Sardis, a Citie in Lydia, not farre from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand vnder the command of Tigranes, for defence of Ionia and the Sea-coast. Therefore when Artayntes and Ithramitres, Admiralls of the Persian fleet, understood that the Greekes bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their flips a ground, fortifying with Paliffadoes and otherwife, as much ground as did feeme needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sca-forces. Leutychides at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keepe within their flrength, and resoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his Gallie 20 close aboard the thore, and called vpon the Ionians ( who more for feare than good will were encamped among the Perlians) exhorting them in the Greeke tongue to remember libertie, and vie the faire occasion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate Themistocles, who had done the like at Eubwa; trusting that either these perswasions would prevaile; or if the Persians did happen to vnderstand them, that it would breede some jelousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their owne Companions. It neede not feeme strange, that this very same stratageme, which little or nothing auailed Themistocles, did now very happily succeede. For Xerves being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficultie, to perswade those Inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gave a willing 20 eare to the fiveet found of libertie. The Perfians likewife, who in their former branerie, little a garded and leffe feared any treason, to be contriued by their Subiects, were now fo warie, that from the Samians, which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the Atilesians, whom they did suspect, but would not seeme to mistrust, they placed farre from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of Myeale; pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the Samians perceiving that they were held as Traitors, tooke courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon fuch weapons as came to hand, affailed the Persians manfully within the Camp; which example the Jonans presently followed, being very glad to have found some that 40

Thelike report, of that great battaile, wherein Paulus Amylius ouerthrew Perfeut the last King of Oxizeedow, was brought to Rome in four edices, as Linie with others doe record. And Planeto hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River Sagra in Italia, which was heard of the fame day in Pelopomerses: That of the battaile against the Tarquinium and the Latines, presently 50 noised at Rome: And (which is most treamstable) the videorie obtained against Latin Antonius, who was Rebell to Domitian the Emperour. This Lucius Antonius being Lieutenant of the higher Germanie, had corrupted his Armie with gift sand promises.

durst beginne. It is faid that while the Greekes were yet in march towards the Enc-

mies campe, a rumour fuddenly ranne in the Armie that Mardonius was ouer-

throwne in Greece, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captaines to en-

courage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of Plates was fought in the

morning, and this of Mycale in the evening of the same day.

promifes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with greathope to make himfelf: Emperour; which newes much troubling the Citic of Rome, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was fuddainely reported that Antonius was flaine, and his Armie defeated.

Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the Gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquirie was made, and the Author of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour Domitical betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being with his Armie in march, hee received aduertisement by Poste, of the Victorie obtayned, on the death of Antonias: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in Rome., of the selfs sane victorie, hee found that the report and victorie were borne vpon one day, though twentie thousand furlongs (which make about sine and twentie hundred miles) a sunder. It is truly said of Palasach, that this last example gives credit vnto many the like. And indeede it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgeric or mitakings, and softered by credulous imagination, there should not bee sound (as happens in dreames among many thousand vaine and friuolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit wee may sinde, that God himselfe doth sometimes we to territe those who pressure our presume you their ownessers, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises, as hee raised to see the second survey.

20 the fiege of Samaries, by cauling a found of Horfes and Chariots to affright the Amaries; and as hee threatned Senaberib, faying: Bebold, I will fend a blast Effective open him, and hee float beare a noife, and returns to his some Land. Wherefore it may well have been etrue, that God was pleafed by fich a meane as this, to animate the Greekes; who (as Herodotus notes) went towards the Enemies with heauic hearts, being in great feare, leaft their owne adventure fhould by no meanes fall out well; confidering in what danger they had left their Countrie of Greece, which was readie to bee fubbude by Endendous, which they went wandring to feeke out enemies a farre-off, upon the coast of Asia. But the same of the battaile fought at Platae being noised among them; every man defired that his owne 20 valour in the present fight, might bee form helpe to worke out the full deliuerance

of Greeze. In this alacritic of fpirit, they diuided themselues into two Battaillions, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies cample; the Lacedemonians coulded the other, by the Mountaines and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The Athenians did first set vpon the Campe (ere the Lacedemonians could arrine on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselues, did so forcibly assages this, that they brake way through the Palissadoes and Gabions, and made themselues Maßers of the place, slaying all that could no slave themselues by flight. In this sight the Samins did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

O. Burthe Milefams, who vponthelike jelousse, were placed by the Persians on the tops of Myeale, to defend the patisges, did now (as if they had beene see of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the fower as sell into their hands, letting none scape, except a very sew, that sed through by-pathes. The Lacedamonians that day did little fertice, for the bussessim as displatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retyred in whole troupes; making them slied dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the stillers were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the last fight of that huge Armieleasuied against Greece, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenssive Warre.

50

δ. X I.

of the barbarous qualitie of XERXES: with a transition from the Ecrium affarrs, to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthin of regard.

Exxes lay at Sardis, not farre from the place of this battaile; but

Little minde had hee to revenge either this or other his great loffes, 10 being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom when hee could not preuaile by intreatie, nor would obtaine his defire by force, because hee respected much his Brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match betweene his owne Sonne Darius, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that meanes to finde occasion of such familiaritie, as might worke out his defire. But whether it were fo, that the chafittle of the Mother did ftill reject him, or the beautic of her Daughter allure him : hee foone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vitious Prince, and asili able to gouerne himfelfe in peace, as to guide his Armie in Warre. This yong Ladie hauing once defired the King to give her the Garment which hee 20 then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceive her hulbands convertation with her, which flee imputed not fo much to the beautie of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon thee conceined extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feaft, wherein the custome was that the King should grant enery request, thee craued that the Wife of Auffles, her hulbands Brother, the yong Ladies Mother. might bee given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custome, or have deluded the importunate crueltie of his Wife, by threatning her felfe with the like, to whatfocuer shee thould inflict upon the innocent Ladie, granted the request; and fending for 20 his brother perswaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her figad. Hereby it feemes, that hee understood how vislainously that poore Ladie should bee intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loued. Mafilies refused to put her away; alleaging his owne lone, her deferuing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to more him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner Xerxes reuiled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor have his Daughter whome hee had promifed vito him. Massites was much grieued with these wordes, but much more, when returning home, hee found his Wife most but- 40 cherly mangled by the Queene Amestris, who had caused her Nose, Lips. Eares, and Tongue to bee cut off, and her Breafts in like manner, which were cast vito Dogs. Sitalifies enraged with this vilanie, tooke his way with his children, and some Friends, towards Bactria, of which Pronince hee was Gonernour, intending to rebell and auenge himfelfe. But Xerxes understanding his purpose, caused an Armie to bee leanied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Companie to the fword. Such was the tyrannicall condition of the Persian Gouernement; and such are generally the effects of Luxurie. when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of Norwes it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore 50 elevander the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, faid, T hat hee doubted, whether, in regard of his vertue, hee fhould againe creft it, or, for the milfchiefe done by him to Greece., should let it lie.

But furely what soeuer his other good qualities were, he was soolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercileste.

Therefore wee may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of Cyrus was very great; vpon which the foundation of the Person Engpire was 50 surely laid, that all the wickedness of Nexuses, and other workspinces, could not one other with the surely laid. The wind the surely laid of the surely laid of the surely laid of the surely laid of the surely laid. It was reseasing the English by the fortune of Karnes did continue, as at the first had beene, very good, but against the general elaste of Greece, neither hee, nor any of his posserite, did euer make offensiue warre, but receiued many losses and specially the Assertines, that the Person was no better Souldier at his owne dores, than in a forraine Countrie: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of Asserts were quietly seed and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historic of Greece, taking in the matters of Payla, as also the chate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the Paylan chate continued in her greatnesse, many Ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Majestie of a great Empire.

But this greatnessed edge-neded only upon the riches and power that had formerly beene acquired, yeelding sew astions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceeding Luxurie, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue beene energiated, made vanweldes, and (as it were) fattened for the hungrie fivoreds of poore and hardie Enemies. Hereby it came to, passe, that Xerxes and his Successionies were faince to defined their Crownes with money and base Policies; very following or neuer (vibellies were with great advantage) daring to aductive the trial of plaine battaile with that little Nation of Greece, which would soone have ruined the Sunday disons said by Course, had not printer make and selonse were query

the foundations laid by Cyrus, had not private malice and jeloufic veged every
Citic to enuie the height of her Neighbours walls, and thereby diuerted the fwords of the Greeks into their owns bowells,
Which after the departure of Agrees' beganne very

well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conqueft on the fide of

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## CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



TER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were etterly beaten at Mycale: Leotychides, who then commaunded the Gracian Armie, leaving the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians. affisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedamonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta, and 0- 20 ther places, out of which they had beene leuied. The Athenians in the meane while befreged Seflos, a Citie on the strait of the Hellespont , betweene which and Abydus, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats:

where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselues the Winter following on that side the Hellespont. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, fince the invation of Attica, and the abandoning of Athens, in divers Islands, and at Treezen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the Citie ouer-turned, yet they refolued first on their common defence, and to fortise their Citie, before they cared to couer themselves, their wines and children, with any prinate buildings: Whereof the Lacedamonians being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne Citie of Sparta was vinwalled, as also because the Athenians were growne more powerfull by Sea, than either themselues, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched messengers to the Athenians to dissuade them; not acknowledging any privat millike or jealousie, but pretending, that if the Persians should returne to inuade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better flate to defend themselues than 40 heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the Warre, as Thebes had lately beene. To this the Athenians promised to give them farisfaction by their owne Embaffadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the aduise of Themistocles, they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the contrarie, till they had rayled their wals to that height, as they cared not for their millikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched Themistocles towards Lasedemon, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliuer the Athenians refolutions, till the arrivall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedamonians expectation being converted into jcaloufie (for by the arrivall of divers perfons out 10 of Atrica, they were told for certaine, That the wals of Athens were speedily growne vp beyond expectation) Themislades prayed them not to beleeue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trustie Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolue themselues, and deter-

mine accordingly. Which request being graunted, and Commissioners Sent, Themistocles dispatched one of his owne, by whome hee aduised the Athenians, first to entertaine the Lacedamonians with fome fuch discourse as might retaine them a few dayes, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other Athenian Embaffadors, then at Sparta, had their libertie alfo to returne. Which done; and being also affured by his affociates and Ariftides, that Athens was alreadie defensible on all parts, Themistocles demaunding audience, made the Lacedamonians know. That it was true that the wals of Athens were now rayled to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their Citie; praying the Lacedamonians to to beleeue, That whenfocuer it pleafed them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for fuch, as right well understood what appertained to a Commonweale and their owne fafetie, without direction and adulfe from any other: That they had in the warre of Xerxes abandoned their Citie, and committed themselves to the woodden wals of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perfuaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or leffe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonweale among the *Greekes*; And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Mafters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good o reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece should be left open, or else that the wals of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedamonians finding the time vnfit for quarrell, diffembled their millike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the division, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The wals of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyreus, by which they might under couert imbarke themselves upon all occasions.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State upon the Persian.

He Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirtie Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedemonians added other twentie; and with this Fleet, firengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set firengthened by the rest of the Chicago of Managarias the Lacedamonian; fayle for Cypres, vnder the conduct of Paufanias the Lacedamonian; where after their landing having possess themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Armie againe, and tooke land in Thrace, recovering from the Persians AO by force the Citie Bizantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behauing himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately reuolted from Kerxes, was called backe by the Councell of Lacedamon, and not onely accused of many insolent behauiors, but of intelligence with the Medes, and Treafon against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed Docres, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the Athenians, who affected the first commaundement in that warre, practifed the fouldiors to complaine, though indeed the wife and vertuous behauior of Aristides, Generall of the Athenian forces, a man of rare and incomparable sinceritie, had beene able to make a good Commaunder seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; and therefore was much more availeable, in rendring those to detelted, whose vices affoorded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedamonians being no leffe wearie of the warre, than the Athenians were eagre to purfue it, the one obtained their cafe and the other the execution and honor which they defired: for all the Greekes (those of Peloponne fus excepted) willingly subjected themselues to the commandement of the Athenians, which was both the beginning

of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to leuie money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on Europe side, in Alia the leffe, and the Islands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever paved by the Greekes) amounted to foure hundred and threefcore Talents; which was rayled calily by the honest care of that just man Arifides, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of Ariflides, and other worthic Citizens, brought vnto 10 the Athenians great commoditie; so the defire which they conceived of encreasing their commoditie, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the general! loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their Citie to the defence of her treafure, which with her in the next age perified. For it was not long ere these foure hundred and threefcore Talents were rayfed to fix hundred norlong after that ere their couetous T yrannie had connerted their followers into flaues, and extorted from them yearely thirteene hundred Talents. The Ille of Delos was at the first appointed for the Treasure house wherein these summes were layd vp; and where, at the generall allemblic, the Captaines of those forces, fent by the confederates. were for forme lake called to confultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger 20 by feathan all Greece belides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, under their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commaunder in this Warre was Cimon, the fonne of Williades. who first tooke Eiona, upon the River Strimon; then the Isle of Sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they mastered the Cariffy, and brought into seruitude the Waxii, contrarie to the forme of the confederacie; So did they other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they fayled of their contribution, or disobeyed their commaundements; taking your them and vsurping a kind of sourraigneauthoritie ouer the reft: which they exercised the more affuredly, because they were now become 30 Lords of the Sea, and could not be relifted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, wearie of the warre in their owne persons, and given vp altogether to their case, made choise rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in thippes; leaving the provition of both to the Athenians. Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly (trengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honourable Seruices, at the coft of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yer was the Tribute-money, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good be- 40 ginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Floet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the Admirall fcouring the Affaticke Seas, tooke in the Citie of Phafelis; which having formerly pretended neutralitie, and refused to relieue, or any way affait the Greekes, were enforced to pay tenne Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the Athenians, paying yeare-

From thence he fet fayle for the Riner Eurymedon in Pembyllit, where the Pershan Fleer rode, being of fixehundred fayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fittie, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped upon the shoate, all which forces hauing been promided for aduationing the Kings 50 adiatives in Greece, were vetterly defeated in one day, and two hundred hippes taken by the Athenians, the refi being broken to pieces, or funke, ere cuer they had swomme in the Greekish Sease. Commendating in one day obtained two great visitories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very foone presented with a

third. For fourefcore fayle of Phamicians (who were the best of all Sca-men, vnder the Persan commanual) thinking to have joyned themschues with the Flect before destroyed, arrived you the fame Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach Cimum weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did so amaze them, that they only solgh to runne themsclues on ground; by which meane presenting five of their men, they lost all their shippes. These losses did so breake the courage of the Persan, that, omitting all hope of prenailing you Greeze, he condificended to what soeur Articles in pleased the Astherium to propound; graunting laboretie vnto all the Greekes inhabiting Asia; and further couenanting, That none of his shippes of Warre should sayle to the Westward of the Heles, called Crames and Cobellanise.

This was the most honourable peace that euer the Greekes made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glorie of the whole Nation; till finch time as, ynder Alexander, they ouer threw the Impire of Perfix; in which Warre few, or perhaps none of them; had any place of great command, but Freued altogether valued the Offset debatism.

## ). III.

The death of XERXES by the treason of ARTABANVS.

Efides these losses, which could not easily have beene repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue just cause to the Persian of seeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether into-lerable. For Actabasis, the vncle of Xerxes, perceiving, that the King his maister did easily take small occasions to thed the bloud of

fuch, as in kindred or place were neere vinto him, began to recorde leffe hope of fafeite in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraignetie, by defiroying a Prince that was lo hated for his crueltie, and defpifed for his cowardife and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treafon, he found meanest to execute it by Antibridates an Eunuch, in fuch clofe manner, that (as if he himfelfe had beene innocent) he accufed Darius the fonne of Xioxes, and caufed him to fuffer death as a Particide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneffe he got the Kingdome, and held it feuen moneths, or whether intending the like cuill to Artiacerses the fonne of Xioxes, he was by him preuented and furprifed, it were hard to affirm any certainetic. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the fentence, whereof the truth is more auncient than the Verfe.

Raro antecedentem feeleflum Deferuit pede pæna claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much half he make, Lame footed Vengeance failes to ouer-take.

23

ð. IIII.

The banishment of THEMISTOCLES: His flight to ARTAXERXES newly raigning in Persia : and his death.



82

RTAXERXES being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the Athenians, as the present necessitie of his afcompounded with the Contentions, as the prefer necessite or insat-firers required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune against the Greekes, than he or his predeceffors had cuer hitherto found. For 10 the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of Greece,

did fo highly value their owne merites in that feruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themselues to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Islands of the Greekes, but, euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely Democraticall. Herein they were fo infolent, that no integritie nor good defert was able to preferue the effate of any fuch as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rafcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deedes to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet 20 now prefuming vpon his good feruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might graunt him the libertie to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwife, they were so highly offended with his often rehearling the benefits which they had received from him, that they layed vpon him the punishment of Ostracisme, whereby he was banished for tenne yeares, as a man ouer-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

Before the tipic of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the Lacedemonians, who charged him of consulting with Paulanias, about betraying the whole Countrey of Greece vnto Xerxes. Hereupon Themiflocles finding no place of securitie against the malice of two such mightie Cities, 20 was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remotings, to aduenture himselfe into Perfia; where he found Artaxerxes newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artaxerxes had conceiued of aduauncing his affaires by the counsell and affistance of Themislecles, proucd altogether fruitlesse. For when the Athenians, in fauour of Inarus the Lybian. (who intested £gypt, causing it to rebell against the Persian ) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Armic in Agypt, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of Artanernes, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with Xerxes; then did the King fend his Letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make 40 good the hopes which he had given, of affiring the Perfian estate against the

But whether Themistocles perceived much vnlikelinesse of good successe, in Icading a great Armie of dastardly Persians against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fauor of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by Artaxerxes to vidertake the conduct of great forces against the Athenians, he decided the great conflict betweene thankfulneffe to his well-deferring Prince, and naturall affection to his owne ill-deferuing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poylon.

δ. V.

CHAP. 7. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Perfian, were shamefully beaten in Agypt.

Hen was Artaxerxes driven to vie the feruice of his owne Captaines in the . Egyptian warre, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemic. An Athenian Fleet of two hundred fayle ftrong was fent forth vnder Cimon, to take in the Ific of Cyprus: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine,

the Persian being vtterly broken at Sea, and thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were fo, that a peace had beene concluded, which was likely to have beene kept fincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proofe of the Grecian valour, that he was nothing defirous to build any shippes of Warre ( without which the Greekes could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found fayling towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole effate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemic too farre ouer-matching him. Yet whether the Athenians were 20 in doubt, lest the league which in his owne worser fortunes hee had made with

them, he would breake in theirs; and therefore fought to get fuch affurance into their hands, as might veterly disable him from attempting aught against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues and power, by adding that rich and great Iland to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profite; they thought it the wifest way, to take whilest they might, what socier they were able to get and

hold, and he vnable to defend. The Ile of Cypres lying in the bottome of the straights betweene Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, is very fitly feated for any Prince of State, that being mightie at Sea, doth either feeke to enrich himfelfe by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or 30 more of them when they are hisenemies. And this being the purpose of the Athenians, their Ambition which had already denoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the fodaine well-nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to fnatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For Inarus King of the Lybians confining Leypt, having found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very slender Persian garrifons, conceived rightly, that if fuch small forces as the Satrapa or Viceroy could make on the fodaine of his owne Gardes, or leuie out of the ordinarie Garrisons, were by him defeated; the naturalls of the Countrey, not long fince oppreffed by Cambr-(es, and after a renolt very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soone breake faith with 40 him who had no other title to that kingdome than a good fword. Further, he perfwaded bimfelfe that the people, vnable to defend themfelues against the Perstan without his affiltance; would eafily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for king. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly flaine Achemenes the Viceroy; divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclayming him king, showed the most of their endeuour for profecution of the warre. But hee confidering his owne weakeneffe, and that the meanes of the Agyptians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived wel, that to relift the power of Artisernes, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price socuer he obtained them . Therefore hearing of the 50 great Athenian fleete, and knowing well the vertue of the fouldiers therein endean-

qued; he inuited the Commaunders to share with him the kingdome of Activities a farregreater reward of their aduenture, than fuch an addition as that of Ciprus could be to their cltate. Whether hee or they (if things had wholy forted according to their expectation) would have beene contented with an equal! thare, and

not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a dimination vinecessarie. Hee was possessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the iffue of those affaires was fuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to Memphis, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfethey tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they layd fuch hard fiege, that neither those forces of the Persians, which then were in Agypt, were strong enough to remove them; neither could Artanernes well denife what meanes to vie for the recourse of that which was loft, or for the preferuation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by 10 fetting the Laced emonians upon Athens, to enforce the Athenians to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the Persian fought to procure affiftance of the Greekes one against the other, by stirring them vp with gold to the entertainement of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemie. To this purpose he sent Megabazus to Sparta with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the Laced amonians were nothing forward in imploying their whole force against the Athenians, whome in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in Egypt; he thought it his wifest way to imploy the rest of his money and means to their reliefe, who had now the space of fixe yeares defended his maisters right 20 in Agypt. Therefore he hashily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of Zopyrus, who arriving in Agypt, was first encountred by the revolted people; over whome he obtained a victorie, which made him maister of the Countrey, whilest the Athenians lay busied about Memphis the great Citie. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supplie, had much enseebled the Athenia ans: fure it is, that when Megabazas, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it felfe, whether his former fucceffe had amended the courage of the Persians, or want of necessaries made the Athenians inferior to themselues, he chased them out of Memphis, and pursued them so neere, as they were forst to fortifie themselues in the Isle of Prosopites, where Megabazus, after eighteene 30 the Rivers of moneths flege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, affaulted Taly and Phar- the Athenian without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the of the out-lets fword, faue a few that faued themselues by flight into Lybia; the same entertainement had liftic other Gallies which they fent to the fuccour of the first two hundred. For those Athenians having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was confumed, entred by the branch of Nilus, called Mendelium, and fell vnawares among the Phanician Gallies and the Persian Armie; so as the Persians recovered all Agypt, but that part held by Amyrteus, and Inarus the King of Lybia, being by them the out-let cal- taken and hanged. This was the end of the Athenians fixe yeares warre in Agypt. and the reward of their vanitie and indifcretion to undertake many enterprises at 40

wards Alexandria.

Atendefias is an Island in led Busiritiens and Dioless. Burthe branch Office. of Wilus, called Mend fium, runneth into the Sea by the Citic Pana-

of other Warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successes, about the same time,

Otwithstanding these ouerthrowes in Agypt, yet the Athenians in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the Lacedamonians, Corinthians, and others, rather to their aduantage than otherwise. For as they were

beaten neere vnto Halia by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they obtained two great victories foone after; the one over the Peloponnesians, neere vnto Cecryphalia; the other over the Eginets, neere vnto Egina; where they funke and carried

carried away threefcore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Burthermore, they landed their forces on the fuddaine, and belieged Egina, from whence they could not he moued not with landing that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara : where, after a great fight, with equal loffe, the Corinthans, when they returned againe to fet up their Trophic, as Victors in the former battaile, were viterly broken and flaughtered by the Athenian Garrisons, and Megarians to their great loffe

Againe, as the Ahenians were discomfitted peare to Tanagra by the Lacedamonians, who returned from the fuccour of the Dorians against the Phocians, ( at which to time the The Salian horse-men turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) so about threescore daies after, the Athemans entred Baotia under the conduct of Myronides, where beating that Nation; they wanne Phocus on the gulfe Octeus, and euened the walls of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they inforced & ring to render upon most base conditions; as to beate downe the walls of their Citie. and to give them hoftages for Tribute ; the flege whereof they had continued, horwithflanding all their other brabbles and attempts elfewhere. Befides these victories they fackt and fpoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Pelaponnesus, belonging to the Lacedamonians, wanne upon the Corinchians, and Overthrew the Sievenians that came to their fuccour. These were the vadertakings of the Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of those fixe yeares that a part of their forces made warre in . Egypt. In the end whereof they attempted The flatte, per fluided thereunto by Orestes, but were relisted by the King Phanfalus, who had chased Orestes out of his Dominions. They also landed in Sicyonia, and had victoric over those that resifled, after which they made truce with the Peloponnelians for five yeares, and fent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred thips, but they were againe allured by Amyrteus one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marilly and Wooddie parts of Levet from the Persians, to whom they sent lixtie of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise of Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious Leader Gimondying there, as they coulted the Hand, incountred a fleet of the Phanitians and Cilicians, over both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece as also thosereturned fafe which were fent into Egypt. ili o nempraso idi.

Of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANYS, that he was AHASHVEROSH the husband of Queene HESTER.



Hele Egyptian troubles being ended, the raigne of Artaxerxes continued peaceable, whereof the length is by fonie restrained into twentie yeares, but the more and better Authors giue him fortie, some allow vnico him soure and sortie. The was a Prince of much humanitie, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His sauour was excee-

ding great to the Iewes, as appeareth by the Histories of Eldras and Nehemias, which fell in his time.

To proue that this was the King who gaue countenance and aide to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needleffe trauaile; confidering that all the late Dinines have taken very much paine, to shew that those two Prophets were licenced by him, and fuccoured in that building, in fuch fore as ap-50 peares in their writings.

This was likewife that King Abalbuerolb who maried Hefter. Wherof if it be needfull to give proofe it may fuffice: That Abalbuerolh lived in Sula, raigning from India to Ethiopia, and therefore must have been a Persian; That hee lived in peace; as appeares by the circumstances of the Historie, and vsed the counsaile of the seuen

Princes, the authoritie of which Princes beganne under Darius, the fonne of Hylta-(pes, wherefore he could be neither Cyrus nor Cambyles.

The continual Warres which exercised King Darius the sonne of Hystaspes, together with the certainetic of his marriages with fundrie wives, from none of whom he was dinorced, but left his first wife Atoffa, the daughter of Cyrus, aliue in great honour, thee being mother to Xexxes the fucceeding King; doe manifestly proue that Helter was not his. Whereunto is added by Philo the Jew, That at the perswafion of Mardochem; Joiachim the high Priest the sonne of Jefua, caused the feast of Purim to bee inflituted in memorie of that deliuerance. Now the time of Ioiachim was in the raigne of Artaxerxes, at the comming of Eldras, and Nehemias: Ielua his father dving about the end of Darius.

The same continuance of warres, with other his furious and tragical loues, wherewith Xerxes did confume fuch little time as hee had free from warre, are enough to proue, that the storie of Hester pertained not vnto the time of Xerses, who lived but one and twentic yeares, wheras the two and thirtith of Abaluerus or Artafallba is expressed by Nehemias. Againe it is well knowne that Nerves in the fenenth yeare of his raigne ( wherein this marriage must have beene celebrated ) came not neare to Sula. Of the Princes that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, to proue that none of them could be Abafbuerofh, it is enough to fay, that Mardochess having been carried from Hierufalem captine, with Iechonia, by Nebuchadnezwar, was vnlike to 20 haue lived vnto their times.

But of this Artaxerxes it is true, that he lived in Sula, raigned from India to . Ethiopia, lived in peace, was contemporarie with Joiakim the high Priest; and further hee had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious Applians in that feuenth yeare of his raigne; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Roiall feaft, as is described in the beginning of the booke of Hester. This is the fumme of the arguments, brought to proue the age of Hefters storic by the learned and diligent Krentzhemius, who addes the authorities of Iosephus, affirming the fame, and of Philo, giving to Mardochaus eighteene yeares more than Ilaac the Patriarch lived, namely one hundred fourescore and eighteene yeares in all, which ex- 20 pire in the fine and thirtieth yeare of this Artaxerxes, if wee fuppose him to have beene carried away captine, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

### è. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

Wtit is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the Greekes, who from this time forward, more vehemently profecuting their civill warres, fuffered the Persians for many ages to reft in peace; this Agyptian ex- 40 pedition being come to nought. Soone after this the Laced smonians vndertooke the warre called, Sacred, recoursed the Temple and Ile of

Delphos, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the fame, and gaue it in charge to the Phocians. In the meane while the banished Baotians reentred their owne Land, and mastred two of their owne Townes possess by the Athenians, which they soone recourred agains from them, but in their returne towards Athens the Baotians, Eubaans, and Locreans, (Nations opprest by the Athemians) fet vpon them with fuch resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all flaine or taken, whereby the Baotians recoursed their former libertie, restoring to the Athenians their prisoners. The Handers of Eubara tooke such courage vpon this, 50 that they revolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when Pericles intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the Megarians ( who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to Athens) being now wearie of their yoke, had slaine the Athenian Garrisons, and ioyned themselves with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and

# CHAP. 8. S.1. of the Historie of the World.

Epidaurians. These newes hastened Pericles homeward with all possible speede; but ere he could recouer Attica, the Peloponnesians, led by Plistoanax, the sonne of Paulamias, had inuaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne Pericles went on with his first intent and recovered Eubara. Finally, the Athenians beganne to treate of peace with the Peloponnesians, and yeelded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Countrie of Peloponnefus; and this truce was made for thirtie yeares. After fixe of these yeares were expired, the Athenians (fauouring the Milelyans against the Samians) invaded Samos by Perioles, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the citizens were forc't to yeeld them-To felues vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake downe their owne walls, to pay the charge of the warre, and to reftore whatfoeuer had beene taken by themselves, or by their practise, from the Athenians. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell Peloponnessan Warre, whereof I haue gathered this Briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie veares after the flight of Xerxes out of Greece. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell: I hold it conuenient now at the first to shew briefly the eflate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, Albens and Sparta, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

## CHAP. VIII.

# Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

Vpon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, flood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



REEGE was never whited under the government of any one Prince or Estate; vntill Philip of Macedon, and after him Alexander, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the Persian, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subjection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the Mucdonians, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to fuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the Perfi-

an warre(deemed the General quarrell of Greece) and tooke the profit and honor of the victoric, to their owne vse and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards raigned in Macedonia, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all Greece was by them brought under fuch obedience, as differed little from feruitude; very 50 few excepted, who could hardly, fometimes with armes, and fometimes with gifts, preserve their libertie; of whom the Lacedamonians and Athenians were chiefe: which two people deserted best the plague of tyrannie, having first given occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetual Warre. Forvntill these two Cities of Athens and Sparts diffracted Hhhh 2

all Greece, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other fide, and so gaue beginning to the Pelapome/ian war (the effects whereof in true estimation ceaded not, before the time that Philip had ouer-mastired all, for assume as cuery conclusion of one warre afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole Countrie); the warres, commenced between one Citic of Greece and an other, were entitler great, nor of long continuance. All controucties were some decided, either by the authoritie of the Amphicianes, who were the generall Councell of Greece, 3 or by the power of the Lacedemonan, whose aide was commonly held as good as the allurance of victorie.

These Lacedamonians had lived about foure hundred yeares under one formeof 10 Gouernement, when the Peloponnesian warre beganne. Their education was only to practife feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner of life as they vsed. For brauerie they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinarie meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couctous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived Viopian-like, fave that they vied no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glorie of 20 their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the Athenians were in all points contrarie to this. For they fought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part llanders, compelled to obey them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

As in forme of policie, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweene these two people was very much. The Athenians were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastic in the execution; The Lacede- 30 monians very flow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very refolute, and fuch as would in cold bloud performe what the Athenisms did viually in flaggant. Whereby it came to passe that the Lacedemonians had all the Estates of Greece depending vpon them, as on men firme and affured, that fought honour and not riches; whereas the Athenians were followed by fuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ftraight subjection. But the Signoric of the Athenians was nothing large, vntill fuch time as the Persian Xerxes had inuaded Greece, pretending only a quarrell to Aihens: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the Towne of Athens could not beedefended against his great Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Nauie, and (affished by the other Grecians) ouerthrew the fleet 40 of Xerxes, whose Land forces were soone after discomfitted by them, and the Greekes, who all served under conduct of the Spartans. After these victories, the Athenians being now very mightie in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the Greekill Seas vnder their obedience; impoling vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of warre against the Persian; though indeede they imploied their forces chiefly, to the conqueft of fuch Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the Lacedamonians, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to bee made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the Athenians to grow great, they held them in much jelousie, and were very apt to quarrell with 50 them; but much more willing to breede contention betweene them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the Thebans would have oppressed the Plateans, when they of Platea repaired to Sparta for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduise, That they should seeke helpe at Athens. Hereby it was

was thought, that the Athenians should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their Neighbours of Thebes. But it proued otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to encrease their honour and puissance.

CHAP. 8. S.2.

#### ð. I I.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

Euerthelesse many Estates of Greece were very ill affected to athers, because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintayning the weaker Townes against the stronger, in croched apace vpon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the Corinthians were much intaged, because

the people of the lland Coreyra, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and gluen them a greatouerthrow by Sea, was by the Athenians (who delired to increase their sleet by adioyning that of Coreyra vinto it) taken into protection, and the Corinthians thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue 20 taken. Now how soer it were so, that these dealings of the Athenians were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed you among the Greekes, yet were the complaints made at Spars so to tennent, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redresse by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore feeking religious pretences, they required the \*athenians\* to expiate certaine offences committed against the Gods; whereto having for answere, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in \*Sparts\*; they beganne to dealth plainely, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the Estate of \*Ashens\*, should be set at liberate; and that a decree made against those of \*Congara\*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the 30 \*Athenians\*; should be returned they for carnelly pressed they might obtaine it they promised to absist from their purpose of making, they might obtaine it they promised to absist from their purpose of making.

This they defired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by feeming to have obtained fomewhat; they might preferue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to under-goe.

But the Athenians would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all Greece should take notice, how farre they were from seare of any other Citic. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needfull to the Warre; wherein the Lacedamonian were Superiour, both in number and qualitic, being affisted by most of the Cities in Greece; and having the generall sauour, as menthat pretended to set as libertie such as were oppressed the man Athenian did as sarre exceede them in all prouisons, of Money; Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held; and afterward found of greater viein such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow wearie, and are not callly assembled.

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He first and second yeares expedition was very grienous to the Citie of Athens. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driven to flie, with their Wives, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citic, fuch as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hercunto was added the renolt of the Mytilenians, in the Ile of Lesbos, and the fiege of Platea 10 their confederated Citie, which they durft not aductive to raife; belides fome fmall ouerthrowes received. The Lacedamonians affembling as great forces as they could raise out of Peloponnelus, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of Attics, and therein abide, vntill victualls beganne to faile, wasting and destroying all thinges round about : The Gouernours of the Athenians would not fuffer the people to iffue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into Peroponnesus, which wasted as fast all the Seacoast of their Enemies, whilest they were making warre in Attica. So the Peloponnefians being the stronger by Land, wanne the Towne of Platea, which wanted rescue; the Athenians likewise being more mightie by Sea, did subdue Ostytilene 20 which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from Sparta. By these proceedings in that Warre, the Laced emonians beganne to perceive how vnfit they were to deale with fuch enemies. For after that Attica was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates beganne to fet forward very flowly, in their expeditions into Atmes, perceiving well that Athens was plentifully relicued with all necessaries, which came by Sea from the Hands that were subject vnto that estate; and therefore these innaders tooke small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in wasting a for faken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territoric was the whileft afflicted. 20 Wherefore they beganne to fet their care to build a firong Nauie, wherein they had little good fucceffe, being cafily vanquilhed by the Athenians, who both had more and better ships, and were so skillfull in Sca-fights, that a few Vessells of theirs durff undertake a great number of the Pelopomefians.

d. IIII.

Mong other loffes which the Spartans had felt by Sen; they received 40 at Pylus a very fore blow, that compelled them to fue for peace. A fleet of Athenian thips bound for Coreyrs, wasting in that pallage, as their manner was, the coast of Laconia, and all the halfe Ile of Peloponness, wis by contrarie windes detained at Pylue, which is a rag-

ged Promontorie, joyning to the maine; by a fraight necke of Land, Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within, that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Ille. This Promontorie the Athenians fortified, as well as in hast they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place: By holding this peece of ground, and haven, they reasonably expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the Meffenians, who in ancient time had held very firong and cruell warre with Sparta; and though quite subdued they were held in straight subjection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that

by the neare neighbourhood and affiftance of the Athenians, it might not bee reuiucd. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the Lacedamonians, and as many of their bond-flaues as could escape from them, would repaire to Pylus, and from thence make daily excursions into Laconia, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying allmost in the midway betweene them and Coreyra, make them able to fur-round all Pelovonnelius, and wait it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at Pylus, drew the Peloponnesians thither in all haft out of Attica, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Naue, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might proue in time, they well forefaw, little fearing the grieuous loffe at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vaine made a generall affault on all lides, both by Sca and Land; finding that fmall Garrison which the Athenians had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing foure hundred and twentie choice men all of them, Citizens of Sparta, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but fo narrow, that only two ships in front could enter betweene the Isle and Pylus; likewise but seuen or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Maine. Hauing thus taken order to flut vp this new Towne by Sca, they fent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuffe, wherewith to fortific round about, and block vp the pecce on all fides. But in the meane leafon, the Athenian fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at Pylus, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did breake and finke manie of their Enemies veffells; tooke fine, and inforced the refidue to runne themselves a ground.

Now was the Towne fecure, and the Spartans abiding in the Iland as good as loft. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from Sparta to the camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to adule what were best for the publike safetie; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the He, then by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenians about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at Pylus. The conditions of the truce were, That the Lacedemonians should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Towne. nor the Athenium against the camp: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should bee daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Iland fecretly: That the Athenians should carrie the Lacedemonian Embassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose returne the truce shouldend, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, flould be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the Athenians should restore the Peloponnesian ships, in as good case as they received them. The And Embassiadors comming to Athens, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begunne the warre, fo might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the Athenians how great an honour it was that the Lacedemonians did fue to them for peace; admining them to make an end of warre, whilest with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation : For in stead of concluding upon euen termes, or defiring of meete recompence for loffe fuftained; the Athenians demanded certaine Cities to bee restored to them, which had beene taken from them by the Lacedemonians long before this warre beganne, refuling likewife to continue the treatie of peace, vnleffe the Spartans which were in the lle, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassa-50 dours returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was defited of the Athenian Captaines that they should, according to their couenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their handes. Whereto answere was made that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should bee held void; now (faid the Athenians) yee have affaulted our Garrisons,

and thereby are we acquited of our promife to reflore the flips. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere flifts; yet profit fo farreouer-weighed honour, that better answere none could be got. Then were the Later-damonian driven to vie many hard meanes, for conveiance of victualls into the Ille; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to Athems, where it was decreed, that when the Peloponnesian next invaded Athica, these prisoners should all be flaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-lield by the troubles, which (according to the Athenium hope) fell vpon them; the Laterdamonium were now fo farre from wasting Atties, that they suffered their owne Countrie to be continually ower-runne, both by the Athenium, who landed to nall parts of their coat, and by those which issued out of Pylus; which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnot them.

#### è. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadnantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

Herefore they indeuoured greatly to obtaine peace; which the Athenians would not hearken vnto. For they were so puffed vp with the 10 continuance of good successe, that having sent a few bands of men into Sicilie, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might to Statite, to noin up a raction there, and make what a probability of the Sicilians quarrells, when afterward they heard that the difference of the stations rences in that He were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the Ile of Sicilie was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto Peloponnefus. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in Thrace, where in a battaile which they lost at Amphipolis, Cleon, and Brasidas, Generalls of the Athenian and Lacedamonian forces, were both 20 flaine; which two had most beene aduerfaries to the peace. As the Athenians by their losses were taught moderation; so the Lacedamonians, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had received at Pylus, were faine to proceede lamely in the warre, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently defirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuiue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that wrged them to bring the treatie of peace to good and speedie effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and readie to fall on them, which valeffe they compounded with the Athenians, they 40 knew not how to avoide. The effate of Argos, which had ancient enmitte with them, was now, after a truce of thirtie yeares well-nigh expired, readie to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. Argos was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to Sparia in valour, yet was not fo vnwarlike, nor held fuch ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the Lacedamonians could ever faire prevaile vponit, when they had little else to doe. This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by wasting the Territorie of Athens with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not only the Athenians (hould have beene brought to 50 good order but the Corinthians and others, for whose sake the warre was under taken haue beene fo firmely knit to the Lacedamonians, that they should for love of them have abandoned the Argines, to their owne fortunes. But now the vanitie of those hopes appeared, in that the A. henians abounding in readie money, and meanes

to raife more, were able to fecure themfelues by a firong fleet, from any great harme, that the Pelapome/jans wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could do wroto them, yea as Maffers of the Sea, to wearie them out, as in effect alreadie they had done. As for the Confederates of \$paris, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many lofles had fo wearied and incenfed them. Wherefore the Lacadamonism were glad to wice the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much a-doe they procured, as feemed equall and eafie; but were indeede impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

formed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall. The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon; it fell out by lot, that the Lacedamonians should restore first. These had won more townes upon the continent from the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to fuch of their Allies, from whom the State of Athens had taken them; fome, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as Enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands; but had been erendred vnto their Confederates, the Spartans found meanes to give fome fatisfaction, by permitting the Albenians to retain others, which they had got-20 ten in the warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld them felues into the handes of their old Lords the Athenians, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoener articles were drawen, and concluded, for their fecuritie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the Spartans, made the Athemans become as backward in doing those thinges which on their part were required; fo that refloring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receite the full fatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these diffi-30 culties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the Lacedemonians entred into a more straightfalliance with the Athenians; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the Argines, who being (as they thought) likely to have fued for peace at their hands, as foone as things were once compounded betweene Athens and Sparta; did shew themselues plainly vinwilling to give care to any fuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from A gas all hope of Athenian Succour, they should make fure worke, the Spartans regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deferuing in the late warre, or found for rouble some, that their enmittee (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) were little worse than friendship. It bred great an jelousic in all the Cities of Greece, to perceive such a conjunction betweene two so powerfull Signories: especially one clause threatning enery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a fecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceipts: of fubduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought fo strongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, and other ancient Confederates of Sparta, that the hate which they had borne to the Athenians their professed Enemies, was violently throwne vpon the Lacedamonians their vnjust friends: whereby it came passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in Greece, might have beene abandoned 50 to the discretion of their Enemies, as alreadie in effect they were, had the Enemies wisely vsed the advantage.

The state of the s

of the negotiations, and practifes, held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of Sparta as virefiftable, and able to make way through all impediments, had beene fo excelline, that when by some timiler accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and feeke peace, vpon termes not founding very 10 compelled to take and reeke peace, vpos compelled to take and reeke peace, vpos honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as hap-honourable, this common opinion was not opinion opinion was not opinion was not opinion was not opinion opinion was not opinion opin pens viually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was ne-

uer thought that any Lacedamonian would have endured to lay downe his weapons and yeeld himfelfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune could have beene so great, as should have drawne that Citie to releeue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were fome of especiall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the Iland before Pylus, had rather chosen to line in captimitie, than to die in fight; and that Pylus it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of Laconia, had bred such anguilh in that Estate, as ytterly wearying the accustomed Spartan resolution, had made it sit downe, and 20 fecke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the Corinthians and Thebans beginne to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their cies you the rich and great Citie of Argos, of whose abilitie, to doe much, they conceined a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankinde. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept fome diftance, we should have different only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting to our selues.

The first that published their dislike of Sparts were the Corinthians, at whose venerance of the control of the hement entreaty (though moued rather by enuie at the greatneffe of Athens dayly encreasing) the Lacedamonians had entred into the present warre. But these Corinthians did only murmure at the peace, alleadging as grievances, that some townes of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantineans who during the time of warre, had procured some part of the Areasians to become their followers, and forfake their dependency upon the State of Sparta, did more freely and readily discouer themselves; seare of revenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The Argines feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fill their failes, prepared themselues to take as much of it as they could stand vn- 40 der; giuing for that purpole vntotwelue of their citizens, a full and absolute commillion to make alliance betweene them and any free cities of Greece (Athens and Sparea excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular bufinesse to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open to all commers ; the Mantineans began to lead the way, and many Cities of Peloponne fus following them entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects,others thinking it the wifest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courses, the Lacedamonians easily discerned, and therefore sent Embassadors to stoppe the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischiefe had beene hatched. These Embassadors found in the Corinthians avery 10 rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present aduantage ouer Sparta. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into the alliance with Argos, to fend their P gents to them, in whose prefence they gaue audience to the Lacedamonians; the pur port of whose Embassie was

CHAP. 8. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

this: That the Corinthians, without breach of their oath, could not for fake the alliance, which they had long fince made with Sparta, and that reason did as well binde them to holde themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their auncient confederacy, for a fmuch as it had been agreed betweene the Spartans and their affociates, that the confent of the greater part, (which had yeelded ynto peace with Athens) should binde the leffer number to performe what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withstood them. Heereunto the Corinthians made answere, that the Spartans had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loft many places, without prouision of rellitution; and that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite from any necessity of subscribing vnto the late peace, for a smuch as they had fworne vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against Athens that they would never abandon them, nor willingly fuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reafon and religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oth was no leffe to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were peltilence, tempelt, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vindertaken. As for the alliance with Argos, they laid that they would doe as they should finde cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors 20 with this answere, they made all hast to joyne themselves with Argos, and caused other States to do the like ; fo that Sparta and Athens were in a manner left to themselues, the Thebans and Megarians being also vpon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers, which caused this hasty confluence of fudden friends to Arges, it forlike wife came to passe that the friendthip it felfe, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or seared the Lacedemonians: as the Mantineans and Eleans: these did firmly betake themselves to the Argines, in whom they knew the same affection to be inucterate; others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather have followed the Spartans than the Argines in warre, yet rather the 30 Argines in war than the Lacedamonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowing that the Thebans were affected like vnto themselues, dealt with them to enter into the focietie of the Argines, as they had done : but the different formes of gouernement, vied in Thebes and Argos, caused the Thehanes to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by joyning with fuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This bulinesse having ill succeeded, the Corinihans beganne to bethinke themfelues of their owne danger, who had not fo much as any truce with Athens, and yet were unprepared for warre. They fought therefore to come to some temporarie agreement with the Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment, with one citie that shewed against them more stomach than force ; but gaue them to understand that they might be fafe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which Aihens had lately made, with Sparta and her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these Corinthians (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they defired; but into private confederacie they would not admitthem, it being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, That the one should not make peace nor warre without the

Heerein, as in many other passages, may clearely be seene the great aduantage 30 which absolute Lords have as well in peace as in warre, ouer such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any one Signoric, that hath beene so constantly followed as Sparta was, by fo many States, and some of them litle inferior to it selfe; being all as free: whereas contrariwife, the Athenians had lately, and by compulfine meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselies as Tyrants.

But in performance of conditions agreed upon; the \*\*Libenians\*\* were able to make their wordes good, by excluding any State our of their Confederacie, and gining up flich places as were agreed upon: of which the \*\*Lacedate mains\*\* could doe neither the one nor the other. For flich Towness as their old Allis is had gotten by their meanes in the late warrs, could not bee reflored without their :onfent, which had them in prefent polifetion; and particularly the Towne of \*\*PaulaTe, which hed \*\*Thebansheld, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the \*\*Lacedamonians\*\* (who earnefly defired it, that by reflictution thereof who the \*\*Albenians\*, as earnefly demanding it, themfelues might recouer \*\*Pylua\*\*) vinleffer they would agree to make a private alliance with \*\*Thebas\*\*, which thereupon they were faine to doe; though knowing it to bee 16 contrariet to the lalk agreement between them and \*\*Albenians\*\*.

The Lacedemonians having broken one article of the league made between them & the Athenians, that by fodoing they might enablethem felues to the performance of another, were finamefully disappointed of their he pes by the Thekans, who did not gue vp the Town of Panačie, till first they had vicely demolished it, and made it of no worth to the Athenians. This was fought to have beene excused by the Lacedemonian Embassisations, who comming to Athens (whither they had fent home all prisoners that had beene detained at Theles) hoped with gentle wordes to salue the matter; saying, That from beeceforth on enemic to Athens should nesslein Panačie, for it was destroicd. But these Embassisations and to to deale with tame 10 fooles. For the Athensas told them in plaine termes, That of three principal leon-ditions agreed you in their late League, they had no performed any one, but vsed such that she had seen as so as so as a so as a so as a so as a so as a solution as a food not with their honour: having made private alliance with the Thekans; hading destroicd a Towne that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by warre, to make good the coucnants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough decelest oanger those that fer them.

There were at that time, both in Athens and Spar, a, many that were ill-contented with the peace : among whom were the Ephori, chosen for that yeare, in Sparta; and Alcibiades a powerfull yong Gentleman in Athers. But the Ephori, though de- 30 firing to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to bee rendred to them by couenant, especially Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Aleibiades whose Nobilitie, riches, and fauour, with the people, made him desire warre, as the meanes, whereby himselfe might procure some honourable emploiment, vied all meanes to fet the quarrell on foot, whileft the thenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought faue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vie that advantage of breaking the peace, by reafon that the Lacedemonians (though indeede against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of Athens had fully determined to retaine Pylus, and to performe nothing that the Lacedamonians should, and might require, vntill 49 they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled al articles whereunto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing alreadie done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuerie of their Citizens, which were pr foners. But Alcibiades wishing a speedie beginning of open warre, sent privily to the Argines, and gave them to vnderstand how fitly the time served for them to afficiate themselves with Athens, which was enough to give them fecuritie against all Enemies.

The Argines vpon the first confluence of many I states vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all Greeze against the Aisbeams, robbing Sparts of that honour, as having ill veed to fall or the state of the stat

thians had fought feuritie from Athens, and when a falle rumour was noised abroad, that Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, were come to a full agreement upon all points of differences then beganne the Argines to let fall their creits, and fue for peace vnto the Lacedomenians, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauitie, and were not outer-halfute oaceptir. At this time, and in this perturbation, the mediage of Atabiasas came very welcome to the Argines, which were not now confulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to faue themelieus. Wherefore they fent away prefently to Athens, their owne Embaffadours, accompanied with the Amantaens and Eleans, to make a league offenitue, and defenfiue, between the themson.

Of this bulinefle the Lacedomonians knew not what to thinke: for well they faw, that fisch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were delirous to preuntit; but to keep the loue of the Athenians, the new Ephani thought that more was alreadie done, than flood with their hosour, or profit; others held it the wisfeft way, having done so much, not to slick vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full latisfaction to retain the firendship of that State, which was more to bee valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizensas were betafficed to the peace, who comming to Athens with full comission to make an end of all controverses, styings, that their Confederacie with the Thebons had tended to none other end than the recoverie of Panasse concerning which Towne, or any other buliness, that it much grieved the Lacedomosium, to see things fall out in such wise as might gue to the Athenian cause of different plant in the vice of the such as a might gue to the Athenian cause of different plant in the vice of the such as a might gue to the Athenian cause of different plant in the vice of the such as a such as a such as a such as a such as a making to the control than the recoverie of promaking matters even between them; to which purpose they showed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that Pplan might be restored with

cause they which promised amends, had power to make their wordes good. But all 30 this faire likelihood of good agreement was dashe on the suddaine, by the practise of Astibiades, who, forcetly dealing with the Lacedemonia Embassiladours, persivaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and admised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knownet on the Communalities of Astiens, least the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie, and yeeld to nothing, whelfe they could draw them to wireasonable conditions. The Embassiadours beleeued him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as shee had admised them. Herevypon the same Asiabades taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no sincerite; that were come to Asbers for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strength-

them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argines might

be called a-fide. Fanourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather be-

40 ming themselnes with friends, meaning to draw the Argines and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrarie to their oath) alreadic they had the Thehans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Leecdannenus, (whose honest meanings had so ill beens elsconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong persivations of Acidinates, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present so faire did 26-cita, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the bussinesses put off, till he himselfe with other Embassadours might fetch a 50 better answer from 25 parts.

It may seeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of Alabiades was able to carrie a matter of such importance, when the Spartan Embassadours might have cast the loade vpon his owne shoulders; by discoucing the truth.

But the granitie which was viually found in the Law demonians, hindred them (perharsafrom playing their game handformely against to nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought vitruity men, had they projeffed themfelues fuch as would fay and yn-fay for their most aduantage.

Description and his Companions had a fowremeffige to deliner at Sparta, being peremprorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reft, that the Laced emonians should take the paines to rebuild Paracte, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the Thebans; letting them understand that otherwife the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the Azines, and their Adherents. The Ephore at Sparia had no minde to forfake the Thebans, affured friends to their State; but wrought fo hard, that the anger of the A benians was fuffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate they would doe no more, than only (at the request of Nicias their honourable friend. who would not feeme to have effected nothing) fweare a-new to keepe the articles of the league betweene them and Athens. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embaffadours, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argines, Mantinasas, and Eleans, with very ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedemonians were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the Lacedamonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could vnto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselues reconcred nothing of their owne (prifoners excepted) for defalt of reftoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late warre by misfortunes, than in fundrie passages betweene them and the Athenians: : o procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had left fundrie of their old friends to hift for themselves. Contrariwife the Athenians, by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most of that which they loft in warre; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the accesse of new Confederates.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.



T was not long ere the Argines and their fellowes had found businesse, wherewith to let the Aineman, whom it concerned the State of Spar-40 to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Spar-40 to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Spar-40 to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Spar-40 to many afts of hoftlitte were committed, wherein Aineman collarerally. tato defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein A-

thens and Sparta did not (as principals) infeft each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their feuerall friends,

By these occasions the Cormthians, Baotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, begannen new to range themselves vnder the Lacedamonians, and follow their enlignes. One victorie which the Lacedamoni ins obtained by their meere valour in a fet battaile, neare to Mantinea, against the A gine-side, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwife it yeelded them no great profit. The civil diffention arifing shortly after within A gos it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of 50 thenew combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded fo farre as to renounce the amitie of the abbenians in expresse wordes, and forced the Mantineans to the like. But in short

space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely

Belide these vprores in Pelaponnesis, many affaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewile in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces and readinesse for execution, preuented some thinges, reuenged other, and requited all with fome prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell. and the Lacedamonians growing wearie, they beganne to be quiet, retaining till that enmitie in their hearts, which they had fufficiently discouered in effects, though not to as yet breaking out into termes of open warre.

### VIII.

The Athenians fending two fleets to facke Siracufe, are put to flight and viterly discomsted.



Vring this intermission of open warre, the Athenians re intertained their hopes of fubduing Sieil, whither they fent a fleet fo mightie as neuer was fet forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and unimode on ought; partly by ries to fogreat an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence Aicibiades Author of that wing, and one of the Gemeralls of their fleet, was druen to banish himselfe, for feare of such judgement, as elfe he was like to have under-gone, among the incenfed people; partly by the inuafion which the Lacedemonians made upon Attica, whileft the forces of that State were fo farre from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Perlia, who Supplied the Peloponnesians with money.

Neither was the fuccesse of thinges in Sicilia such, as without helpe from Athens, could give any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the begin-30 ning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Siracule, the chiefe Citic of the Iland, and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtayning the better in fundrie battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieucd with strong aide from Peloponness, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the worfe on all fides, in fuch wife that their fleet was thut vp into the hauen of Siracule, and could not iffue out.

As the Athenian affaires went very ill in Sicil, so did they at home stand upon hard termes, for that the Lacedemonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearifome yearely journies into Attica, which having pilled and foraged, they returned home; did now by counfell of Alcibiades, who feeking renenge vpon his 40 owne Citizens was fled vnto them, fortific the Towne of Decelea, which was neare to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harrie all the Countrie round about, and fometimes give alarme vnto the Citie it felfe.

In these extremities, the peruorse oblinacie of the Athenians was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their owne dores, an enemie little leffe mightie than themselves, did yet send forth an other fleet into Sicil, to inuade a people no leffe puiffant, which neuer had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous event makes foolish counsaile seeme wiser than it was, which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceipts Pallas was faid to turne vnto the best. But where vnfound adulfe finding bad proofe, 50 is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable iffue. This fecond fleet of the Athenians, which better might have ferued to conucy home the former, that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpole against the Siraculans, was finally (together with the other part of the Nanie, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard vp into the hauen of Siracute, whereby the campe of the Athenians, ytterly deprined of all benefit by Sca, either for fuccour or departure, was driven to breake v1 and fite away by Land, in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ou rthrownein fuch wife that fearce any man of cined.

This michiefe well de Gruedly fell vpon the Atlenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile Suphales and Picholorus Generalls, Tormerly lent into that lle, prec, nding that they had taken money for making peace in Sieil, whereas indeede there was not any meanes or polifibilitie to have made warre. Hereby it came to palific, har Ziein, who had the chiefe command in this via happienterprife, did rather choose to hazard the ruine of his Countrie by the lesse of that Armie, wherein to condified little lesse than all the power of Atlens; than to advanture his owneed thate, his life, and his bonour, you the tongues of than telefle accusers, and the sentence of ludges before his trail resolved to condemne hm, by retiring from Sineagh, when witedome and necessities required it. For said help they shall give sentence upon vs., who know not the research of our doings, nor will give our to any that would speake in one behalfe, but allogether head one is of suphituse and vanue unnears that shall be brought against vs., exclusive one will be sentenced to since to since the lesser of the level and insolent multitude vs.

This refolution of Niciae, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of 29 an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth. and to measure honour or dishonour by the affurance of his well-informed confeience, rather than by the malicious report and confure of others) yet it may be excufed; tince he had before his cies the injustice of his people; and had well underflood that a wicked fentence is infinitely worfe than a wicked fact, as being held a prefident and patterne, whereby oppreffion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was fuch, as a constant man could not casily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Armie, hauing no other expediation of fafetie than the faint hope of a fecret flight he was fo terrified with an Eclipse of the Moone, happening when they were a Loue to 30 diflodge, that he would not confent to have the camp breake up till feuen and twentie daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the iffue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heauens, and the course of Nature would be as vajult as his Athericas, or might pretend leffe cuill to the flouthfull, than to fuch as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Aftrologer can alleage this Eclipfe, as either a caufe or prognoffication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the follie of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had C. Cassius: the Roman, he, who slew Iulius Casar, imitated this superstition of 2\(\text{ieias}\), he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retyring, the broken remainder of Craffus his Armie defeated by 40 the Parthan Archers was aduled, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the figne of Scorpio; he made answere that he flood not in such feare of Scorpio, as of Sagittarius. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the nearer danger of Enemies vpon earth, hee made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

Thus we fee that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Godernours of vinderstanding, when becintends cuill to the multitude; and that the wickedness of winder than its the readic meane to weaken the vertue of 50 those who might have done them good.

ð. I 2

Of the troubles where into the State of Athens fell, after the great loffe of the Fleet, and Armie, in Sicilia.

He loss of this Armie was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion , and may be well accompted a very little less cannitie to that Edute; than was the subuersion of the walls, when the Citie about seven yeares after was taken by Lysander. For now beganne the Subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their obdience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconnenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had beene their Subjects; others hauing a kind of libertie offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these with contented, but obtained as true and perfect libertie by force.

troubles it fell out very vnscasonably, that the principall men of Athen being wearied with the peoples insolence, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Eflate, and bring the gouernement into the handes of a few. I o which purpose confipring with the Captaines which were abroad, they caused them to fet up the forme 20 of an Arithocratic in the Townes of their Consederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withsland this innovation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonaltie were so dismaid that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose mumber they knew not, but curey man was affaid of bis Neighbour, least the should be a member of the league. In this general search the Anjestic of Athens was vsurped by soure hundred men, who observating in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded wnto the people, and concluded vpp on by the greater part of voices: but the thinges propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves, neither had she Commontalitie any other libertie, than only to approve and give consent, for whosever prefunction any other libertie, than only to approve and give consent, for whosever prefunction any other libertie, than only to approve and give consents.

30 further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authoritie, which neuerthesels induced to long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was at the Ile of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies, whereuponshey reucked. Aleibades out of banishment, and by his affistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised vinco the Lacedonium, were by Tisphernes his Lieurenant, made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. Activities had at the first beene very well entertained in Sparts, whilest his fetuice done to that State was not growne to be the object of somie. But when it appeared that in count of sile and good performance he so farre excelled all the Lacedonniums, that all their

40 faile and good performance he fo faire excelled all the Lacetamonians, that all their good fuecefile was aferibed to his wit and valour; then were all the principal Crimitons wearie of his vertue; effecially Agis one of their Kings, whose wife had fo fair yeelded her felfe to the loue of this Athenian, that aimong her itiward friends shee could not forbeare to call the ryong child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that Alcibiades should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the spartan trecheric, conucighed himselfe vnto Tissephernes, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, fivet conucifation, and sound wit, that he some became the Matter of that barbarous Vice-roies affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings trefitives and forces in those parts. Then begannehe to adulte Tissephernes, not so stare 50 forth to affeit the Lacetamonians, that they should quite ouer throw the State of A-

3) For the anitute Laceaumonians, that they indust quite of the state of the sta

of fo great a Potentate) hee plaied his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banithment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the

Souldiers to the Gouernors; or at least to dinert their heat an other way, and turne it you the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as

being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly because they faw

it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being leffe regarded by the reft of their companions, than stood with their good liking, fought to acquit them-

felues of it as honeitly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to ob-

did rather wish to preserve their owne power, or safetie at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made fundric overtures of peace to the Lacedamonians, deliring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affir-

ming that they were fitter to bee trufted than the wavering multitude; especially

considering that the Citie of Sparta was gouerned by an Ariffocratic, to which forme

they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the source hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedamonians, were kept as fecret as might be.

For the Citie of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was

abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then prefently) came to paffe. And vpon this hope King Acis did sometimes bring his forces from Deceleato Athem, where doing no good, hee received some small losses. Likewise the Nauic of Pelopomessus made show of ar-

tempting the Citie, but feeing no likelihood of fuccesse, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune

of the Athenians might more lightly have beene regarded, than in this their decaied

estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisedome, they should rather have forborne to present vnto the Citie, or to the Countries neare adjoyning 20

any terrour of the warre. For the diffention within the walls might foone haue

done more hurt than could be received from the Fleet or Armie without, which

indeede gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnitie, though it lasted not very long.

The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their autho-

ritie, which they could not now hold, when the people having taken armes to repell

forraine enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselves from

fuch as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government

a full reflictution of the fourraigne command vnto the people, or whole body of the Citie, but only to fine thousand; which companie the four hundred ( when their

to doe little wrong or none to the Commonaltie, who feldome affembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeede into the handes of fo many, it was soone agreed that Aleibiades and his Companions should bee recalled from exile, and that the Armie at Samos should bee requested to vndertake the gouernement: which was forthwith reformed according to the Soul-

diers defire.

authoritie beganne) had pretended to take vnto them as affiftants : herein feeming 40

not inclined to make composition; from which vpon sufter ground the enemie was 20 much more auerfe, trufting well that the difcord of the Athenians (not vnknowne

taine peace of the Lacedamonians, defiring chiefly to maintaine both their owneau- 10 thoritie, and the greatnesse of their Citie, if they might, but if this could not be, they

How ALCIBIADES wanne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe deposed.

His establishment of thinges in the Citie, was accompanied with some good fuccessein the warres. For the Lacedamonians were about the fame time ouerthrowne at Sea, in a great battaile, by the Athenian fleet which had remained at Samos, to which Alcibiades afterwards

joyning fuch forces as he could raife, obtained many victories, Before the Towne of Abydee, his arrivall with eighteene ships gaue the honour of a great battaile to the Athenians; hee overthrew and viterly destroicd the sleet of the Lacedamonians, commanded by Mindarus, tooke the Townes of Cyzicus, and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ranfome their Citie, and fortified Chryfopolis. Hereupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Armie in these few wordes: Allis lost; MINDARVS is slaine; the Souldiers want victualls; we know not what to doe.

Shortly after this, Alcibia des ouerthrew the Lacedemonians in fight by Land at 20 Chalcedon, tooke Selymbria, belieged and wanne Byzantium, now called Constantinople, which even in those daies was a goodly, rich, and very strong Citie. Hereuppon hereturned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and hee driuen to banish himselse againe; only because his Lieutenant, contrarie to the expreffe command of Alcibiales, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The fecond banishment of Alcibiades was to the Athenians more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they received, was (though more heavie 20 to them, yet) leffe to be pittied of others, than that which enfued ypon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had fought reuenge vpon his owne Citie; now, as inured to aduerlitic, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of fuch danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weake estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after injurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived at the fleet, hee presented battaile to Lylander the Laced emonian Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victorie, as to vndertake A'cibiades himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteene) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had beene under his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did Aleibiades with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where hee had built a

ð. X I.

The battaile at Arginnse, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.



Fter this time the Athenians, receiving many loffes and discomfitures, were driven to flie into the Hauen of Mytelene, where they were straightly belieged both by Land and Sca. For the railing of this liege neceffitie inforced them to man all their Vessells, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile

è. X. 50

was fought at Arginula, where Callieratidas, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, looling the honor of the day, preferued his owne reputation by dying valiantly in the fight, It might well have beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who jointly had command in chiefe over the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happie a victorie, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwife they were forth-with called home, and accused, as if willfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessells to take them vp, they might have faued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very just answere; That they purfuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under fufficient men, to faue those that 10 were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arifing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse anailed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who faid, That he him felfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had beene intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to defire of the people reuenge of their deaths upon the Captaines. It was very strange that, upon such an acculation maintained with so flender enidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrie should bee overthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst abfolue them, faue only Socrates the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one 20 had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relected by other vessells in the storme; but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was ouer-past, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and percerted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamie of injustice; but the divine justice was not a-fleepe, nor would be fo deluded.

The battaile at Agos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian Warre.



He Peloponnelian fleet under Lyfander, the yeare next following, hauing scoured the Agean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing Souldiers) it belieged and tooke the Town of Lampfacus. Hereup-pon all the Nauic of Athens, being an hundred and four effore faile, made thither in hafte, but finding Lampfacus taken before their com-

ming, they put in at \$2560s, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the River called, Agos-Potamos, which is (as we might name it) Goutes-brooke, or the 40 River of the Goste; being on the Continent, opposite to Lampfacus; and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from Lyfander, who rode at Lampfacus in the harbour. The next day after their arrivall they presented fight vnto the Peloponnefians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned againe to Agos-Patomos, and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemie, and returning to their owne harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of Alcibiades was not furre from the Nauie, and his power in those places was fuch as might have greatly availed his Countrimen, if they could have made vse of it. For he had waged Mercinaries, and making warre in his owne name voon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much 50 reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired vnto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soone fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a roade subject to euc-

ry weather, neither neare enough to any Towne where they might furnish them-Letues with necessaries, nor so farre off as had beene more expedient. Septim was the next Market- Towne; thither both Souldiers and Marriners reforted, flocking away from the Nauic enery day, as foone as they were returned from brauing the Enemie. Therefore Acibiades willed them either to lie at Sestus, which was not farre off, or at the leaft to confider better how neare their enemie was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to his Generall, than from any cowardife. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not beene for these opprobrious wordes, hee could (as hee told his familiars) have compelled the Lacedemonians, either to fight vpon vnequail termes, or vtterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that hee might fo have done, by transporting the light-armed Thracians his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Straights, who affaulting the Peloponne lians by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elfe to leave their ships to the mercie of the Achenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counfaile no better than both beene rehearfed, hee left them to their fortune, which how entil it would bee

Lyfanger all this while defending himfelfe by the advantage of his Hauen, was no not careleffe in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they canarted his manner was to fend forth fome of his fwifteft Veffells after them, who are ferning their doings, related ynto him what they had feene. Therefore ynderhanding in what carejeffe fallion they romed up and downe the Countrie; her kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gave of pecal charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the Athenians difembarking, as their cuflome was, and walking towards Sellos, they flould forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and Lyfander being in a readinesse, made all speede that strength of Oares could give, to Egos-Potamos, where he found ve-20 ry few of his enemies a-boord their ships, not many neare the mand all in great confulion voon the newes of his approch.

In fo much that the greatest industrie which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gaue ouer Ations as desperate, and made a long flight vnto the He of Cyprus, all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pecces. Thus was the Warre which had lasted senen and twentic yeares, with variable fucceffe, concluded in one houre, and the glorie of Athens in fuch wife Eclipfed, that thee neuer afterward thone againe in her perfect light.

Immediately vponthis victorie, Lylander, having taken in fuch Townes as readily did yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, fet faile for Athens, and ioyning his forces with those of Agis and Paulanias, Kings of Sparia, summoned the Citie, which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to bee wonne on the suddaine, hee put forth againe to Sea, and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Hands, and fuch Townes of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Athemians, to submit themselves to Sparta, hee did thereby cut off all provision of vi-Aualls, and other necessaries, from the Citie, and inforced the people by mecre famine to yeeld to these conditions. That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be thrownedowne; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should bee set at libertie; That the Athenians should bee Masters only of so their owne Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Towne; And that they should keepe no more than twelue ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lacedamonians did, and follow the Lacedamonians as Leaders in the Warres.

Thefe

These articles being agreed vpon, the walls were throwne downe with great rejoying of those who had borne displeasure to them; and not without some consultation of destroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which adults, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Gouernours, or rather cruel I yrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former instend and injustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauerie.

The only small hope then remaining to the Aleman, was, that Aleibiades might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants p-reciung this, aduertifed the Lacedomonius thereof, who contriued, to and (as nowe dominecring in cuerie quarter) soone effected his suddaine death

Such end had the Pelopannelan Warre. After which the Lucedamonians abufing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew weric odious to all Greece, and by Combination of manie Cities against them, were dispossed to their high authoritie, cuen in that very Age, in which they had fubbused Libens. The greatest foile that they tooke was of the Thebans, led by Epumnoulus, vnder whom Philip of Alaccion, Father to Acamder the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the Citie of Sporta (besides other 19 cite attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the several Estates and Signories of Greece, were growne fo jealous one of another spectates (that the Laccedemonians, Argius, and Thebans, which were the mightiest, affociating themselines, the substitute of the Thebans of the Citie of Sporta (the strong the Citie could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far reas might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Countrie remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as Philip, and after him Acamder.

Kings of Macedon, (whole forefathers had beene dependants, and followers, yealmost meere Vaffalls to the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into feruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the Remarks prefenting them with a sliew of libertie, did themselues indeed become their

Masters.

CHAP.

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# CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

**∂**. I.

How the affaires of Persia slood in these times.



Vaine the times of this Pelopomefian Warre, and those other leffe expeditions foregoing it, Astacowas, Longimum, hauing peaceably injoyed a long raigne ouer the Persons, left it by his death either to Datus, who was called Datus Nothus, or the Bassland, whom the Greeke Hiltorians (lightly passing ouer Xorwest the second, and sogdisous, as V furpers, and for their short raigne little to be regarded) place next who him, or to Xorwest the second, who, and his brother Sogdismus after him (Seeming to haue beene the sonnes of Hessian Charles) held the Kingdome but no evere betweenen them,

the vonger fucceeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to purfue the Historie of the Persians from henceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be eincident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That Xerxes the second, being a vitious Prince, did perilhafter a moneth or two, if not by furfeit, then by treacheric of his as riotous bro-30 ther Sogdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he flew vnjuftly Bagorazus a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother Darius the Baffard, had not hee forescene it, and by raising a fironger Armie than this hated King Sagdianus could leavie, feized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. Darius having flaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. Amyrtaus of Sais an Egyptian rebelled against him, and having partly flaine, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmely with the Greekes, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome', and deliuered it ouer to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the furie of their civill Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the daies of this Darius, and of his sonne Artaxerxes 40 Mnemon. Likewise Amorges, a subject of his owne and of the Roiall bloud, being Lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the Ather nians. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell vpon the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life into the Spartans, and given courage to the Handers and others, subject to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for Davius, that the Lacedemonians being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauic, without which it was imposfible to advance the warre against the State of Athens, that remained powerfull by Sea, were driven to crave his affiftance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the articles of the league 50 betweene him and them were fet downe in more precise termes, wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre joyntly vpointhe Athenians, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Asia, which had formerly beene his ; or his Predeceffours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the warre en108

fuing (of which I have alreadie spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had loft in Alia. Likewise by affistance of the Lacedamonians he got Amorges a-line into his handes, who was taken in the Citic of Iafus; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to fuccour him. Neuertheleffe Agypt ftill held out againit him: the cause whereof cannot bee the emploiment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his owne Subjects was infufficient to performe. Darius had in marriage Paryfatis his owne fifter, who bare vnto him (belides other children) Artaxerxes called Ame- 1m mon, that is to fay, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who fucceeded him in the Kingdome; and Cyrus the yonger, a Prince of fingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever Perlia bred after Gress the Great. But the old King Darius, intending to leave vnto his elder some Artaxerxes the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eie vpon the doings of yong Cyrus, who being Lieutenant of the lower Ala, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subtect : for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very tharpe courfe with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his vonger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these bretheren, and fummarily of Artaxerxes, wee shall have occasion to speake some- 29 what in more convenient place.

### ð. I I.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.



Hold it in this place most convenient to shew the proceedings of the Greekes, after the subversion of the walls of Athens, which gaue end to that warre called the Pelapumesian warre, but could not free the vnhappie Countrie of Greece from civil Broiles. The thirtic Gouer-30

nours, commonly called the thirtie T yrants of Athens, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a bodie of their Law, and make a collection of fuch ancient Statutes, as were meeted to be put in practice; the condition of the Ciric flanding as it did in that 6 fodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the fupremeauthoritic, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the needlitie of the times did for requireit, wherein the Law being vncertaine, it was fit that fuch men should give judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselleus, by which the Citie was to be ordered, were become fubiced. But these thirtie hauing so great power in their handes, were more carefull to hold it, than to deferue it by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them 40 in trust.

Therefore apprehending fuch troublefome fellowes, as were odious to the citie, though not puniliable therefore by law, they condemned them to death, which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who confidered their lewd conditions, but did not with all bethinke them felues, how cafe a thing it would be evento the fethirtie men, to take away the lines of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elfe they lifted, when condemnation without due triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plaufibly entred into a wicked courfe of gouernment, they thought it beft to fortifie them fellows with a fure guard, ere they brake out into those diforders, which they must needes commit for the class of billihing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their owne companie to Sparsa, they informed the Lucedamonium, that it was the full intent of the thirties, to keepe the Citie free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behough them to cout off find as were feditives, and therefore defired the Lucedamonium to fend

them a Garrison, which they promifed at their owne coft to maintaine. This motion was well approudd, and a guard fent, the Captaine of which was fo well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeedes could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants beganne to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, inuaded the principall men of the Citie, sending armed men from House to House, who drew out such as were of great reputation. and likely, or able, to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was fuch effusion of bloud, as to Theramenes (one of the thirtie) fecmed very horrible, and vnable to escape vengeance. His diflike of their proceedings being openly discouered, caused his fellowes to bethinke themselues, and prouide for their owne fecuritie, and his destruction, least he should make himselfe a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeeme his owner peace with their ruine. Wherefore they felected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetelt, and gaue vnto them some part of publique authoritie. the refethey difarmed; and having thus increased their owne strength, and weakened their oppolites, they begain a a-fresh to shed the bloud, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man your whose goods he should seize, putting the owoner to death. But when Theramenes vttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did Critias, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one maine priviledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but haue the accustomed triall) he tooke voon him to strike out of that number the name of Theramenes, and fo reduced him under the trial and fentence of that order. It was well alleaged by Theramenes, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans, upon which confideration hee adulfed them all to conceiue no otherwife of his cafe, than as of their owne, who were liable to the fame forme of proceeding : but ( every man choosing rather to preserve his owne 20 life by filence, than prefently to draw upon himfelfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come neare him) the T yrants interpreting filence as confent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke

## , **3.** III.

The conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposition.



Fter the death of Theramenes, the thirtie beganne to vie fuch outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For having three thouland (as they thought) firme vinto them, they robbed all others without feare or financy-defpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauling them to flie into banillament, for fafeguard of their lines. This flight of the Citi-

zens procured their libertie, and this generall good of the Citic. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into confultation, and refolued to hazard their luses in fetting free the Citic of Athens: The very thought of such a practife had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seunchie mein; or the reasons, were the first valertakers, who with their Captaine The Affeldula took a Phyla, a place of strength in the Territoric of 50 Athens. No sooner did the thirtie heart of their exploit, than seeke meanes to preunt further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their Leaecdenomian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assumble, they intended to be stepe jet, it miding the place too strong to be taken by assumble, they intended to be strong it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that sell, and other storage it; which purpose came to nought by meanes of snow that sell, and other somether.

weather, against which they had not made prouision. Retiring therefore to the Citie, which aboue all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and

two companies of Horse, to wearse out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege.

But it was not long ere the followers of Thrafybulus were encreased from seuentie to fenen hundred, which aduentured to give charge vpon those guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred & twentie. These small, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand men got entrance into Piraus, the fuburbe of Athens, Lying on the Port. Before their comming, the thirtie had refolued to fortifie the Towne of Eleusine, to their owne vse, whereinto they might make an eatic retrait, and faue themselves from any suddaine perill. It

may well feeme strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of government had brought them into fuch danger, they were so farre from seeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwife, to affure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place

who could beare armes into their handes by a traine, and wickedly (though vnder

forme of inflice) murthered them all, But, Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter,

the mischiefs which they had alreadie done were such, as left them no hope of go-

ing backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of fafetic, than by extending their

crueltie vnto all, feeing few or none were left, whom they could truft. When Thra-

fybulus and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the Piraus,

it; but in this enterprise Thrasphulus had the better, and repelled his enemies, of

whom although there were flaine to the number of feuentie, only yet the victorie

feemed the greater, because Critics, & one other of the thirtie, perished in that fight,

The death of Critical, and the flout defence of Pirans, together with some exhorta-

tions vsed by Thrasphulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect that the thirtie were

deposed. Neuerthelesse there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirtie in their misseedes, seared to be called to a sharpeac-

count, that no peace, nor quiet forme of gouernement could be established. For

Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who craving aide against Thrasphulus, and his fol-

and Sea, under the conduct of Lyfander, and his Brother; whom Paufanias the Spar-

tan King did follow, raifing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the Lacedemo-

nians. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of

Sparta. The Baotians, and Corinthians, who in the late warres had beene the most

bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow Paulanius in this expedition; alleaging

that it flood not with their oathes, to make warre against that people, who had not

hitherto broken any one article of the league ; but fearing, indeede, leaft the Laceda-

monians should annexe the Territoric of Athens to their owne Demaines. It is not to bee doubted that Paufanias tooke this answere in good part. For it was not his

of Lylander, whom he enuied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of Thrafybulus his partie, made a flew of warre, he finally wrought fuch meanes

that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and fuch others, as were

like to give cause of tumult, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall

faction, having with-drawne themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to at-

tempt some innouation, whereupon the whole Citie rising against them, tooke their

Captaines, as they were comming to Parlie, and flew them: which done, to avoide

further inconvenience, a law was made that all injuries past should be forgotten, and

no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wifely made,

and carefully observed, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings 40

lowers, had fauourable audience, and a power fent to their affiftance, both by Land 201

then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to affault 20

CHAP. X. Of the expedition of Cyrvs the yonger.

The grounds of CYRVS his attempt against his brother.



HE matters of Greece now standing vpon such terme. that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of Lacedemon; yong Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes, King of Persia, having in his fathers life time very carefully profecuted the warre against Athens, did fend his meffengers to Sparta, requeiting that their love might appeare no leffe to him, than that which he had lhewed towards them in their dangerons warre against the Athenians. To this request, being generall, the Lacedemonians gaue a futable answere, commanding their

Admirall to performe vnto Cyrus all service that hee should require of him. If Cyrus had plainely discovered himselfe, and the Lacedemonians bent their whole power to his affiftance, very like it is; that either the Kingdome of Perfia should have been the recompence of his deserts, or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the Greekes the waies, which under the Macedonian Enlignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and ope-30 ming vnto their the riches, and with all the weakenesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both defire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The lone which Pary fatis the Queene-Mother of Persia bare vnto Cyrus her yonger fonne, being feconded by the earnest fauour of the people, and readie defires of many principali men, had moued this yong Prince, in his fathers old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before beene shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; hee found his elder brother Artaserses established so furely by the old Kings sauour, that it were not fafe to attempt any meanes of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might 40 calily loofe the place of a Viceroy, which he held in Afa the leffe, and hardly bee able to maintaine his ownelife. The nearest neighbour to Gyrus of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardise, trecherie, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his Father, vling by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well bee thought that Queene Pary fatis had obtained the inheritance of that mightie Empire. And it was very true that Pary fatis had vfed the best of her endeuour to that purpose, alleaging that ( which in former ages had beene much availeable to Xerxes, in the like difceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was borne whilest his father was a private man, but Cyrus, when he was 50 acrowned King. All which not fufficing; when the most that could bee obtained for Cyrue, was the pardon of some prefumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adjoyning : then did this Tiffaphernes discouer his

nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new King Artaxerxes, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or falle, very

CHAP.

eatily belowed, Cyrus was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly delinered, and fent back into his owne Pronince.

#### ð. I I.

The preparations of CYRVS, and his full entrie into the Warre.

4 He forme of governement which the Perstan Lieutenants vsed in their feneral! Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made Warre and Peace, as they thought it meete, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; viually indeede with the Kines enemics, yet fometimes one with an other : which was the more cally tolerated, because their owne heads were held only at the Kings pleafure, which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoeuer it were, or they could conjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being fetled in Lydia, began to confider with himfelfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercellion; the difference endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his owne people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedamonians, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himfelfe. Neither was it expedient that he should 20 long it idle, as waighting till occasion should present it selfe; but rather enterprise fomewhat whilest yet his Mother lined, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worfe than only questionable. Hercupen hee first beganne to quarrell with Tiffaphernes, and feized vpon many Townes of his jurifdiction, annexing them to his owne Prouince; which displeased not Artaxernes at all, who (belides that hee was of condition fomewhat timple) being truely paid by Gyms the accultomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in prinate quarrells. But Tissaphernes, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardife despited, although he durft not aduenture to take armes against Cyrus, yet perceiving that the Milesians were about to give vp them- 30 felues into the hands of that yong Prince, as many other Townes of the lonions had done, thought by terrour to preferue his reputation, and keepe the Towne in his ownehandes. Wherefore he flew many, and many he banifhed, who flying to Cyrus, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no fmail part of his defire. In leaving Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he took enot only the men of his owne Pronince, or of the Countries adjoyning, whose lines were readie at his will; but fecretly he furnished some Gracian Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, fome of them warring in Thrace, others in Theffalie, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them readie to croffe the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had se- 40 cret inftructions to prolong their fenerall warres, that the Souldiers might bee held in continual exercise, and readic in armes upon the sodaine. Come having fent a power of men to beliege Alleres, forthwith fummoned these bands of the Greekes, who very readily came ouer to his affiftance, being thirteen thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Artaxerxer. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very calily have forced Miletus, and chased away Tiffaphernes out of Afriche leffe: but his purpose was not so to loofe time in small matters, that was to bee imploied in the accomplishment of higher defignes. Pretending therefore that the Pilidians, a people of Alfa the leffe, not subject to the Persian, had inuaded his Terri- 50 torie, he raifed the fiege of Miletus, and with all speede marched Eastward, leuing Tiffsphe nes much amased, who had no leasure to rejoyce that Cyrus had left him to bimfelfe, when he confidered that fo great an Armie, and fo strong, was neuer leuied against the Rouers of Polidia, but rather against the great King his Master. For which

cause taking a band of fine hundred horse, hee posted away to carrie tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

#### ð. I I I.

How CYRVs tooke his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.



He tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queene Statira, against Pary atis, the Queene-Mother, whom shee called the Author and occasioner of the warre. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his

defence, the danger haltened vpon him very fast. For Cyrus made ereat marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen. though most strengthned by the accesse of seuen hundred Greekes, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the Greekes were to the Barbarians, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of Cilicia, who had brought him aide) hee made in Phrygia; where the Greekes by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which 20 contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a braucrie) fled a-maine, the victuallers and baggagers for faking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to Cyrus a joyfull spectacle. who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the fame temper. and the more vnlikely to make relistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne a-long by meere affection and good will. Neuertheleffe he found it a very hard matter to perfwade the Greekes to passe the River of Euphrates. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to seeke excuses, telling them that Abrocomas one of 30 the Kings principall Captaines, and his owne great enemie, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to affift him. By such devices, and exceffine promise of reward, he brought them to Euphrates, where some of the Greekes confidering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thankes, and might sately returne if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perfwaded to doe as some had begunne, and being allured by great hopes, they resolued to seeke out Artaxerxes, wheresoeuer he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raifed an Armic of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thousand men had under-taken to and make good the Straights of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the paffage, and retired himselfe toward the Kings forces. not daring to looke Cyrus in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the Lacedamonian fleete, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Armic. I doe not finde that this cowardise of Abrocomas, or of his Souldiers, who

arrived not at the Campe till five daies were past after the battaile, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the same mettall. Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of

50 his Kingdome, vntill by Teribazus, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon fo many goodly Provinces to the Enemie, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most auaileable) would have growne superior in reputation. By such adnice the King resolued vpon meeting with his brother, who now beganne to be se-

Kkkk 2

cure, being fully perfwaded that Artaxerxes would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broade, and eighteene foot deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing to fafe as to be farre diftant from his enemics.

### ð. IIII. The battaile betweene CYRVS and ARTAXERXES.

He Armie of Cyrus having over-come many difficulties of eaill waies, and scarcitie of victualls, was much encouraged by perceiving this great feare of Artaxerxes, and being past this trench, marched carelessy in great diforder, having bestowed their Armesin Carts, and vpon Beafts of carriage; when on the sodaine one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approch. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselues, and had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the River Euphrates, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they faw not till it was after-noone. But when they faw the clowd of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neare approach how well they were marthalled, comming on very orderly, in filence, whereas it had beene expected, that rulhing violently with lowd clamours, they should have spent all their force you the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in diftent, being all embattailed in one bodie and fquare, that Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian manner) in the middeft of his owne, did not with the corner and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of Artaxerxes his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of Cyrus: then did the Greeks beginne to distrust their owne manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, upon such exceffine oddes. It was all most incredible, that so great an Armie should bee so easily 30 chafed. Neuerthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrarie to their custome) to give charge vpon their enemies with silence; had not learned (for it was contrarie to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the Greekes, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and fithes (whereof Artanerxes had two hundred, and Cyrus not twentie) did fmall hurt that day, because the driuers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemiesgaue so much confidence to Cyrus, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had beene affured 40 unto him that day, had not be fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that Artaxerxes, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompaffe the Greekes, and to let vppon them in the reare, he advanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge upon a foundron of fixe thousand which lay before the King, that hee brake it, flaying the Captaine thereof, Artager (es, with his owne hands, and putting all the reft to flight. Hereupon his whole companie of fixe hundred, very few excepted, beganne to follow the chase, leaving Cyrus too ill attended, who perceiving where the King flood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; I fee the man, and presently with a small handfull of 50 men about him ranne vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the stall blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, throwne by a base-fellow, wherewith assonied,

hee fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their belt for his fatetie; not caring afterwards for their owne lines, when once they perceined that Cyrus their Matter was flaine. Artaxerxes caused the head and right hand of his brother to bee forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them fled apace, calling vpon the name of Cyrus, and deliring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and vtterly difmated fuch Persian Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eies, no better than rebells; it was not long ere the Campe of Cyrus was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence Artaxerxes, making all speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greekes, which was about three miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There hee met with Tiffaphernes, who having made way through the battaile of the Greekes, was readie now to joyne with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which Artaxerxes brought with him of his brothers death, beene sufficient to counteruaile all disasters received; the exploit of Tissaphernes in breaking through the Greekes would have veelded little comfort. For Tillayhernes had not flaine any one man of the Greekes, but contrariwife, when he gaue you them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great flaughter through them, in such wise that hee rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the 30 Greekes. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the Greekes, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these Greekes, intending to set upon them in reare. But the fegood Souldiers perceiving the Kings approch, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purfued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauerie, than with purpose to attempt your these bold-fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom hee would seeme to have slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone fufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this jo reputation he thought that he might now preferue well enough by shewing a manly looke, halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might have encouraged his people, had not some of the Greekes espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neare them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discourring their approach, fled upon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, faue only the Greekes, who had loft that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of Cyrus, but thinking that hee was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leifure to Dine.

The bard effate of the Greekes after the fight; and how ARTAXERXES in vaine sought to have made them yeeld vnto him.



T was now about the fetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little, or nothing being left, that might ferue for foode: fo that wanting victualls to fabeing left, that might ferue for toode: to that waiting rectains of the tisfie their hunger, they refirehed their wearie bodies with fleepe. In the meane feafon Artaxers returning to his Camp, which he entired the meane feafon Artaxers returning to his camp of the meane feafon artaxers. The meaner feature the require he cause he meaner feature the require he cause he meaner feature the mean

by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he

perceived that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainely discourred to the Greekes: which gaue him affurance, that if any of these who had beheld the thamefull demeanor of his Armie, thould live to carrie tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signorie. Wherefore hee refolued, to trie all meanes, whereby hee might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carrie tidings of that which hee had feene; to which purpose hee sent them a braue message the next morning. Charging them to deliuer up their Armes, and come to his Gate, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the Greekes being advertised that morning from Arieus, a principall Commander under Creus, that his Mafter being flaine he had retired himfelfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into Ionia, his meaning was to diflodge the next day, awaiting for them io long if they would joyne with him, but resoluing to stay no longer : they sent anfivere back to Arisus, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durit relift them, they would place Arises himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and purfue the victorie. Before they received any reply to this answere, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Campe, whose errand feemed to the Captaines very infolent : One told them that it was not for the 29 Vanquithers to yeeld their Weapons; another, that hee would die ere hee yeelded to fuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victorie, required their Weapons; if fo, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he defired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie hee meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question Phalinus a Gracian, waiting vpoin Tiffaphernes, answered; That the King having flaine Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdome, in the middeft whereof hee held them faft enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These wordes, to them, who knew themselves to 20 be free, were nothing pleafant. Therefore, one told Phalinus, that having nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whileft they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiceable, but should they yeeld them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat Phalinus laughed, faying; This yongman did feeme a Philosopher, and made a pretie speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes, and his Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that Phalinus being a Courtier, and imploied in a bulineffe of importance, thought himfelfe too profound a Statesman, to be checkt in his Embaffage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdome herein failed him. For what focuer he himselfe was ( of whom no more is knowne than 40 that he brought an vnhonest message to his owne Countrimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Liues, to the mercilesse Barbarians this yong Scholler by him despised, was that great xenophon, who, when all the principall Commanders were furprifed by treacherie of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having neuer seene the warres before, under-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promifed to be faithfull to the King, as they had beene to Cyrus, offering their feruice in £gypt, where they thought Artaxerxes might have vsc of them. But the finall answere was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nordefend 50 themselues from him as Enemies. Hereupon Phalinus deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing Warreif they stirred thence; Whereunto hee required their answere. Clearchus the Generall told him, they liked it. How (faith Phalinus) must I vnderftand you?as choofing peaceif we ftay, otherwife warre, faid Clearchus. But whether warre or peace? quoth this politique Embassadour. To whom Clearchus (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismiffed him, no wifer than he came. All that day the Greekes were faine to feede vppontheir Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

#### ð. V I.

How the Greekes beganne to returne home-wards.

T night they tooke their way towards Ariaus, to whom they came at mid-night; being for faken by foure hundred foote, and fortie horfe, ail Thracians, who fled ouer to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pec-ces, for had they been kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some

of them should have accompanied Tissaphernes, and served as Stales to draw in the reft. Arisus being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the Kingdome for himfelfe, with fuch affiftance as might have given it vnto Cyrus, was very well pleafed to make couenant with them for mutuall affifiance vnto the laft: Whereunto both parts having fworne, he aduifed them to take another way bome ward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relecue them with victualls, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearifome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coalted them, lodged in certaine Villages, where they purposed themselues to haue encamped: towards which Clearchus made directly, because hee would not feeme by declining them to show feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remone, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath confidered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the Gracians being wearie and hungrie, and lying among enemies in an vnknowne Countrie, should be very searcfull: but it is all most past beleefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the Persians slic out of their Campe, and so affright the great

King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came Meffengers from Artexerxes, desiring free accesse for Embaffadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that fuch particulars doe best open the qualitie of the persons, by whom thinges were managed, I should hold it fitter, to runne ouer the generall paffages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. 40 But furely it is a point very remarkeable, That when Clearchus had willed the Mcffengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the Greekes (as he faid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes diffembling the indignitie, was contented fweetly to swallow downe this pill, fending them guides who conducted them to a place where was plentic of victualls to releeue them.

#### λ VII

How T is satherness under colour of peace betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.



Itherto the Greekes, relying vpon their owne vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought them selues into any straights or termes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subule Fox Tiffaphenes, who circumuenting the chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrapthem, to the extreme danger of the Armie.

He told them, that his Prouince, lying neare vnto Greece, had caused him greatly to defire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not bee vnthankefull for fuch a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of Crus his intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battasle shewed his face to the Greekes, when all others turned their backs: that hee, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the Barbarians that food on the part of Cyrus. All this (quoth hee) did I alleage to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you fafe into Greece; in which fuite 20 I have good hope to speede, if you will fend a mildeanswere to him, who bath willed me to aske you, for what cause yee haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which Tiffaphernes relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he faid) that peace should be granted : the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victualls by force, in any place that refused to affoord them an open Market. Hercunto both parties having fworne, the League was concluded, and Tiffaphernes returning to the King to take leaue, and end all bufinesse, came vnto them againe after twentie daies, and then they set forward. This 30 interim of twentie daics, which Tiffaphernes did spend at the Court, ministred ereat occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt; the Brethren, and Kindred of Arieus, repairing daily to him, and other Persians to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with affurance of pardon, and other allurements, that hee daily grew more strange to the Greekes, than formerly he had beene. This caufed many to aduife Clearchus, rather to palle forward as well as he might, than to relie youn covenants, and fit still whileft the King laied finares to entrap them. But he on the contrarie perswaded them, to reit contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting 40 withall their owne wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, wherewith hee faw no reason why the enemic should haue clogged himselfe if he meant mischiese, having power enough to doe them havne by a faire and open Warre.

Tiliphernes was a very honourable Man (if honour may bee valued by greatneffeand place in Court) which caufed his Oath to bee the more effected; for as
much as no inforcement, or bafe refpect, was like to base drawne it from himBut his fallhood was fuch, both in fublance and in fucceffe, as may fifty expound
that faying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, I have a rich man alyar.

A lye may finde excufe when it growes our of feare: for that paffion hath his originall from weakeneffe. But when Power, which is a Charafter of the Aimsplatehall be made the fupporter of writtuth, the fallhood is most abhominable; for the
offender, like proud Luafer, advancing his owne firength against the durine fuffice,
doth commit that finne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamen-

table effects, and is followed with fure vengeance. It was not long ere Tiffaphernes found meanes to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall Clearchus himselfe the meane to draw in all the reft. The bulinesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed some daies together, in fuch wife, that the Persians did not encampe with the Greekes, who were very jealoufe of the great familiaritie, appearing betweene Tiffaphernes, and Arians: Clearchus thought it convenient to roote out of Tisaphernes his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had growne in that fhort time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, heerehearfed the oath of Confederacie, which had palt beto tweene them, shewing how religiously he meant to keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the Greekes did receive by the helpe of Tiffaphernes, hee promifed that their love should appeare to him not unfruitfull, if he would make vie of their service against the Mysians or Pisidians, who were accustomed to infest his Province, or against the Aeyptians, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he defired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspition, whereby might grow fuddaine inconvenience to either of them, you no just ground. The faithlesse Perfian was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told Clearchus, that all this was by him 20 wifely confidered, wifhing him further to call to minde how many waies hee could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the Countrie, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needes haue perished by meere famine. For which cause hee said that it had beene great folly, to fecke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were alreadie in his handes; But the truth was, that his owneloue to them had moued him to worke their fafetie, not only for those ends which Clearchus had recounted, of pleafures that might redound to himfelfe, and the King, by their affiftance; but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what Cyrus had mist. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and fent him away to well afforced of his good will, that he promifed to bring all the Captaines with him to the fame place, where, in presence of them all, Tillaphernes likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by fecret information fought to raife diffention between them. Clearchus himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the camp of Tisaphernes, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had beene to fome common Faire. But being there arrived, Clearchus with other the fine principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a figne was given, vpon which they within were apprehended, and the relidue flaine. Forthwith certaine bands of Perfan Horse men scoured the field, killing as many Greekes as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the Gracians, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping forely wounded, informed them of all that had beene done. Hereupon the Greekes tooke Armes in hast, thinking that the enemie would forthwith have affailed their Campe. Anon they might perceive the Embassadours of Tisaphernes, among whom were his owne brother, and Arisus, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Armic, faying, That they brought a meffage from the King, which Ariess delivered to this effect. That Clearchus having broken his faith, and the league made; was justly rewarded with death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other of the five Co-70 ronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to furrender their Armes, which were due to him, as having belonged vnto his seruant Cyrus. When some altercation had followed vpon this message, Xenophon told the Embassadours, that if Clearchus had in such fort offended, it was well that he was in such fort punished; but he willed them to fend backe

Menon and Proxense, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the Greekes might be aduited how to answere the Persian. Hereunto the Embassadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. Clearchus, and the other foure were fent to Artaxerxes, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiffe to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of Tissubernes, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the Greekes, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aide of men and money, hee did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjurie (to which he failed not to haue recourse) auailing him; finally, the King was jealous 10 of his cunning head, and fent a new Licutennant into those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrufted at home, that the feruice which he could not doe, he was thought your priuate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the ftroke, all the world being flut against him. But now let vs returne to the prosperitie, wherein hee triumphed without great cause, having betraied brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiese vpon the whole Armie.

Q. VIII.

How X ENOTHON heartened the Greekes, and in defigiht of Tissa
PHERNIS went off fafely.

Reat was the heavineffe of the Souldiers, being now destitute of Leaders, and no leffe their feare of the cuill hanging ouer their heads. which they knew not how to avoide. Among the rest, Xenophon, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe fadnesse of the whole Armic to be such, as hindred them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, beganne to adule the vnder-Officers of Proxenus his companies, whose familiar friend he had beene, to bethinke them- 20 felues of fome meane, whereby their fafetie might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: fetting before their eyes whatfoeuer might ferue to give them hope. and about all perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercie of their barbarous

enemies.

Hereupon they defired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and fo together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeede in the places of those who were flaine, or taken. This being done, and order fet downe for difburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loffe of Tisaphernes his affiftance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than 40 he had beene wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proeccde, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way. and to passe them where they were footdable. Many attempts were made voon them by Tisaphernes, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the Persian Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the Greekes could reach. For this cause did Xenophon provide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemie; and finding some Horses fit for service, that were imploied among the carriages he fet men your them; training likewife his Archers, to shoote compasse, who had beene accustomed to the point blancke. By these 50 meanes did hee beare off the Persians who affailed him; and sometimes gaue them chace with that band of fiftie Horfe, which being well backt, with a firme bodie of footmen, and feconded with troupes of the light-armed-fhot and flingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loofe. Tisaphernes not during to come to handie-gripes with

these resolute men, did possesses the tops of Mountaines, and places of advantage, by which they were to paffe. But finally, when their valour made way through ail fuch difficulties, he betooke himfelfe to that courfe, which was indeede the fureft. or burning the Countrie. With great forrow did the Greekes behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victualls cut off. Some adulfed to defend the Countrie, as granted by the enemic himfelfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if fo perhaps the Perfians might be assumed to doe that which were the desire of such as made paffage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was. That being neare vnto the Carduchi, a people enemie to the Persian, they should o enter into their Countrie, passing over some high Mountaines which lay betweene them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them if Tillaphernes had begunne fooner to cut off their victuals, rather then to feeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

### I X.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the Carduchi.

Ntring upon the Land of the Carduchi, they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the Persian, were no way inferiour to the Greekes in daring, but only in the Art of warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers; and vied the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrie, were of much vse against these poore trauailers, afflicting them in seven daies, which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Betweene the Territoric of these Carduchi, and the parts of Armemis confining them, ranne Centrites a great River, upon which the Greekes refreshed 20 themselves one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would proue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leavied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; Tissaphernes and his Companies having taken their way towards Ionia. The River was broade and deepe, fo that it was not possible for fuch as would enter it, to make reliftance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers the Carduchi following vpon them, lay on the fide of a Mountaine, within leffe than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending backe the most expedite 40 men, gaue fuccour to the Reare ward, against which the Carduchi being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make reliftance hand to hand. These Carduchi sceme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of Wiphates, which are not farre from the Spring of Tigris; though Ptolomie place them farre more to the East upon the River of Cyrus in Media, wherein hee differs much from Xenophon, whose relation being grounded vpon his owne knowledge, doth best in this case descrue credit. Of the Riuer Centrites (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by Xenophon) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may indure the feueritie of a Critick. For Ptolomie, and the whole Nation of Geographers adde small light to this expedition; only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into Tigris, not much 50 aboue Artaligarta springing out of Wiphates, and running by the Towne of Sardeua in Gordene, a Province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greekes having paffed Centrites did arriue.

# CHAP. 10. S.12. of the Hillorie of the World.

How TERIBARYS Governour of Armenia, feeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was difappointed and Ibameiuila beaten 27 He Armie finding in Armenia good prouifion, marched without any diffurbance about fiftie or threescore miles to the heads of the River Tigris, and passing over them, travailed as farrefurther without reliftance, till they were encountred by Teribazas at the River Telebon, 10 which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though fmall; but Ptolonie and others omit it. Teribanus governed that Countrie for the Perlian, and was in great fauour with Artaxerxes, whose Court may seeme to have beene a Schoole

where the Art of fallhood was taught as wildome. He defired peace of the Greekes. which was made upon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As foone as he had made this league, he leaused an Armie, and befetting the straights of certaine Mountaines which they were to paffe, hoped wel to make fuch benefit of their fecuritie, as might giue him the commendations of being no lesse craftily dishonest than Tillaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of fucceffe. For a great fnow fell, which caused the Greekes 20 to make many fires, and featter themselves abroad in the Villages. Teribazau also made many fires, and fome of his men wandred about feeking reliefe. By the fires he was discourred, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the Greekes, taking this captine with them for a guide, fought him out: and comming you his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors. chafed him away. They tooke his Paulion, wherein (belides many flanes, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse) very rich furniture was left by the treacherons coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie went northward, and passing Euphrates, not far below the springs thereof, trauailed with much 20 difficultie through deepe fnow, being followed aloofe by the enemic, who durft not approch them, but did out off fuch as they found firaging behinde. The inhabitants of the Countrie, through which they marched, but their wintering houses vnder ground, wherein was found great plentie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likewife did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Hauing refreshed them selues in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had confumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-flaues, and taking away (befides other Horses and Cattaile) fome Colts that were bred up for the great King.

ð. XI.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering room the River of Phasis, and other ob-

O without impediment they came to the Riner Phalis, neare wherevnto the people called Phaliani Taochi and Chalybes were feated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the Greekes were to passe, made countenance of warre: 50 but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the peece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flie, every one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first upon whose Countrie

the Greekes did enter were the Taochi, who convaying all their provision of victualls into frong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattaile were taken; the people, to avoide captinitie, threw themselves head-long downe the rocks, the very women throwing downe first their owne children, and then casting themselves your them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which ferued to feed them, transiling through the land of the Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The Chalybes were a very fout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the Greekes hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prifoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, finging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after feuen daies journey they e-feaped from those continuall skirmilhes, wherewith they had been vexed by these Burbarians. Hence travailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obfeure Nation called the Scythini, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discouer the Euxine-Sea. From Gymnias ( which was the name of his Towne) hee led them through the Territorie of his enemies, defiring them to wastit with sword and fire. After fine daies march, they came to a Mountaine called Teches, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called Mo-20 Jehia, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the Was: ones, ( with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had beene fold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the land of Colches, wherein stands the Citie of \* Trabifond, called then Trapezus, a Colonic of the . Trabifond a Species. The College intertaining them with holilities, were required with the like; Colonie of the for the Armie, having now good leifure to repose themselves among their friends in the bottome. the Trapezuntians, did spoile the Countrie thirtie daies together, for bearing only the of the English Borderers vpon Trabizonde, at the Citizens request.

How the Armie beganne at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea : how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there prosequated the same purpose to effect.

Auing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were defirous to take lhipping, and change their tedious Land journies into an eafie Nauigation. To which purpose Cherisophus a Lacedamonian, one of the principall Commanders, promifed by meanes of Anaxibius the

Lacedemonian Admirall, who was his friend, that hee would prouide Veffells to embarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to yet them for their nauigation. Least all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, Xenophon perswaded the Cities adjoyning to cleare the waies, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to give care, being defirous to returne by Sca : but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long flay, did readily condescend to Xenophons request. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and fent to Sea : the one of them failed directly into Greece, for faking their 50 Compatitions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of Trabifonde: the other tooke Merchants and Paffengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Veffells were flaied to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals beganne to faile, by reason that all the Land of the colchi, neare vnto the Campe, was alreadic quite wasted, they were faine to embarke their sick-men, with

the women, children, and fuch of the baggage as might belt be spared, in those few thips which they had alreadic prouided. I he rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to Cerafus, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Herethe Armie being muftered was found to confift of eight thousand and fixe hundred men. From a Mofineria hence they passed through the Countrie of the a Mofinaci, who were divided into Nation of Pan- factions. The ftronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to joyne with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

In the fame

c Simone a

Port-Towne

the Mylefians.

The next place of their abode was b Cotyona, a Greeke Towne likewise, and a Colonie of the Sinopians, as Trapezus and Cerafus were; but the entertainement which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market affoorded to 10 them, nor the fick-men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their owne handes the cuitodic of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territoric of the Paphlagonians, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to & Sinope, whence Embassadours were fent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to joyne with the Paphlagonians, if redreffe could not otherwife be had, were roundly answered by Xenophon, That meere necessitie had enforced the Armie to teach those of Cotyora good manners in fo bad a methode : letting them know, that he feared not to deale 10 with them and the Paphlagonian at once; though perhaps the Paphlagonian would be glad to take Sinope it felfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend affishance. Vpon this answere the Embassadors grew better adulted, promising all friendship that the State of Sinope could flew, and commanding the Towne of Cotyora to releeue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promifed to affift them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the manie and great Rivers, as Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenius, which croffed their way. This good counfaile, and the faire promifes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceived that the Citie of Sinope would foare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It 30 was therefore decreed that they would paffe the reft of the way by Sea; prouided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to embarke energy one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

### ò. XIII.

Of diffention which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked,



Itherto the danger of enemies, and mileries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to diffolue 40 and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with prinate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were fent as Agents from the Campe, remained at Sinope:

Xenophon confidering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable worke to build a Citie in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, divining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer, whom he imploied, had received a great reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing aright, that Ar- 50 taxerxes would not give battaile in ten daies : hee therefore, having preferred his money carefully, was defirous to be foon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpole of Xenophon was disulged, which was interpreted according to the diucrlitic of mens opinions; fome approuing the motion, but the

CHAP. 10. S.14. of the Historie of the World.

greater part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heracles, being informed of this con-Jultation, were fore afraide, leaft the pourtie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should give successe to the project. Which to preuent, they promifed to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captaines, who thereupon under-tooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would prefently fet faile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a banished man, defired them to follow him into Trees, an other offered to leade them into Cherrone(us. Aenophon who delired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that hee would have them to fet forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should for fake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journies end. Silanus the Sooth-fayer, who had vttered Xenophons purpose, was hereby flaied from out-running his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that thips were prepared fufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promifed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Sinope, and Heraeles, knowing that the Armie was now resoluted for the voiage, and that Xenophon, whom they seared had perswaded them to this resolution; thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Nauie whileft they were in good readineffe to depart, but to keepe the money to themfelues. The Captaines therefore who being disappointed by these Townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their hastic offers, and signifying as much to Xenophon, praised him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, and failing to Phases, where they might feize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the bufineffe, they began to worke the principall of their owne followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reft. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspition of Xenophon, as if he had wonne the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carrie the Armie quite an other 20 way from their owne home. Wherefore affembling the Companies, he gaue them fatisfaction and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redreffe. A generall inquilition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of Cyrue; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaffadours from Corylas, Lord of the Paphlagonians, who fending prefents defired peace of the Greekes: the Embaffadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have beene fought, for that the Greekes having now their Fleet in a readinesse, did soone weigh Anchors, and set saile for Harmon the Port of Sinope, whether Cherisophus came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admirall Anaxibius, who promifed to give the Armic pay as soone as they came into the parts of Greece.

### à. XIIII.

Another great diffention and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by



He nearer that they approched to Greece, the greater was their defire to make prouision for themselues, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore trufting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, hee might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determi126

ned to make Xenophon fole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displicate the Lacedamonians, who were jealous of him alreadic (being incensed by that fugitiue who for looke the Armie at Trabizond, flying with one of their two thips) or moved by fome tokens appearing to him in the entrailes, that threatned ill fucceile to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laied upon Cherifophus a Lacedamonian. It feemes that Xenophon, confidering the vexations incident to the conduct of avoluntarie Armie, wanting pay, did wifely in yeelding to fuch tokens as forbad him to accept it : especially, knowing so well their defire, which was, by right or by wrong to get wealth wherefoeuer it might bee 10 found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. Cherslophus had beene Generall but fixe or feuen daies, when hee was deposed, for having beene vn willing to robbe the Towne of Heraclea, which had fent presents to the Campe, and beene very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coast of Asia, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at Heraclea, where confulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in minde of feeking to get fomewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would bee spent in three daies, and that being now come out of the enemies Countrie, victuals, and other necessaries, could not bee had without 20 money; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of Heracles, giving the Citizensto vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand precess of money, called Cyzicens, which summe amounteth to two thousand and fine hundred pound starling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the fumme raifed to ten thousand Cyzicens at least: which to require, they thought Chersfophus, as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more defire to fend Xenophon: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Least therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudencie and lesse discretion were sent, who in such wise deliuered their insolent mesfage; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and thutting the Gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to bee disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fell to mutinic, saying, That their Leaders had betraied them: and being for the more part of them Arcadians, and Achaens, they for fooke immediately Cherisophus and Xenophon, choosing new Leaders out of their owner number. Aboue foure thousand and fine hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captaines, failed vnto the Port of Calpas, which is in the mid-way betweene Heraelea and Bizantium, with purpose to affaile the Bythinians on the suddaine. With Cherisophus there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one 40 thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: Xenophon had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and fortie horse, which small band had done good service alreadie, and could not have beene spared now. Cherisophus had agreed with Cleander Gouernour of Bizantium, to meete him at the mouth of the River Calpas, whither Cleander promised to bring some Gallies to conveigh him ouer into Greece; for which cause hee tooke his way thither by Land, leaving to Xenophon fuch shipping as he had, who paffing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of Heracles, and Thracia Affatica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Countrie to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calpas by night, with purpose to take spoiles in Bythinia, divided themselves into ten Compa- 50 nies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fiue or fixe miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the countrie surprised on the suddaine, and sacked all at one time.

CHAP.10. S.15. of the Historie of the World. The place of Rendeuous was an high peece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the reit were all put to the fword. For the Thracians which had flipt at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Countrie, and finding the Greekes loden with bootie, tooke the advantage, of their disorder, cutting in peeces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reft, encompaffing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these Arcadians, and Achaens: who wanting the affistance of horse, and having to neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to fland meerely vpon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to craue parlie. What focuer the articles of composition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for affurance they would give none, without which the Greekes well knew, that all promifes of fuch people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the meane time Xenophon holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travailers, whether they knew ought of any Gracian Armie, paffing along those parts: and receiuing by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne to themselves, hee marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discouer, and to scoure the waies; the light armed foot-men tooke the hill-tops on either hand; all of them fetting fire on whatfoeuer they found combustible, whereby the whole Countrie feemed to bee on a light-flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that some huge Armie had approched. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the Arcadians, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to bee quenched soone after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainely that hee would have fallen vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all hast to dislodge. Early the next morning 30 Xenophon comming thither in very good order, to have given battaile, found that his deuice, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but hee maruailed that the Greekes were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquirie, that they remoued at breake of day, and perceived by fignes that they had taken the way to the Port of Calpat, in which journey hee ouer tooke them. They embraced Him, and His, with great joy: Confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that hee should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid least he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away, to ouertake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Hauen of Calpus, where it was decreed, That who focuer from thenceforth made a-40 ny motion to distoyne the Armie, should suffer death.

#### δ. X V.

Of divers peeces of feruice done by XENOPHON; and how the Armie returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betweene the Lacedamonians and the Persian.



The

He Hauen of Calpas lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient seate for a great Citie. All which commodities, that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant,

caused them to hastaway, fearing least Xenophon should finde some device to have fetled himfelfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to line at home, neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow Cyrus in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the lone which they have york him . the poorer fort were such as left their Parents, Wines, and Children, to whom ( though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase ) they were now defirous to returne. But whether it were so that Xenophon found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the fignes appearing in the entrailes, did indeede forbid their departure: fo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victualls failed, neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Countrie, vntill the Sacrifices should promile good fuccesse. Cherisophus was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the reft of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of Cherisophus, would needes adventure to gratific the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neare at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Countrie lying in wait to entrap him, and an Armie of Horse being sent by Pharnabazus the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the affillance of thefe Bythinian Thracians, which troupes falling upon the Greekes that were feat- 20 tered abroade in feeking bootie, flew five hundred of them, and chafed the reft to a certaine Mountaine thereby. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to Xenophon. he led forth a part of the Armie to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them fafe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps du garde, flew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemie, together with the present condition of the Armie, fo disheartened and wnfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greekes to remove their Campe to a place of more firength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to indure travaile, Xenophon with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to burie those which were lately slaine, and to 20 abate the pride of the Thracians, and their Affiliants. In this journey his demeanour was very Honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemie was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and trouble some, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainely, that hee had rather follow the enemie with halfe the number, than turne his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarian, hee would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could fafely retire to the campe, yet what should they doe there, wanting victualis to fulfaine 40 them in the place, and thips to carrie them away? wherefore hee willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than an other day fasting; and not to regard the vncasie returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to with vnto the Enemie a faire and easie way, by which hee might flie from them. These perswalions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrie forthwith, remouing their Families, and leaving all that could not fodainely bee conneighed away, to the discretion of the Greekes, who at good leifure gathered the haruest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the fide of Afia. For they were not only suffered quietly 50 to enjoy the spoile of the Countrie, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of xenophon to plant a Colonie on the Port of Calpas, Embaffadours were fent from the Neighbour people, to delire friendship, and

make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to raiv-Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great bootie, which they carried away to Chryjopolis, a Citie neare vinto Chalcedon, where they fold it. Pharnabazus, Licutenant in Phrygiato Artaxerxes, did greatly feare least their long flay in that Countrie-might breede in them a defire to visite his Prouince, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore hee fent to the Lacedamonian Admirall, entreating him with much inflance and large promiles to wast them oner into Europe; to whom Anaxibius the Admirall condescending, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soone as they arrived at Bizanto tium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreatie of the Persian, who in the heigth of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mightie Rivers. that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to furrender their Armes into his handes, and so to yeeld their lines to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by Anaxibius, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon Bizantium, which by Xenophons perswalion they forbare to fack. I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertaine little to the generall course of thinges. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of Asia, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewise it 20 was the only remarkable action which the time affoorded. For the Roman warres. did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italie; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Laced amonians ruling infolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the feedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedemonians made upon Artaxerxes, were alreadie fowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had fided with yong Crrus against Tillaphernes, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell, which they thought fafer, than to fall into the handes of Tiffaphernes, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all

who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to Gyrus. Wherefore the ionium belought the Lacedemonium to fend them aide, whereby to recour their liberties and obtained their

requeft.

For a power was fent ouer, vnder conduct of Thimbro
a Spartan, who beltowed his men in fuch
Townes as had alreadie reuolted, to
feure the Cities and their Fields,
but not to make any offenfue Warre.

CHAI

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CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whileft they were menaged by the Lacedæmonians.

How the Lacedamonians tooke courage by example of XENOPHONS Armie, to make Warre upon ARTAXERXES.



I feemes that the Lacedamonians did well perceive in how ill part Artaxerxes tooke their fayour thewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open warre against him, thinking it sufficient 20 to take all care that no advantage might flip, which could ferue to firengthen their effate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when Xenophons Armie had reucaled the basenesse of those effeminate Aliatiques, and rehearfed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, vpon termes of extreme disaduantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of

undertaking upon this huge unweldie Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Su/a, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able 20 to give them relistance, it all that long journey of foure and thirtie thousand two hundred and fiftie five furlongs, spentin going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred soure score and one, a very painefull march of one yeare and three moneths. Neuertheleffe the civill diffraction wherewith Greece was miferably torne, and especially that hot fire of the Theban Warre. which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew back out of Afia the power of the Lacedamonians, to the defence of their owne estate ; leauing it questionable whether Agestlaus, having both the same, and farre greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commenda- 40 tion of magnanimitie and faire behaujour, than of flout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly fo cuer it pleafed Xenophon, who was his friend. and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrie no proportion to Xenophons owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled : the famous retrait of Conon the Briton with fix thousand men from Aguileia, to his owne Countrie, through all the breadth of Italie, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor Theodofius, being rather like it than equall. But of Agefilaus and his warres in Afia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

ð. II.

The proferous beginnings of the warre in Alia.



HIMBR o receiving Xenophons men, beganne to take in Townes, and to entertaine all fuch as were willing to renolt from the Perjun, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who feeme to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live vnder the government of Tiffaphernes,

whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Mafter did loue him. The managing of the warre begunne by Thimbro, was for his oppressions taken out of his bandes, and committed to Dercyllidas a Spartan, who behaued himfelfe as a good man of Warre, and a wife Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Alia was divided betweene Pharnabazase and Tiffaphernes, who did ill agree, Phar nabazus being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and having the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes, Dercylidas who did beare a prinate hatred to Pharnabazus (knowing well that Tiffephernes was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be forrie to see his Corriuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loffe) made an appointment with Tiffaphernes, and forth-20 withentred Lolis, which was under the jurisdiction of Pharnabazaus, which Pronince, in few daies, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrie of £olis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue casie successe to the attempts of Dereylladas. Zenis a Dardanian had been Deputie to Phurnshazasi in those parts; after whose death his wife Mania procured his Office, wherein shee behaued herselfe so well, that shee not only was beloued of the people under her gouernement: but enlarged her Territorie, by the conquest of certaine Townes adjoyning; and fundrictimes gaue affiftance to Pharnabazus in his warres against the Mystans and Pissains. For shee had in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good vsage did her great service. But somewhat be-20 fore the arrivall of Dereyllidas in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called Midias, whom thee trufted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of senenteene yeares old; which done, he seized vppon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to Pharmabazans, desiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of Mania. His presents were not only rejected by Pharnabazus, but retienge of his fowle treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into tearmes of almost otter desperation. In the meane time came Described as, to whom the Townes of Mania, that held against Midia, 40 did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out source daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were couctous of libertie) the Gouernour striuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of Pharnabazass. Now remained only two Cities Gergethe and Sceplis, which the Traitour held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, fent Embaffadours to Dercylladas, defiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his fecuritie : vpon the deliuerie of which hee issued out of Sceplis , and comming into the Campe, made offer to joyne with the Greekes vpon fuch conditions, as might feeme reasonable. But he was plainely told by Described us, that other condition there was none, than to fet the Citizens freely at libertie. And prefently vpon these wordes they marched toward Seeplis. When Addiding perceived that it 50 was in vaine to strive against the Armie, and the Townes-men, who were all of one

minde; he quietly went along with Dercyllidas; who remaining but a few houres in the Citie, did a facrifice to Minerus, and then leading away the Garrison of Midias,

he left the Citic free, and departed toward Gergeihe. Midias did not forfake his Companie, but followed him, earneftly intreating that hee might bee fullered to re-

taine Gargeshe: but comming to the Gates he was bidden to command his Souldiers

that they should be opened, for (quoth Dercylledas) I must here likewise doe a facri-

fice to Namerua. The Traitor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby Descellidas, taking possession of the place, tendred pay

to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vinder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of Mania were leized upon, as belonging to one that had beene subject to

Pharmabagus who was enemie to the Greekes; and fo the murderous wretch was fent

away naked, not knowing in what part of the World hee might finde any place to

hide his detelled head. Describedas, having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purpo-

Truce with Pharnabazon, who had not any defire of Warre. That Winter, and the

Sommer enfuing, the Trice being recontinued held; in which time, besides the

wasting of Bythima, the neck of Land joyning Cherronea to the Maine, was fortified,

being foure or fine miles in breadth, by which meanes eleuen Townes with much

good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild Thracians,

and made fit and able to vistuall the Campe. Likewife the Citie of Atarne was ta-

ken, which was of great fireneth, and very well flored with prouifion. After this,

Dercyllidas had command from Sparta, to divert the warreinto Caria, where was the

feate of Tillaphernes; for that hereby it was thought not vneafic to recouer all the

being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was than ifelt that Tiffaphernes had

neglected Pharnabaz us in time of necessitie, yet was he not in his owne danger requi-

ted with the like. For Pharnahazus having respect to the Kings service, came to as-

fift his private enemie Tiffaphernes, and fo paffing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons in-

to all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde

the Townes ill manned for relistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the

warre from their owne dores, fo was Dercyllidas willing to free his Confederates the

Jonians from the fpoile and danger of the warre, by transferring it into Caria. For

which cause he passed the River of Meander, and not looking to have been so soone

the whole Armie of Taffaphernes and Pharnabazus was discouered, confisting of Per-

fians, Carians, and fome Mercinarie Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good

order to prefent battaile. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men,

and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground; for the Persian had a great multi-

tude of Horse, the Greeke very sew and seeble, being to fight in an open plaine.

Therefore all the Ionians, together with the llanders and others, of fuch places as

bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselues to present

flight; or abiding a while for flame, did plainely discouer by their lookes, that they

meant not to be more bold than wife. Only Dercylindas with his Peloponnesians re-

them to destruction, if the counsaile of Pharnabazus had beene followed, who per-

ceiuing the opportunitie of so great a victorie, was not willing to let it slip. But

Tiffaphernes, who naturally was a coward, feeing that countenance of reliftance

was made, beganne to confider what strange defence the Souldiers of Xenophon had

showed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wi-

fest way to craue parlie; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should be made,

to last vntill Tisaphernes might receive answere from the King, and Dercyllidas from Sparts, concerning the demands propounded in the Treatic, which were on the one part, that all the Greekes in Asia might enjoy their owne libertie and lawes, but contrariwise on the other side, that the Lacedemonians should depart Asia, and leave the

Townes to the Kings pleafure. This Treatie was of none effect; only it ferued to free the Greekes from the prefent danger, and to gaine time vnto Tiffaphernes, who defired to avoide the warre by prograftination, which he durft not adventure to fi-

nish by triall of a battaile.

garding their honor, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs have brought 40

encountered, marched carelelly through the Countrie: when on the very fodaine 20

Townes of Ionia: Pharas the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearely Office) 20

fed for the case of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end hee tooke 10

How the Lacedamonians tooke reucinge upon the Eleans for old diffleafure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.



N the meane feafon the Lacedamonians, who found none able to withfland them in Greece, beganne to call the Eleans to accompt for fome difgraces received by them during the late warres, when leifure was wanting to the requitall of fuch pettie injuries. These Elean's being

Prefidents of the Olympiaque games, had fet a fine vpon the Citic of Sparta, for Non-paiment of which, they forbade them to come to the folemnitie: and publiquely whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for prefuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred Agis King of Sparta, from doing facrifice to Infiter; and in all points vied great contempt toward the Spartage, who now had no bufineffe that could hinder them from taking reuenge; and therefore fent a peremptoric meffage to the Eleans, commanding them to fet at libertie the Cities which they held in Subjection. This was the visual pretence which they made the ground of all their warres: though little they cared for the libertie of fuch 20 Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vassals to themselues. In their late warres with athens, the strong oppolition which they found caused this goodly Title of libertie to worke very flowly : but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Armie into the Countrie of the Eleans : the first years an earthquake ( held in those times a prodigious figne, and which did alwaies forbid the profecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the Citie it selfe was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old fubicets freely to enjoy their libertie, and to have her owne walls throwne 30 downe. Only the Presidentilip of the Olympian games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would, in time comming, vie modefuly, finding themselves to stand at the mercie of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greekes were affiftant to the Lacedemonians, excepting the Corinthians and Baotians, whose aide hauing beene of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian Warre, as the force of Sparta it felfe, they could not smoother their dislike of their vnequal division following the victorie; which gaue to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes, and Corinth, only fecuritie against Athens, but such a securitie as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mightic Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weales to adhere to 40 cither, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred profecuted the warre to extremitie, leauing the one Citie naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both, it was then (if not necessarie to obay the greatnesse which themselves had made yet; foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheleffe, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victorie or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

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d. IIII.

#### 1111

The passing of Agesilans into Asia. His warre with Tissaphernes.

How Tissaphernes was put to death, and the warre discreted into an other Promune, through personal and agift of Tithanstes his successor. How carelesse the Personal Lieutemants were of the Kings good.



GESILAVS newly made King of Sparta, was defirous to haue the honour of the victoric, which, not without caufe, he expected upon those to false; and therefore procuring a great Armie to joyne, with that of Dereysludus, he tooke his way in great pompe to Aulis in Baoria, a Hauen, lying opposite to the lland of Eubea, in which place Agamemon

(leading the power of all Greece to the warre against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon hee meant also to doe facrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrie, would not permit, but faying that the performance of fuch ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers, they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his facrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for Agefilant to entangle himfelfe and his Countrie in any new warre; there- 20 fore, waiting better opportunitie of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumelie, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephelus, he was entertained by Tillaphernes with a Treatic of peace, wherein Agefilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to libertic all the Greeke Townes in Asia, was promifed that the King, being first informed of his demand, should fend arriwere to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tillaphernes had fought only to winne time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilest Agestlaus was busic in setling the Estates of his Confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from warre was at the comming downe of these for- 20 ces which Artaxernes had fent; at what time Agefilaus received a plaine meffage from Tiffsphernes, that either hee mult forth-with depart out of Ala, or make good his aboade by firong hand. Ageflaus returning word that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjurie deserved vengeance from Heaven, prepared to inuade them; and fending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him, and Caria, that they should provide vistualls, and other necessaries for his Armie, did easily make Tiffsphernes belocue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein Tiffaphernes dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Perfian had most considence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plaines of Mander, hoping thereby to 40 floppe the passage of a heavie foot-Armie, not suffering them to passe into that Countrie which was fittest for their feruice. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoile without refistance, till such time as the Horse-men of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmifa having the batter of the Greekes, were the occasion that Agefilaus returned to Esheliss. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet Agefilaus perceiving by that triall how hard it would be to prevaile, and hold the masterie of the field, without a greater frength of Horfe, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himfelfe, whileft winter lasted, hee entred you the Countrie of Tiffaphernes, as soone as the season of so the yeare would permit, and not only tooke a great bootie, but finding the Horse-men of Tiffaphernes in the plaine of Meander, without assistance of their infanterie, hee gaue them battaile, and had a great victorie, taking their Campe in which hee found great riches. The blame of this loffe fell heavie vpon Tiffaphernes

Tillaphernes, who either upon cowardife had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other bulinesse, was then at Sardes. For which cause his Master hauing him in diffrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which hee much defired, if the man, fo odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way, he fent into those parts Tithrausles a Persian, to cut off the head of Tillaphernes, and succeede him in the gouernement. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by perjurie hee could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wifedome, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himto felfe most perfect. For supposing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation hee should one way or other circumuent the Greekes, and make them wearie of Aia; he did not feeke to finish the warre, and, according to his Masters with, bring all things freedily to quiet; but rather to emporife till he might finde fome opportunitie of making fuchend as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it feemes that he much miltooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would hee much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found fuch meanes whereby the danger it felfe might have beene avoided: as not louing to have warre whileft by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well 30 by the course which Tithraustes tooke at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadours to Agesslaw, in very friendly fort, letting him know, that the man who had beene Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleafure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, ypon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answere to this proposition, was by Agefilaus referred to the Councell of Sparta; in the meane scason he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of Pharnabazus, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a ftrange manner of Warre, both on the offensitue and on the defen30 fine part. For \_Aegillaue having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbearch is seurcall Provinces, at the entreatic of the Lieutenants; and thost Lieutenants being emploied by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed they knew that their heads might 
easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that tiell on 
their next Neighbour-Provinces, which were fibited likewise to the same Crowne 
of Perssa, o long as their owne gouernement could be preferred free from wast and 
danger. The cause of this disorder on the Perssa side I can aferibe to nothing to 
deferuedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Emmeshes, Consultans, 
and Mmisters of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disstatement of the Kings (which was for visual that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provincial Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which 
have constructed united the time of his sult.

ward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or loste, which the Countrie given in charge vnto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treassure; so no man was carefull to assist borderers, if losse or adanger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sate shill as antidle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces it had not beene uncasse to recompence the spoil of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from stare greater miseries.

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The Warre and Treatie betweene AGESILAVS and PHARNABAZVS.



GESILAVS having thus compounded with Tithrauftes, entred Phrygia, burning and walling the Countrie without reliftance. Hec tooke the Palace of Pharnabasan, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. The cactions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their luftre, were more glorious than profita-

ble. For he did not winne Cities and Places of strength, which might have encreafed his power, and given affurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad termes with the great King, whom hec loft againe as eafily, by meanes of some slight injurie done to them by his vnder-Captaines. Pharnabagus did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being belieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could fafely to the enemies, with whomit was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which hee found not vncalie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessitie, had beene so great, that when hee (obtaining parlie) 20 did set before their eies his bountie towards them, and his loue (which had been fuch, that besides many other hazards of his person, hee had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driven to runne a shore at Mordus, adventured to ride into the Sea as farre as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-back against the Athemians) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deede; they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. Agefilans did make a faire offer to him, that if hee would revolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Countrie wherein hee was at that time only Deputie to Artaxerxes. But 20 Pharnabazus told him plainely, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make warre against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their cnemie; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and hee commanded to obay an other, hee would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Armie should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest emploiment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by Azefilans, and the with-drawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appeale Pharnabazas, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessarie businesse elsewhere; but because his Countrie would yeeld great bootic; and for the hire of thirtie Talents. By this meanes the Lacedamonians changed an honourable 40 Friend into a hot Enemie, who afterwards requited their vathankefulnesse with full reuenge.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.



N the meane while Tithrausles, perceiving that Agesilaus meant nothing leffe than to returne into *Greece*, and let *Artaxorses* reft quietly in *Afra*, tooke a wife courfe whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not only driuen to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and faw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of

her owne Territorie. He sent into Greece fiftie talents of filuer, to bee implosed in raifing warre against the Lacedamonians; which treasure was, by the subtile practise of him that was put in trust with it, in such wife dispersed, among the principall men of the Thebans, Argines, and Corinthians, that all those Estates having formerly borne fecret hate to that of Sparta, were now defirous of nothing fo much as of open war. And least this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercife, beginne to faint, and vanish away in idle wordes, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedamonians into Armes, that they themselves might seeme Authours of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid claime; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adjudged vnto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or perfwaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning fo to loofe their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recouring a great deale more than their owne; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tennants) requited with an inualion made upon Phocis, walting that Countrie in the manner of open warre. Such were the beginnings of professed hostilitie betweene Thebes and Sparta, and the first breaking out of their close enmitie, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the Phocian Embassadours came to Sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, and requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, and readie confent to their fuite; it being the manner of the Lacedamonians, to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, untilloccasion of revenge were offered, and then to discouer their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunitie to worke their owne wills, having no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Alia no newes, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they fent Lylander to raise all the Countries about Phocis, and with such forcesas he could leavie, to attend the comming of Paufanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath beene shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesius. Lylander did as he was appointed, and being of great 20 reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. Paulanias likewise raised all Peloponness, except the Corinthians, (who refused to affist him in that enterprise) meaning to joyne with Lylander, and make a speedie end of the war. The confideration of so great a danger, approching so swiftly, caused the Thebans to feeke what helpe they could abroade, for a fmuch as their owne ftrength was farre too little to make relistance against such mightie preparations. It was not vnknowne to them, that many followers of the Lacedamonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durft ytter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were litle auaileable, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurtas they could by which manner of tergiuersation, the AO Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the fafest course to procure the affiftance of same Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their lide, which would cause many others to follow the example, & make their partie strong. To this end they fent Embassadours to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewen in their refusall of affishing Pausanias, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honours fake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to 50 her former Estate and Dignitie. Thrasphulus and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had beene well entertained at Thebes, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacedemonians in this Warre; but that

it should affift the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest Pausanias lay

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ftill, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; Ly/ander being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to Haliartus, where, though Paulanias did not meete him, as had beene appointed, yet he attempted the Towne. and was flaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victorie did encourage the Thebans, fo the comming of Paulanias with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with prefentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were foonercuiued by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, Paulanias durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie, for which, either cowardife or indifcretion, he was at his re- 10 turne to Sparta condemned as a Traitour, and driven to flie into Tegea, where hee ended his daies in banishment.

#### ). VII.

How AGESILAVS was called out of Asiato helpehis Countrie. A victorie of the Spartans. CONON the Athenian, assisted by PHARNABAZUS. ouercomes the Lacedamonian fleet; recouers the mastrie of the Seas ; and rebuilds the walls of Athens. His good successe, and the confederacie made with Athens, gaue such

reputation to the Thebans, that the Argines, Corinthians, Eubwans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith fide with them, and raifing a strong Armic, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedemonians, as neare as they might, to their owne dores; Confidering that the force of Spartait felfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparts perceiuing the danger, sent for Agesilaus, who readily obcied them, and promifing his friends in Asia to returne speedily to their affillance, passed the straights of Hellejpont into Europe. In the meane time the Cities of the new league had given battaile to the Lacedomonians, and the remainder of their Affociates, but with ill fuccesse. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the A gines and Thebans returning from the chase in some diforder. were broken and defeated by the Lacedamonians, who meeting them in good order, wonne from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacedamonians, and made the victoric of that day entirely their owne. The report of this battaile meeting Agefilaus at Amphipolis, were by him fent ouer into Ala, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had fince his departure seene the Spartan fleet beaten, and Lifander the Admirall flaine. The same man, whose endeauour had brought the Athenians into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedamonians with money, and all manner of 40 fundlies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was despoiled of her old reputation, and scars y able to maintaine an Armie by Land for her owne defence. Pharnabazus confidering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the Greekes divided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from undertaking abroade, thought it the safest way for himselfe. during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not neede any more, to seeke peace by entreatie and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vn-prouoked had fold his loue for thirtie Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped, when the fleet of Athens was surprifed by Lylander at £gos-Potamos; giving him the command of a great Nauie, 10 wherewith he requited the loffe received at Agos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedemonians with the like destruction of their fleet at Cnidus. After this victorie Conon failed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberalitie of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of his victorie, so strong a Nauie, and so much gold, as encouraged the

Athenians to rebuild their walls, and thinke more hopefully ypon recouring the Signorie which they had loft,

#### VIII.

Of fundrie small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedamonians loofe all in Afia; The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.

Euerthelesse the Lacedamonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for fome yeares the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this loffe at Sea. For Agefilaus obtained the better with his horse-men, from the Thessalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He walted Baotia, and fought a great battaile at Coronea against the Thebans, and their Allies, whom hee ouerthrew; and by his Marshall

Gylis forraged the Countrie of Locris: which done, he returned home. The gaine of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battailes of Coronea vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite vnto them, and retired vnbroken to Mount 20 Helicon, opening way perforce when Agessiaus charged them in their returns from the pursuit. Likewise Gylis was slaine with a great part of his Armie by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Lacedamonians performed against the Corinthians, were repaied with equall damage received in the parts adjoyning; many Townes being eafily taken, and as eafily recourred. The varietie of which enter-feats was fuch, that the Thebans themselves were drawne, by the losse of the Hauen of Corinth, to fue for peace, but could not get audience, till fuch time as the newes came of a great victoric obtained by Iphicrates, Generall of the Athenian-forces at Lechaum; whereupon the Theban Embaffadours being fent for, and willed to doe their meffage, required only in scorne, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into Corinth. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the Acheans, confederates of Sparta, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrarie side, vntill Agefilaus repaied these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did fo afflict the Acarnanes that they were driven to fue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the succeffe of all depended. For when the Townes of Alia perceived, that the Lacedamomians were not only intangled in an hard warre at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having loft their fleet at Cnidus; they soone gave care to Pharnabazus, who promifed to allow that they should vie their owne lawes, if they would expell 40 the Spartan Gouernours. Only the Citie of Abidus did stand firme, wherein Dercyllidas lay, who did his best to containe all the Townes about Hellespont, in the alliance of the Lacedamonians; which he could not doe, because the Athenian fleet vnder Thrasphulus tooke in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of Lesbes to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

> Q. IX.
>
> The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedamonians. Of fundrie fights and other passages in the warre. The peace of ANTALCIDAS.



Bout this time the Spartans beganne to perceive, how vneasie a thing it would bee, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselues, affifted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering, not only to renounce the Greekes inhabiting Alia, and to leave them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, and enery Towne in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute libertie, whereby they faid that all the principall Estates of their Countrie would so be weakened, that no one, nor all of them should becable to stirre against the great King. And fure it was, that the power of the Countrie being so broken, and rent into many fmall peeces, could neither have disquieted the Persian, by an offensive warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would have left it easie for him in continuance of time, to have taken the Cities one after an other, till hee had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the Dominion of the Seas was like to returne to Athens, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weake; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe joyned together against the Lacedemonians, did by their seuerall Embaffadours oppose themselves vnto it, and for that it was thought safest for Artaxerxes, rather to weaken the Lacedamonians yet more, than by interpoling himfelfe to bring friends and foes on the fuddaine to an equalitie. Especially Struthes, whom Artaxerxes did fend as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did feeke to repay the harme done by Agefilaus in those parts; which his intent appearing plaine, and 29 all hope of the peace being thereby cut off: Thimbro was fent into Alla to make war vpon Struthas; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre, being feattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land grew almost to the manner of piracie and robberie, affording many skirmillies, but few great actions worthie of remembrance. Thimbro was flaine by Struthas, and in his place Diphridas was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. Dercyllidas was removed from his charge at Abydus, because hee had not impeached Thrasybulus in his enterprises about Hellespont; Anaxibius, who succeeded him, was surprised and slaine in a skirmish by Iphicrates the Athenian. Thrasybulus, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was flaine by the way at Alpendus; the Citie of Rhodes having long before joyned 20 with the Lucdamonians, who crefted there (as was their manner) an Ariflocratic, or the Gouernement of a few the principall Citizens, where as contrariwise the Athemians were accustomed to put the Soueraignetic into the handes of the people, each of them feeking to affure themselues, by erecting in the Townes of their Confederates a Gouernment like vnto their owne: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobilitie to fauour Sparta, and the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of Egina roued vpon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Armie in £gina, and beliege their Towne : but this liege being raifed by the affiftance of the Lacedamonian fleet, the Handers beganne a-new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships againe, that returned 40 beaten, having loft foure of thirteene. The loffe of these ships was soone recompensed by a victoric which Chabrias the Athenian Generall had in Agina, whereuppon the Handers were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well feeme strange that the Citie of Athens, having but newly raised her walls; having not by any fortunate and important battaile fecured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the affiftance of fuch Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discouered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would fend a fleet and an Armie to Cyprus, in defence of Euagoras, when the mastric of the Seas was foill affored, that an Iland lying in the eie of Piraeus, had abilitie to vexe the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weening of that Citiedid cause so it viually to embrace more than it could compaffe; fo the infolencie and shameleffe injustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keepe themselues farre out of fight, and to seeke emploiments at such distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, and from publike judgements, out of which

few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did passe away much part of his time in the slile of Leibus; I photates in Thrace; and chabrius now did carrie away in coffund to the property of the state of the sta

Io as it lay in Pir.ans, thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten flips prepared for the fight, than with twentic lying in harbour, whole Marriners were all fleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore hee failed by night vinto the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on thore, & few or none left aboord to make reitlance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with marchandizes, many filher-men, passenger, and other Vesselb, as many of the rest as the time would sinter. About this time Pharnabazas, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom hee lived about the

20 Court; and many Officers that fauoured the Lacedamonians were placed in the lower Afa; by whofe affiftance, the fleet of Spartagrew victorious about Hellefpont; in fuch wife, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themfelues procured by Anideidas, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, guiung freedome to all the Cities of Greece, and duiding the Countrie into as many seuerall States as there were pettie Boroughs in it. Thus Artaerxes having bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of Controuersics between the Greekes, disposing of their businesses in the wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of Artaxerxes his decree was, That all Asand Cyprus flouid be his owne; the lles of

30 Lemnos, Imbrus, and Seirus be fubject to Athens; all other Greeke Townes, as well the little as the great, bee fet at libertie; and that who focuer should refuse this peace, upon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their loss as Sea; the Lecedamonians by renole of their Consederates, and the necessities of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) sid consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of Antalei-dass whereof the Lacedamonians taking upon themselues the execution, did not only compell the Argiues to depart out of Corints (which under pretence of descending

40 they held by Garrifons, lately thrush into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leave Baestia five, of which Province Thebans had alwaies held the government the Thebans them like being allo comprehended under the name of Baestins, but caused the "Mantineans to throw downet heir owne Citie, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly been accustomed for odoe, though purposing indeede to chaltife them, as having been eill affected to Sparta in the late war. By these courses the Lacadamoniums did hope that all the small. Townes in Greec—would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having loft all their dependants, would be vanable to make opposition.

The warre which the Lacedemonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.



Hilest these warres, which ended without either victorie or profit, confumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citic of Olynthus in Thrace was growne so mightie, that shee did not only command her Neighbour-Townes, but was become terrible to places farre remoued, and to Sparta it selte. Great part of Mucedonia, together with 10

Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians, who fol-Jowing the viual pretence of the Lacedamonians, to fet at libertie the places ouer which King Amputas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearest vnto the danger of these incrocking neighbours, acquainted the Lacedamonians with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthians would bee too throng for all Greece, if some continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted, wherefore they requested affishance, but in such termes as did found of compuliion; protesting that either they must warre upon Olynthus, or become fub ect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastic leauic of 20 men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to bee seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the bodie of the Armie following them surprised the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betrajed into the handes of Pherbidas the Lacedemonian, by fome of the Magistrates, who fought to strengthen their faction by the flauerie of their Countrie. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made betweene them; which caused the Lacedamonians to doubt whether this act of Phabidas were more worthie of reward or of punishment; In conclusion, profit to farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deede was approued, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death, ma- 20 niedriuen into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to ferue the Lacedamonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power having strengthned the Lacedemonians, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwith flanding the loffe of one great battaile, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe to their obedience.

#### X I.

How the Thebans recoursed their libertie, drining out the Lacedemonian Garrison,



a Fter this Olynthian Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found meanes to shake off their voke, and gaue both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe

of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for seare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laied betweene these two, that soone found very good fucceffe, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men for sooke Albens privily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day fecretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like hulband-men re-

# CHAP.II. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

turned from worke, and so passed vndiscouered vnto the house of Charon, whom Phyllidas the Scribe had drawne into the confpiracie. The day following, a folemne fealt being then held in the Citic, Phyllidas promifed the Gouernours, who were infolent and luftfull men, that hee would conucigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Lames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Haning cheared them with fuch hope, and plentic of good wine, hee told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came, that hee could not make good his promife, vnleffe they would difmiffe their followers; because the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure, that any of the feruants to should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Gouernours loofe behaviour, flew them all voon the fodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then prefently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where faining themselves to come to the Gouernours vpon bufinesse, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the Lacedemonian faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prifon; flew the Gaoler; and fet at libertie fuch as they thought meete, and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants knowne. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the proclamation, thought the Rebells to bee 20 stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practife to discouer such, as would be forward vpon occasion of revolting. But as foone as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes and befieged the Caftle, fending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the refeue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speede to affish their Countrimen, but procured fome Athenians to joyne with them, and thereby came fo strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through feare than any necessitie, youn condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the 20 Captaine at his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all thinges prepared as carneftly for the recovering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had beene taken from the Lacedamonians, and not a Towne perfidioufly vsurped by them, restored to her owne libertie. Cleombrotus, one of the Kings, was fent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers, with a voilefome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harmedone; leaning Sphodriss, with part of his Armie, at Thespies, to inself the Thebans; who doing them fome displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Hauen of

Athens, which failing to take, hee wasted the Countrie adjoyning, and draue away Cattaile, cauling by this outrage the Athenians to enter with all their power into the Warre, out of which they were before very carefully feeking how to with-draw themfelues.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leustra to the battaile of Mantinæa.

How Theles and Athens is yned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban oreatnelle.



HE Lacedomonians were men of great refolution, and of much gravitic in all their proceedings, but one difhonorable rule they held, That all respects withflanding the commoditie of Sparta were to be negicated; the practife of which doctrine, euen by the best and wifelt of them, did greatly blemith that Effate, but when it was put in execution by infufficient ouerweening men, it feldome failed to bring ypon them in 10 itead of profit vnjuftly expected, both thame and loffe. And so it befell them in these enterprises of Phabicas, vpon the Caftle of Thebes, and Sphodrias vpon the Pi-

reus. For howfocuer Agelilaus did spoile the Countrie about Thebes, in which hee spent two Sommers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise beganne to looke abroade, sailing to the Ile of Coreyra, where they ordered thinges at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the Peloponnesian warre, to furround Peloponnesia with a Nauie; afflicting fo the Lacedamonians, that had not the Thebans by their infolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had beene very likely that the course of this war, should have soone come to a good end, which neverthelesse, being profequented by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the Citie of Sparta as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroched energyday upon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had beene dependants upon Athens, and finding themselues, whilest engaged in such a warre, viable to relieue their complaining friends, resoluted to settle the affaires of Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which Antaleidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent Messengers which purpose they willed the Thebans to fund Embassadours along with them to Sparta; who readily condefeended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace, which came to passe being so wrought by the couragious wise-dome of Epaminoud, i, who understood farre better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the Lacedemonians and Atherians did foone agree; but when the Thebans offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the Barotians; Agefilaus required them to sweare in their owne name, and to leave the Business free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Eparainondus made answere, That the Citie of Sparta should give example to Thebes by fetting the Laconians free; for that the Signorie of Baotis did by as good right appertaine to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly Spoken; but was heard with no patience : For Agesslaus bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawne back out of Alainto Greece, and disappointed of all the glorie which he had hoped to atchieue by the Perfian Warre, did

now very paffionately vrge that point of fetting the Bastians at libertie, and finding it as oblinately refuled, he dash thename of the Thebans out of the league. At the fame time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparta lay in Phocis, who received command from the Gouernours of Sparta forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there flaine at Leuctra, and with him the flowre of his Armic. This battaile of Leuctra being one of the most famous that cuer were fought betweene the Greekes, was not fo notable for any circumftance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it selfe, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of Sparta, but especially, for that after this battaile (betweene 10 which and the conclusion of the generall peacethere passed but twentie daies) the Lacedamonians were neuer able to recouer the firength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neare; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little Region of Buoria, did now beginne to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of Sparta. So much doe the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly indured, advance the affaires of the diftreffed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and case had through luxurie, rechlessenesse, and many other vices or vani-20 ties, made ruftie and effeminate:

d. II.

How the Athenians tooke upon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. Epaminon das inadeth and wastein the Territorie of Lacedamon.

He Athenians, refuling to take advantage of this overthrow fallen vppon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedamonians; did neuertheleffe finely give them to vider fland, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded. which Agefilan (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left upperfect, they affembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at Athens where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well finall as great, was ratified, vnder the stile Of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon beganne fresh garboiles. The Mantingans, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their owne pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their towne, reedifie it, and alliethemselues with such of the Areadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Areadians, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were 40 distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondencie with the Lacedemonians; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedamonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantimeans; not take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the Areadians, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraine helpe. Then was an Armie fent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Teges, against the Mantineans, but indeed against them both. Agefilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time fubdued the Phocians, & were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubwans, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred Pelaponne fus in fauor of the Areadians, who had vpon expectation of their com-50 ming, abstained from giving battaile to Agesilans. The Armic of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminondas joyned with the Areadians; the Region of Laconia was inuaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost sixe hundred yeares were spent, since the Dorians, under the posteritie of Hercules, had seized upon Laconia, in all which time the found of an

encounters trumpet was not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeares were not fully past fince all Greece was at the denotion of the Spartans : but now the Region which neither Agree with his huge Armic could once looke vpon, nor the mightic forces of and other Enemie States had dared to fet loot on, faning by ftealth, was all on a light fire, the very fmoke whereof the women of Sparta were albamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the Laced amonians did not iffue out of Sparta to fight, but fought how to preferue the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their Heiloges or Slaues, as were willing to beare Armes in defence of the State, and formwhite pitrifully entreated the Athenians to give them fuccour. From Corinth and fonce Townes of Pelapannefus they received speedie affiftance, the Athenians came 10 forward more flowly, so that Epaminondas returned without battaile, having rebuilded the Citic of Messene, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the Lacedemonians many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselues.

ò. III.

The composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe inuade and spoile Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

His journie therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the Spartans, 20 in fuch wife, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raifed, nor any maner of precedence; but fending Embaffadors from Sparta, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto Athens, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might bee Generalls by Land. This had beene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Citics; but it was rejected, because the Marriners and others that were to be imploied at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have ferued under the Lecedemonians. Wherefore it was 20 acreed that the authoritie should be divided by time, the Athenians ruling flue daies, the Lacedomonians other five & fo fuccessively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessitie be very flowly advanced, where confultation, refolution, and performance are fo often to change hands. This appeared by a fecond inualion of Pcioponnefus, wherein the The lans found their enemies so vanable to impeach them, that having fortified If homes from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against xerves, they were driuen out of their strength by Epaminondas, who forraged the Countrie without refiflance. But as the Articles of this league betweene Athens and Sparta did, by dini- 40 ding the conduct in fuch manner, difable the focietie, and make it infufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the Arcadians confidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldierthip, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by encreasing whose greatnest hey should strengthen their owne voke. Hereupon they began to demeane themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and fulpected of the Thebans in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace having been made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of Mef-Tone was not abandoned to the Lacedemonians) the next enterprise of the Spartans and their friends was vpon these Areadians, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were querthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitic being as pleafing to their Confederates as to their Enemies. d. IIII.

#### ò. IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Perfian; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

He Thebans especially rejoyced at the Areadians misfortune, consider ring, that, without their aide, the forceffe of all enterprifes proved for ill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished

very well what focuer they tooke in hand, and were become not only ictorious ouer the Lacedamonians, but Patrons over the Theisdians, and a rations of the great quarrells that had rifen in Macedonia, where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleafed them best, they carried Philip the Some of Amyntas, and Father of Alexander the Great, as an Holtage vnto Shopes. Having therefore obtained fuch reputation that little feemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they fought meanes of alliance with the Perfan King, to whom they fent Embaffadour the great and famous Captaine Pelapidas, who foreputation drew Artaxerxes to grant vnto the Thebans all that they 20 defired; whereof two especiall points were, That Messen should remaine free from the Lacedamonians, and that the Athenians should forbeare to fend their ships of Warre to Seasonly the later of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of Greece did also fend their Embassiadours at the fame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a fure partie in Greece, did vpon many waightie confiderations refolue, to binde the Thebans firmely ento him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should bee on that fide his owne fecuritie. The Athenians had been ancient enemies to his Crowne; and, having turned the profit of their victories upon the Persian to the purchase of a 20 great Effate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in fuch pur ffant manner, that (fundrie grieuous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrib'e warre, wherein the Lacedamonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplied with treasure, and all forts of aide by Darius Nothus, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indifcretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedamonians being victorious oner Athens, had no fooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of Asia, from which though, by the commotion raifed in Greece with Person gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and fetled thinges in Greece, it was not vnlikely, that they flould vpon the next aduantage have purfued the fame enterprise, had not they been empeached 40 by this Theban Warre. But the Thehans contrariwife had alwaies discourred a good affection to the Crowne of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his inuation of Greece; with Darius and the Lacedamonians against Athens; And finally having offered much contumely to Azeillaus when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good deservings. they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroade, whereunto if perchance they should have any delire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes, which they could not feize upon without open breach of that peace; whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly condescend vnto the 50 requests of Pelapidas, as farre forth as hee might without giving open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Asia. The ill meanes which the Greeks had to diffurbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after

these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the

Nnnn 2

affaires of Greece beene fo composed, that any one Citie might without empeach-

ment of the rest have transported an Armie, to affish the revolting Satrape, or Vice-

roses of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Myfia, Lycia, Pifidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phanicia,

humane reason can hardly finde the meanes, by which the Empire could have been

preferred from that ruine, which the dinine Councell had deterred vnto the daies of

Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthic Prouinces, wanting a firme bodie of good and hardie Souldiers, was in short space discussed and ya-

nithed like a mift, without effect; thefe effeminate Afatiques wearied quickly with the

trauailes and dangers incident to warre, for faking the common cause, and each man

former treason to his Prince, & purchase with all his owne promotion with encrease

of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not

as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than here-

after to interrupt the Narration of things more important: both for that it was like

a fuddaine from, rafhly commenced, idlely followed, and foolithly laied downe,

having made a great noise without effect, and having finall reference to any other a-

ction regardable; as also because in the whole raigne of Artaxerxes, from the warre of Cyrus, to the inuation of Agypt, I finde nothing (this infurrection, and a fruit leffe

journey against the Cadusans excepted) worthy of any mention, much lesse of digres-

way fo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleafure; which an Empire fo great and wealthy

could affoord vnto fo absolute a Lord, with little diffurbance. The troubles which

he found were only or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which Pary-

fatis the Queen-Mother bare vnto his wife Statira, and to fuch as had been the grea-

test enemies to her sonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death : vpon whom, when by poi-

fon and mischieuous practises shee had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge,

thenceforth the wholly applied her felfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him

the leud desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perswasson, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace doe readily entertaine, That his

to bomeafured, and adjudged to be good or eaill. In this imaginarie happineffe Pe-

lopidas, and the other Emballadours of Greece, both found and left him, but left him

by fo much more affored than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his

Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did feeme to promife,

if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the same felicitie to him and his, or (at the

leaft) a full fecuritie of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared.

But fuch foundations of eternitic laied by mortall men in this transitorie world like

the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or made vaine and ynprofitable.

ere the frame can be raifed to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the buil-

that had fent Embassadours to the Persian. For whereas it had been concluded, that

all Townes, as well the little as the great, should bee fet at libertic, and the Thebans

made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of

all controuerfies that might arife, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into

this Confederacies the Kings letters being folemnely published at Thebes in the pre-

fence of Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was

required for observation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatoric an-

fwere was made by the Embaffadours, who faid that they were fent to heare the ar-

ticles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to send vnto each

ly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their ex-

ample to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom

this negotiation with Artanernes gaue neither addition nor confirmation of great-

nesse, but left them as it found them to relie upon their owne swords,

of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the Carinthians had bold- 50

ders. Hercof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other Estates of Greece 40

owne will was the supreme law of his subject, and the rule by which all things were 20

fion from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed as 22

ftriuing to bee the first that by treason to his companie should both redeeme the

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CHAP. 12. S. 5. of the Historie of the World.

How all Greece was distiled, between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on the one fide, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tunnilis rifing in Arcadia.

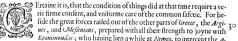
He condition of thinges in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all her followers into a cruell intelline warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Effate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyne their forces against the Thebans, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and Achaians, followed the partie of thele ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in diflike of those who by strong hand were readic to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not fodainely aspire without some injurie and much enuie. The Citie of Thebes abounding with men whom necessitie had made warlike, and many vi-Stories in few yeares had filled with great spirits, & being so mightie in dependants, that shee had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peloponness (the Region of Attica and very little part befide excepted) under fuch acknowledgement, as wan-20 ted not much of meere Vassallage, did hope to bring all Peloponnejus to the like obedience, wherein alreadie shee had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia. The Argines had beene alwaies bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselues in ancient Nobilitic Superiours. but were farre under them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of looling all: which caused them to suspect and enuic nothing more than the greatnesse and honor of Sparta, taking truce with her when shee was at rest and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmely joyning with her enemies whenfoeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the Argines were, in hatred of Sparta, fure friends of Thebes, so the Arcidians, trans-30 ported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the Lacedamonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought conucnient by Epaminondas, and the State of Thebes, to fend an Armie into Pelsponnesus, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens, which was very strange, and seemed no leffe to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the fame time when the Arcadians treated with them, did neuertheleffe accept this new 40 Confederacie, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, how socuer these Areadians were enemies to the Lacedamonians, they should hereby be drawne somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was vnlikely to inuade Peloponnesus with a strong Armic. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay, the comming of Epaminondas; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of Corinth, which lay vpon the 1sthmus, and had beene aduerse to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grieuous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians, to visit Peloponnesus with an Armic, confishing of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had rifen in Arcadia about confecrated money, which many principall men 50 among them had laied hands on, under pretence of imploying it to publique vses. In compounding the differences growne ypon this occasion, such, as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their handes, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countrimen, as people desirous of innouation. This was done: but the vp-roare

Nnnn 2

δ. V.

thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the Areadians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe fearfe pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to Thebes, Evaminondas turned all the blame upon them who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their sidelitie, by the affistance which they should give him, in that warre, which he intended to make in Pelapannefue. These Lordly wordes did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mightic a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to bee made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before fought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrie, by drawing thinges to 10 some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to Athens for helpe, and withall dispatched some of the principal among them as Embassadours to Sparta. by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponne (wo, now readic to be inuaded. This Embaffage brought much comfort to the Laced amonians, who feared nothing more than the comming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew that all their forces, and best prouisions, would bee no more than very hardly fufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatines, they (who had been accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wife communicate with the powerfull Citic of Athens, till other hope of fecuring their owne Eflate could not be thought vpon) did now verie gently yeeld to the Arcadians, that 20 the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be given, for the time, to that Citic, in whose Territoric it lay.

### V I. Aterrible inualion of Peloponnesus by EPAMINONDAS.



ince the generote channel of the other parts of the strength to joyne with Epanismondar, who having lien a while at Nemea, to intercept the Atheniams, received there intelligence, that the Armie comming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Arcadia belides, forth-with declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be you fuch of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caused the Lacedemonian Captaines to fortific Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend for Agefilaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that finall force of able men, which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held fo good espiall vpon his Enemies, 40 that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hastic aduertisement of his purpose to Agefiland, who was then well onward in the way to Mantinga, the Citie of Strarta had fodainely beene taken. For thither with all speede and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had furely carried the Citie, notwithstanding anie defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Agelilaus in all flying hast got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrivall of the Lacedemonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, fo it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon Mantinea. It was the time of Haruest, which made it very likely that the Mantineans, finding the warre to be carried 50 from their walls into an other quarter, would vie the commoditie of that vacation. by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattaile into their fields, whilest no enemic was neare that might empeach them. Wherefore hee turned away from Sparta to Mantinea, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vponall that might

be found without the Citie. The Mantineans (according to the expectation of Enaminondas) were scattered abroade in the Countrie; farre more intent vpon their haruest-bulinesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking them-Chies out of distance. By which prefumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattaile, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a desperate case; and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of helding out, when the enemie should have taken all their provision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not ouer-dearely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to focietic with Thebes. But at the same time, the Athenians comming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at Mantines, were very earneftly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer those who otherwise were given as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to bee the best Souldiers of all the Greekes, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies beene giuen to the Thessalians, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but only in defire of relicuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding folong as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meat, and giving a lu-20 stie charge vpon the enemie, who as brauely received them, after a long and hot fight they remained masters of the field, giving by this victoric a safe and easie re-trait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the Becations arrived in the place soone after this battaile, whom the Lacedamonians and their Affistants

#### δ. V I I.

The great battaile of Mantinaa. The honourable death of Erami-NONDAS, with his commendation.



were not farre behinde.

PAMINONDAS, confidering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of furprifing Sparta and Mantinea hauing failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the Peloponnesians, would soone vanish, valesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first grouth, and leave some

memorable character of his expedition; refolued to give them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his owne Associates, and to leave the Spartans as weake in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for 40 that battaile, wherein victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacritic of his Souldiers to be fuch, as promifed the accomplishment of his owne defire; he made shew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their fenses with amazement, when hee should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with verie much tumult, as in fo great and sodaine a danger, the enemie ranne to Armes, necessitie enforcing their resolution, and the confequence of that daies service vrging them to doe as well as they might. The Theban Armie confisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the La-50 cedamonians and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The Mantineans (because the warre was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing , and with them the Lacedemonians : the Athenians had the left wing, the Acheans, Eleans, and others of lesseaccount, filled the bodie of the Ar-

mic. The Thebans flood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the La-

cedemonians, having by them the Arcadians , the Eubwans, Locrians, Sievonians, Melsemians, and Thesialians with others, compounding the maine battaile; the Argines held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flancks, only a troupe of the Eleans were in reare. Before the footmen could joyne, the encounter of the horse on both tides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prenailed, not withit and ing the valiant relitance of the Athenians; who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were ouer-laied with numbers, and so beaten vpon by The failing things, that they were driven to for lake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the leffe difgracefull, because they kept themfelues together, and did not fall backe upon their owne foot-men; but finding the Theban horse to have given them over, and withall discovering some Companies of foot, which had beene fent about by Epaminondas, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane feafon the battaile of the Athenians had not only to doe with the Argines. but was hardly proffed by the Theban Horfe-men, in such wise that it beganne to open, and was readic to turne back, when the Elean Squadron of Horse came up to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the Lacedamonians and Thebans meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour, fo that equall courage and equall loffe on both fides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: 20 unlesse perhaps the Lacedamonians being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as having borne the first brunt, and furse of the on-fet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practife of a few yeares, cannot bee thought to have gotten a habite fo fure and generall. But Epaminondas perceiuing the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to bee such, as neither the badde successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the Baotian Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foote of ground; taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied 20 with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rancks, and cleave the whole battaile in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day wonne by the Thebans, who may justly bee said to have carried the victorie, feeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the Athemans, as a token that the victoric was partly theirs, the flaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the recayning of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonic regardable only among the Greekes, and ferued meerely for oftentation, flewing that by the fight they had obtayned formewhat, which the 40 Enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the Thebans arriued at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who for sake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and proweffe. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of Epaminondas, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the Lacedemoman esquadron, and forced it to give back in difaray, was furiously charged on the fodaine, by a desperate Companie of the Spartans, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, hee nevertheleffe with a fingular courage maintayned the fight, vfing against the Enemies many of their 50 Darts, which hee drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a Spartsn, called Anticrates, hee received so violent a stroke with a Dart . that the wood of it brake, leauing the yron and a peece of the tronchion in his breft. Hereupon hee funke downe, and was foone conneighed out of the fight by his friends; having by his

tall somewhat animated the Spartans (who faine would have got his bodie) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the Thebans, who raging at this heauie mischance did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. Epaminondas being brought into his Tent, was told by the Philitians, That when the head of the Lart should bee drawne out of his bodie, hee must needes die. Hearing this, hee called for his shield, which to haue lost was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. Hee bad them tell him which part had the victorie; answere was made, to that the Baotians had wonne the field. Then faid hee, it is faire time for mee to die, and withall fent for Iolidas, and Diophantes, two principall men of Warre, that were both flaine; which being told him, He aduifed the Thebans to make Peace, whileft with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his bodie; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iffue, by telling them that the victories of Leuctra and Mantines were two faire Daughters, in whom his memorie should liue.

So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of Greece, and hardly to bee matched in any Age or Countrie : for hee equalled all o-20 thers in the feuerall vertues, which in each of them were fingular. His Iustice, and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wifedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof hee so excelled, That hee could not properly bee called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Prouident Captaine; all these Titles, and many other, being due vnto him, which with his notable Discipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect composition of an Heroique Generall. Neither was his private Conversation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroade. For hee was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique bufinesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildnesse; a louer of his People, bearing 30 with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his owne affections, and furnished with all qualities that might winne and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such estects as gaue vnto Thebes, which had euer-more beene an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the highest command in Grecce.

d. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinaa. The voiage of AGESILAVS into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and POMPEY the Roman.

His battaile of *Mantinea* was the greatest that had euer beene fought in that Countrie betweene the Naturals; and the last. For at Marathon, and Platea, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the Grecian valour; neither rather a great tame, than a narrottanto the operfect in the begin-were the practife of Armes and Art Militarie fo perfect in the begin-

nings of the Peloponnessan Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those

excepted which were vndertaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this laft fight all Greece was interefied, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victorie with preater care of the fuccesse, or more obstinate resolution. All which not with standing, the iffue being fuch as hath beene related, it was found best for every particular Effate, that a generali peace should be established, every one retayning what hee presently had, and none being forced to depend upon an other. The Messenians were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the Lacedamonians not to enter into it. Their franding out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclution: confidering that Sparta was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and 10 therefore might well bee allowed to show that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it felfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Countrie, so to the Cities of Athensand Sparta it associated leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine emploiment in Egypt, whither Agesslaus was fent with some small forces to allith, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to serue vider Taches King of Egypt in his warre vpon spria. Chabrias the Athenian, who had before commanded under Acoris King of Egypt, went now as a voluntarie, with fuch forces as he could raife, by entreatic, and oner of good pay, to the same service. These Agyptian Kings descended from Ampricus of Sais, who rebelled against Larius Nothus, having retained the Countrie not with flanding all intestine differences, and 20 forraine inuations, during three Generations of their owne race, were fo well acquainted with the valour of the Greekes, that by their helpe (calily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to affure themselves, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adjoyning, which were held by the Perfian. What the iffue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is that the rebellion it felfe had soone come to nothing, if Agellaus had not proued a talle Traitor, joyning with Neel anebus who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the money foreignments rince, and neigning the resonant man runa window money of Taches had waged. This fallhood Agelhac exculded, as tending to the good of his owne Countries though it feeme rather, that hee grudged because the King 30 tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vsing his service only as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howfocuerit came to passe, Tachos being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the Perfian, who vpon his fubmillion gaue him gentle entertainement; and Nectarehus (who feemes to have beene the Nephew of Tachos) raigned in his flead. At the fame time the Citizens of Mendes had fet vp another King, to whomall, or most of the Aeyptians yeelded their obedience. But Azeflano fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed fo faire, that hee left Nectanebus in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompense of histreason to the former King Tachos, and good service done to himselfe, rewarded him with 40 two hundred and thirtie Talents of filter, with which bootie failing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant and a good Leader in warre, free from couetoufnesse, and not reproched with any blemish of lust; which praises are the leffe admirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparia was fuch as did enduceueric one of the Citizens (not caried away by the violent flreame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. Hee was nevertheleffe very arrogant, peruerfe, vnjust, and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obflinately profecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of Xenophon had filled him with an opinion; that by his hand the Empire of Persia should be overthrowne; with which conceipt being transfeorted, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans, and their Allies, hee did euer after beare such hatred vnto Thebes, as compelled that Estate by meere neceffitie to grow warlike, and able, to the vtter dishonour of Sparla, and the irreparable loffe of all her former greatnesse. The commendations given to him by

\*\*Renophon\*\* his good friend, haue caufed \*\*Plutareb\*\* to lay his name in the ballance against \*\*Pompey\*\* the Great ; whole actions (the folemine grauitie of carriage excepted) are very differoportionable. Yet we may truly fay, I hat as \*\*Pompey\*\* made great warres wader fundrie Climates\*, and in all the Prouinces of the \*\*Roman\*\* Empire\*\*, exceeding in the multitude of imploiments all that were before him; fo \*\*Age/laus\*\* had at one time, or other fome quarrell with euteric Towne in Greee, had made a Warre in \*\*Alia\*\*, and medled in the bulinefle of the \*\*Egppians\*\*, in which varietic he went beyond all his Predeceflours\*\*: yet not winning any Countries, as \*\*Pompey\*\* did manic, but obtayning large wages, which \*\*Pompey\*\* neuer tooke. Herein alfo they are very like; 10 Each of them was the laft great Captaine which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and cach of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly willfulnefle. We may therefore well flay, \*\*Similla magic omnia quam \*\*paria\*\*, Therefore\*\* blance was nearer than the equalitie.\*\* Indeede the freedome of \*\*Rome\*\*, was lot with \*\*Pompey\*\*, falling into the handes of \*\*Cess\*\*, whom he had enforced to take Armes \*\*Yetthe \*\*Roman\*\* Empire\*\* flood, the forme of Gouernement only being chan-

ged, But the libertic of Greece, or of Spartait selfe, was not forfaired vnto the Thebans, whom Age/han had compelled to enter into a victorious warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of Sparta was presently lost: and

Sparta was prefently loft: an the freedome of all Greece

being wounded in this Theban warre, and after much bloud loft iil healed by the peace enfuing, did very foone woon the death of Ageilus give vp the Ghoft, and the Lordfhip of the whole Countrie was feized by Philip King of Macedon, whose actions are now on foote, and more to bee regarded than the Contemporarie

to bee regarded than the Contempora paffages of thinges, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertij.

38



# "THE FIRST PART OF

# THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the raigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of Antigonus.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

ð. I

What Kings raigned in Macedon before PHILIP.



H E Greeks, of whom wee have alreadic made large difcourfe, not as yet wearied with intefine Warre, nor made wife by their vain econtention for fuperioritie, doe till, as in former times, continue the invalion and valtation of each other.

Againt Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberate, with as happie (uccells, as ouer Nation had, and with no lessed honour, than hath euer beene acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall, and experience, more than fortunate, a

gamit those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had 50 fo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as what so energound be spared from their owned illradion at home, they transported oner the Hellesson, as sufficient, to entertaine and busic them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with enery man of marke in the world, that they ynder-fall, and perish, by the hands and harmes, which they least feare; so fared it at this

this time with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the falt-growing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne fafeties, have ferued them for a strong argument of vnion and accord. But the glorie of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the Father of Philip, so much weakned them, and wonne vpon them, that they were not (as the Gracians perswaded themselues) in any one age, likely to recour their owne, much 10 lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeede, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storme-like, suddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decaied and broken banks, when great Rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themsclues, in breaking downe those defences, which stood between them and this inundation: than feeke to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was there-

Orofinilizacia- fore well concluded by OROSIVS: Gracia Cinitates dum imperare singula supiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by strining each of them to command all.

The Kingdome of Macedon, fo called of Macedon, the Sonne of Ofiris, or, as other Authors affirme, of Jupiter and Athra, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Agean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-well by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and Southwest, by The laise and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the familie of Temenus, of the race of Hercules, and by nation Argines; who are lifted as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the Affyrian Empire, Arbaces then governing Media; Caranus of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie 30 and tempelluous, he espied a great heard of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could hasting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon Caransus, calling to minde, that he had also by an other Oracle beene directed, to follow the first troupe of those beasts, that should either lead him, or slie before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being vndiscouered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without resistance, and pos-Enfish in Chron. Seltit. Soone after this, by the overthrow of Ciffeus, Caranus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twentie yeares. Canus succeeded Caranus, and raigned twelve yeares. Tyrimas followed Canus, and ruled eight and twentie

Perdiceas the first, the sonne of Tyrimas, governed one and fiftie yeares: a Prince. for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned, Solinus, Plinie, Julline, Eusebius. Theophilus Antiochenus, and others, affirme, that he appointed a place of buriall for himselfe, and for all the Kings of Macedon his Successours, at Aga: affuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is faid, that because 4lexander the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the Temenida failed in him: a thing rather denifed after the effect, as I conceine, than foretold by Perdiccas.

English, in chron. Argans succeeded vnto Perdicens, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Philip the first, his successor, raigned eight and twentie yeares.

Europus tollowed Philip, and governed fixe and twentie yeares: in whose infancie the Illyrians inuaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victorie, they purfued the fame to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resoluing either to recouer their former losse, or to loose at once both

their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King present;) or rather they perswaded themselues that there was no man fo voide of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natu- Eufeb. Justim. rall Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the handes of his feruants) able Amnien. The. to defend himselfe from destruction. The ike is reported by Aimsinus, of Clotarius 1.3.6.82. the fonne of Fredegunda.

Alzetas fucceeded Fropus, and ruled nine and twentic yeares.

Amyntas the first succeeded Alcetas, and raigned fiftie yeares; Hee lived at such to time as Darius Hystaspes, after his vnprosperous returne out of Seythia, sent Megabazus with an Armie into Europe, who in Kernes name required Amyntas to acknowledge him for his Supreame Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embaffadours, as you have heard before, were, for their infolent behaviour towards the Macedonian Ladies, flaine by the direction of Alexander, who was the fonne of Her, Enfluitions Amyntas, and his Successour.

Alexander, furnamed the rich, the forme of Amyntas, gouerned Macedon three and fortic yeares. He did not only appeale the wrath of Megabazus, for the flaughter of the Persian Embassadours, by giving Gygea his Sister, to Bubares of the bloud of Perlia, but by that match he grew fo great in Xernes grace, as he obtained all that 20 Region betweene the Mountaines of Olympus and Hemus, to bee vnited to the Kingdome of Micedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greekes. For Xerxes being returned into Asia, and Mardonius made Generall of the Persian Ar-Her.18. mie; Alexander acquainted the Greekes with all his intents and purposes against Plat. Euleb.

them. He had three Sonnes, Perdiceas, Alcetas, and Philip. Perdicess the fecond, the fonne of Alexander, lined in the time of the Peloponnelian

Warre, and raigned in all eight and twentie yeares. The Warres which hee made were not much remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by peeces, in Thursdides his first fixe bookes. He left behinde him two fonnes; Perdices; who was very yong, and Archelaus who was base borne.

Perdiceas the third, being deliuered to the custodie and care of Archelaus, was at feuen yeares of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false guardian : who excufing this fact to Cleopatra the Mother of the yong King, faid, That the child in fol- Platin Gorg lowing a Goose hastily fell thereinto by misaduenture. But Archelaus staied not Arist, Pol. 5. here: for having thus dispatched his Brother, hee flew both his Vncle Alcetas the sonne of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the sonne of this Alectas, his Cosen Germaine, and enjoyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twentie yeares.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plato and Ariftotle make mention, though hee made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many thinges greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is faid, That hee fought by all meanes to draw Socrates 40 vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured Eurypides the Tragedian. He had two fonnes, Archelaus and Orestes.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father, and having raighed seven yeares, hee was flaine in hunting, either by chance or of purpofe, by Crateus.

Orestes his yonger some was committed to the education of Aropus, of the rotall bloud of Macedon, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Pupill: for Eropus murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe yeares: the same who denied passage to Agestlaus King of Sparta, who desired after his returne from the Asian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into

This Vourget left three fonnes, Paulanias, Argaus, and Alexander. Paulanias ftic- Died Polyen. ceeded his father Fropus, and having raigned one yeare, hee was driven out by A- Plut in Demete myntas the sonne of Philip, the sonne of the first Perdiceas, the sonne of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preferred, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his brother Perdiccas, his Vncle Alcetas, and his fonne Alexander. This Amyntas O000 2

Paul Dien.

regned (though very vinquietly) foure and twentic yeares; for he was not only infair dby Paulania, aififted by the Tiracians, and by his brother Agains; incouraged by the Hyrans; and by the faid Argains, for two yeares disposled of Macedon: but on the other fide, the Olymbians, his Neighbours neare the Agains Sea, made themschines for a while Matters of Pelli, the chiefe Citic of Alacedon:

Amyrics the fecond had by his Wife Emydiae, the Illyrian, three Sonnes; Alexander the Coond, Ferdiacs the third, and Philip the fecond, Father of Alexander the Creat: and one Daughter called Emyone or Exine: He had allo by his fecond wife Organ three Sonnes; Archidans, Argan, and Alemelaus, afterward flaine by their brother Philip, He had more by a Concubine, Prolome\_funnamed\_Alories, of the 10-

Citie Alorus, wherein he was borne.

Aexander the second raigned not much about one yeare, in which time he was inuaded by Paufinia, the sonne of Aropus, but defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amplipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great fumme of money) to leave his yongest brother Philip in Hostage with the illy isms, who had subjected his Father Amyntus to the paiment of tribute. After this, Alexan ler, being inuited by the Alexande against Alexander the Tyrant of Phres in The salie, having redeemed his brother Philip; to draw the Thebans to his affiliance entred into confederacie with Pelapidas, being at that time in the fame Countrie, with whom be also left Philip with diners other principall persons for the gage of his promifes to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his Mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter Euryone or Extene, practized the death of Alexander her fonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which Prolomie Alorites did put in execution : by meanes whereof hee held Olizaedon for three yeares, but was soone after slaine by Perdicas the brother of Diod. 15. 6-16 Alexander. Diodor bath it otherwife of Philips being made pledge; and faith, That Amentas his Father delinered him for hoftage to the Elbrians, by whom he was conucied to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that Philip (while his Father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and delinered for hostage a second time by Alexander his Brother.

Perdians the third, after he had flaine Alorite his bafe brother, gouerned Materials the third, after he had flaine in a battaile againft the Idyrians, according to Triodoms; but intime affirmeth, that he perilhed by the practife of Encycles his Mother, as Alexander did.

II

The beginning of PHILLES raigne; and how he delinered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

Diod.1.16.

Inft.l.7.

Here the fecond, the yongest sonne of Amyntas by Eurydiee, having be the instructed in all knowledge requisite who the gouernment of beater instructed in all knowledge requisite who the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which bee had wider Epaminands, making an escape from Thehese returned into Masedom, in the building of Rome three hundred and fifth Olymptas, which was after the building of Rome three hundred sources and the temperature of the state of and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was intuitioned, hee tooks on han, not as King (for Parkieses left a sonne, though but an Instant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Varre. Yet his fruitfull ambition some our grew his modelfic, and he was cally persuaded by the people to go accept both the Title of King, and withall the absolute Rule of the Kingdome, and to say the truth, The necessities of the State of Masedom at that time required a King-both prudent and actine. For, besides the incurrions of the Elyrians and Pamsaman, the King of Theme did set up in opposition Pauglanias ; the Athanan, Are was

fonnes of the late V furper Eropus: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their owne Election. These heavie burdens when Philip could not well beare, he bought off the waightieft by money, and by faire promifes vnloded himfelfe of fo many of the reft, as he ranne under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother Perdicess had his death accompanied with foure shouland Macedonians, befide these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were delitroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mantias, did beate you him on all fides and quarters of his Countrie: Yet after he had practifed to the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Paulanias, he forthwith made head against the A henians his fliffest enemies : and, for the first, he preuented their recourse of Amphipolis, a Citie on the frontier of Micedon : and did then purfue Argieus the fonne of Fropus, fet against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retrait from Ages, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which Argans loft, having the oreatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained ynbroken, tooke the advantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the prefent furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquilhers life and libertie to returne into 20 Attics. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the Athenians for that prefent, and for this elemencie hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

ð. III.

The good successe which PHILIP had in many enterprises.

Ow had Philip leifure to looke Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Pagnians, his irreconciliable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with 60 profperous fuccesses, as hee flew Bardillis, King of the Illyrians, with seen chousand of his Nation, and thereby reconcerded all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedon; and withall,

vpon the dear's of the King of Pannonia, hee pierst that Countrie, and after a maine victorie obtained, heccaforithem to pay him tribute. This was no fooner done. than (without thaying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Lariffa, vppon the River Parens in Thestalie, of which Towns he soone made himselfe master; and thereby he gorgood footing in that Countrie, whereof he made vie in time following. Now although hee resolued either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Countrie were the 40 best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safetie to close up the entrances out of Thrace, least while hee inuaded Thessale and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either with draw him, or ouer-runne Macedon as in former times. He therefore attempted Amphipolis, feated on the famous River of Strimon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon, and wonne it. He alfo recovered Prana; and (to the North of Amphipolis) the Citie of Crenides ( fometime Datus ) and called it after his owne name Philippi : to the people whereof St. Paul afterward directed one of his Epiflles. This place, wherein Philippi flood, is very rich in Mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of Philips affaires, he drew yearely a thousand talents, which make fixe hunto dred thouland French Crownes.

And that hee might with the more ease disburden the Thratian-shores of the Athenian Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he entred into league with his Fathers malicious enemies the Olymbians; whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the Citie of Pydna with the Territoric, meaning

ning nothing leffe than that they should enjoy it, or their owne Estate, manie

Now that he might by degrees winne ground vpon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliner the Citie of Pheres in The Salie, from the tyrannie of Lreothron and Tiliphonus. Who, after they had conspired with Thebe the Wife of Alexander, who vfurped vpo the libertie of that State, they themselues (Alexander being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that Alexander did, till by the affiftance of Philip they were beaten out, and Pheres restored to her former libertie. Which act of Philip did for-cuerafter falten the Theffalians vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his feruice.

#### d. IIII.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew PHILIP into Greece.



Bout this time, to wit, in the second years of the hundred and fixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of Mantinea, and about the eighth yeare of Artaxernes Ochus, beganne that Warre, called Sacred. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of curry great alteration in the World there is some 20

preceeding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the Thebans, Theffalians, and Locrians, conceived against the Phocians, not only teach Philip how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greekes themselves beating downe their owne defences, to give him an casse passage, and beating themselves, to give him victorie without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne flauerie, fauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the Thebans (made over-proude by their victorie at Leuctres) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the Amphyétiones, or of the generall Estates of Greece, in which, at that time, they swaied most, they caused both the Lacedamonians and Phocians to bee condemned in greater fummes of money than they could well beare; the one for furprifing the Castle of Cadmeain the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians being resolued not to obay this Edict, were secretly set on and incouraged by the Lacedanionians: and for refufail were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accurfed, to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleafures.

The Phocians perfuaded thereunto by Philomelus, a Captaine of their owne, caft the same dice of hazard that Cafar after many Ages following did; but had not the fame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngratious quarrell, of which there was left no 40 hope of composition, they resolued to sack the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of Apollo's ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-God, and their neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolued to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevaile against all that had commission to call them to accompt. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the warre was ten thousand talents, which in those daies served them to wage a great many men, and fuch was their fucceffe in the beginning of the warre, as they wonne three great battailes against the Thebans, Theplains, and Lorinas, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader Philomelus cast himselfe head long ouer the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of Chersonesus, both to defend themselues against their bad-Neighbour Philip, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselues to the Athensans. Philip prepareth to get them into his handes, and at the fiege of Methone loft one of his eies. It is faid, That hee

that that him did purposely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After PHILIPPO; After to PHILIP; for so he was called plus Vibian. that gaue him the wound. This Citie he euened with the foile.

The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, while Philip was busied on the border of Thrace, and the Thesalians ingaged in the holy Warre, entred Thessalie with new forces, being affifted by Onomarchus, Commander of the Phocian Armie, in place of 1-hilamelus. For hereby the Phocians hoped to entertaine the Thesialians at home, as they should not finde leifure to inuade them. Hercupon was Philip the second time called into Thessalie, but both the Thessalians, and Macedonians, ( Philip being present) were veterly ouerthrowne by Onomarchus; and great numbers of both Nations loft. From The lalie, Onomarchus drew speedily towards Baetia, and with the . fame victorious Armie brake the forces of the Bactians, and tooke from them their Citie of Coronea. But Philip impatient of his late miladuenture, after hee hadre-enforced his Armic, returned with all speede into The salie, there to finde against he honour which he lately loft; and was the second time incountred by Onomarchus, who brought into the field twentie thousand foote, and fine hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for Onomarchus was by Philip surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armic ouerturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken; of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged 20 by Philip. Those that fled were in part received by the Athenian Gallies, which failed along fithe coast, commanded by Chares, but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein denoured ere they reconcred them. Lycophron was now againe driven out of The Salie, and Pheres made free as before.

of the Olynthian Warre. The ambitious practifes of PHILIP.

R om hence Philip resoluted to inuade Phoeis it selfe, but the Athénians did not fauour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the Thermopphis. Wherevpon hee returned into Mucedon, and after the taking of Micherne, Torone, and other Townes, hee quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his

peace of them. For the Olynthians were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the Macedonians. It is faid that Philip having put to death Archelaus his halfe brother (for Amentas had three fonnes by Eurydice the Mother of Philip, and three other fonnes by Gyges: but Philips elder brothers by the fame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himfelfe also of the rest) the two yonger held themselues 40 within Olynthus; and that the receiping of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the warre, Instine affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, forto full.18: this King all thinges were lawfull that might any way ferue his turne; all his affections and paffions, how-divers foeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp. and thereinto converted. For hee neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie, hee esteemed no place ftrong where his Affe loaden with gold might enter, Nor any Citie or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could loose the sense of other mens forrow and subjection. And because hee thought it vaine to practise the winning of Olynthus, till hee had inclosed all the power they had within their owne 50 walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere hee fate downe before the Citie it felfe: which done, he bought Enthierates and Lasthenes from their people, and from the service of their Countrie and Common weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, flew his brothers therein, fackt it, and fold the Inhabitants for flaues by

the drum. By the spoile of this place he greatly inriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was hee admised by the Oraclein the beginning of his vndertaking, That hee should make his assaults with siluer speares: Whereupon Horace well and truly said.

Hor.Carm.3. Od. 16. ———Diffidit Vrbium Portas vir Macedo, & Subruit amulos, Reges muneribus.———

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates a-funder, And Kings enuying his effate brought under. 10

And it is true that he wonne more by corruption and fraude than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greech is ferret workers (which way of Conqueff was well followed by Philip the fecond of Spaine:) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie, and Justice, but with a powerfull Armie, and hauing beaten and flaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfie, and made the Kingdome his owne.

#### ģ. VI.

How PHILIP ended the Phocian Warre.

He warre ftill continuing betweene the *Photisms*, and the Affociates of the holy Warre, the *Beotians*, finding them felues vnable to fubfift without some present adia, sent vnto *Philip* for fuccour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities and sent them fuch a proportion of men as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to affore them.

as were neither fufficient to mafter their enemies, nor to affure themfeliues, but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to wafte the fitnegth of 30
Greece. They also fent to Attacesce colus for supply of treasure, who lent them
there it is the supplies they had full the worst in all their attempts against the Photoms,
who held from them three of their strongest Cities within Bestias selfs. They then
besought Philip of Antecodo that hee would affish them in person, to whom they
would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obay his commandements in that Warre.

Now had Philip what he longed for ; for he knew himselfe in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedic pace towards Barotia, where being arrived, Phalleeus who commanded the 40 Phocian Armie, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and with-drew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leauing the Phocians to the mercie of the Conquerour, and for conclusion he had the glorie of that Warre called Sacred, which the Gracians with fo many mutuall flaughters had continued for ten yeares, and, belides the gloric, he polleft himselfe of orchomene, Coronea, and Corfia, in the Countrie of the Ba otions, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. Hee brought the Phocians into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, referuing to himfelfe the yearely tribute of threefcore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the same of pietie for service of the Gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the Amphyétiones, which the Phocians had, with the superintendencie of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Photian facriledge.

d. VII.

#### a. VII.

How PHILLE with ill faccesse attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium,



HILLI after his triumphant returne into C. Macedon, by the Licutenant of his Armie Parmenio, flaughtered many thousands of the Myrians, and Dardanians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their retenances. But his next enterprise against the Perindian: stated his furic. Perinthus was a Citic of Thrace, seared upon

Propontis, in the mid-way betweene Seitos and Byzantium, a place of reat trength, and a people resolved to defend their libertie against Philip, where incouraged and affilted them. Philip fate downe before it with a puif-Last Armie, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious affaults, built many oner-topping and commanding Towers about it. But hee was repel'd with equall violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall affaults to wearie them, and walts both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Perlina with men and money, and fuccoured from Byzantium which flood upon the fame Sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhoges, by the conduction 20 of Photion, with whatfocuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their Neighbourhood, and the casse passage by water, gaute them often and reactic helpe; Philip removed with the one halfe of his Armic and belieged it, leaving lifteene thouland foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; but to be flort, hee failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that viider-take divers enterprises at one time) and returned into Mucedon with no leffe dithonour than loffe: whereupon he made an Ouerture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly defired it, to which though Phocion perfwaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; Yet Demographenes with his eloquence prevailed in the refusall. In the meane while, Philip 30 hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threefcore and ten Marchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne A'exander, lead them into Scythia; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Aufia, set on him in his returne, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

#### VIII

How PHILLT overthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Cheronia, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of PHILLT.

Mong these Northren Nations (part of which hee suppress, and part quieted) hee spent some eight yeares; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he waste o his great aduantage inuited againe by the Gracians to their affishance. For the Citizens of Amplus's bauing disobated the decree of the Amplus's manifestations gauc countenance and aide to the Amplifications, the rest were not of themselutes able to constraine them, they be songht to come in person to their affishance. Now you must thinke that Philip was not long in resoluting you this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe back; nor other distrassion than a mastring power could hold thence. Het therefore commanded his Armie forthwish to march; the sime being compounded of thirtie thousand soote, and two thousand horse; and with as much

expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wanne Plataa, and brought into fubiection all that Region.

The reft, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to feare that a great part of this fforme would fall on themselves, yet were they diffwaded by Demosthenes from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered, and rather made choise (haning drawne the Thebans to joyne with them) to leaue the injoying of their estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of Philip. But this their Orators eloquence coff them deare. It is true that he could farre more casily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, then make them to be such as they were. Hee might to repeate vnto them (with wordes mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but hee could not transforme the Macedonians into Perlians, nordraw from the dead, a Miltiades, an ArsHides, a Themistocles, or a Cimon, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had paied with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the strength of a contrarie faction hee was at this time in differee, and not imploited: in so much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates incountred, although some thousand of the Athenians abid the killing, and the like number well neare of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of worthie men on that fide to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choise Captaines of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King 20 of a growing fortune, as it gaue to Philip to thining a victoric that Alexander by the light thereof found his way (in despisht of all the Nations interjacent) into Persia. India, and Agypt; foit cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the Gracian glorie : Yea their libertie (faith Curtius) with their large Dominion wonne with fo many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment and for ever lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disadvantage) to the end hee might obtaine the Soueraignetie ouer all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the Persians, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let goe those Athenians that were taken at this battaile of Cheronaa, as he also 20 forbare to attempt any thing against their Citie : but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of Epaminondas triumphed ouer the rest) heelodged a Garrison of Macedomians. And being fooneafter (according vnto the long defire which he had nourished of this Soueraignetie) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled The first Commander of all the Gracians, and contribution of men and money granted him, hee compounded an Armie of great strength, and under the commandement of Attalus and Parmenio, transported the same over the Hellespont into Asa, to beginne the Warre. Of his enterprise against Perlia hee sought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received such an other convertible riddle, as Crafus did when hee attempted Cyrus, and was in like fort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, fo did Philips ambitious defire to inuade Perfia abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himfelfe was threatned, he understood to be deliuered of his enemic, whom he intended prefently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, hee prepared for the marriage of his Daughter Cleopatra with Alexander King of Epirus, to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed hee inuited all his Friends, and Allies, with the principall persons of the Gracian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeede the feast of his Funerall. For bauing refused to doe justice to one Paufanias, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom Attalus (greatly fauoured by Philip) had first made drunke, and then 50 left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, This Paulanias grew into sogreat detestation of the Kings partialitie in so fowle a fact, as when Philip was passing towards the Theater, he drew a fword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had lined fixe and fortic yeares, and raigned five and twentie.

Justine reports it, that Olympias incouraged Paulanias to murder the King her huf- 128/19. band, which after his death shee boldly anowed, by the honour shee did vnto Paufanias in crowning his dead bodie, in confectating his fword vnto Apollo, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

#### I X.

What good foundations of ALEXANDERS greatnesse were laied by PHILIP. Of his landable qualities, and iffue.



Ow although he were then taken from the World, when he had mafred all opposition on that side the Sea, and had scene the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse, and perfecti-on, yet he was herein happie that he liued to see his some Alexander at mans estate, and had himselfe been an eie-witnesse of his resolution,

and fingular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laied so foundly for him, with fo plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more casie to Alexander, though more glorious than 20 the beginnings were vnto Philip, though leffe famous. For belides the recourse of Maceion it felfe, in competition betweene him and the sonnes of Aropus, the one affifted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the regaining of many places posses by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northren Kings his Neighbours, the ouerthrow of Olynthus, a State that dispised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and wonne vpon them; Hee left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them both for their valour and judgement in the Warre were no lesse wor-20 thie of Crownes, than himselfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was said of Parmenio (whom Alexander, vngtatefull to fo great vertue, impioufly murdered) That Parmenio had performed many thinges challenging eternall fame, without the King, but the King, without Parmenio, neuer did any thing worthie of renowne; as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obay the Sonne of fuch a Father, yet did they not after Alexanders death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselues.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For besides that He was Valiant, Wife, Learned, and Master of his 40 Affections, he had this favour of Pietic, that he rather laboured to fatisfie those that were grieued, than to suppresse them, Whereof (among many other) wee finde a good example in his dealing with Arcadion , and Nicanor ; whom, when for their euill speech of Philip, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; Hee answered them, That first it ought to bee considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselse : Secondly, that it was in enery mans owne power to bee well spoken off; and this was shortly proued, for after Philip had relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon hee told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that hee was a better Philition for cuill speech than they were.

His Epistles to Alexander his sonne are remembred by Cicero, and Gellius; and Cic.Off.2. by Dion: and Chryfostome exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered Diane, define by Polyenus and Frontinus, his wife fayings by Plutarch, And albeit hee held Macedon as in his owne right, all the time of his raigne, yet was he not the true and next Heirethereof: for Amyntas the sonne of his Brother Perdicens (of whom he had the

protection during his infancie) had the right. This Amputas hee married to his Daughter Cyna, who had by him a Daughter called Eurydiee, who was married to Philips hafe some Aridaus, her Vnde by the mothers-side: both which Olympias, Philips hirl Wife, and Mother to Alexander the Great, put to death; Aridaus by extreme torments: Eurydiet thee strangled.

Philip had by this Olympias the Daughter of Neoptolemus, King of the Malojians, (of the race of Ashiles) Assessment the Great, and Cleopatra. Cleopatra was married to her Vnele Alexander, King of Epirus, and was after her Brother Alexanders death flaine at Sardis, by the commandement of Antieonus.

By Andata, an Illyrian, his second wise, hee had Cyna, married as is shewed 10 before.

By Acteshpolis, the Sifter of Infan, Tyrant of Pheres, hee had Thesialonica, whom Cassandra, after he had taken Pidnas, married, but shee was afterward by her Fatherin-law Antipater put to death.

By Cleopara, the Necce of Attalus, he had Caranus, whom others call Philip: him, athen 1.324. Olympias, the Mother of Alexander the Great, caufed to be rofted to death in a copial. The Pram. Others lay this murder on Alexander himfelfe. By the filter-flower's been had likewife a Daughter, called Europa, whom Olympias allo murdered at the Mothers breath.

By Phila and Meda he had no iffue.

Hee had also two Concubines, Assime, whom, after he had gotten with child, hee married to an obscure man, called Lagus, who bare Ptolomie, King of Agypt, called the sonne of Lagus, but effected the sonne of Philip: by Philinna, his second Concubine, a publike Dancer, he had Aridans, of whom wee shall have much occasion to speake hereafter.

# CHAP. II. Of ALEXANDER the Great.

A briefe rehearfall of ALEXANDERS doings, before hee
inuaded Asia.



LEXANDER, afterward called the Great, fucceeded vnto Philip his Father; being a Prince no lefte valiant by Nature, than by Education, well infructed, and inriched in all forts of Learning and good Arts. He began his raigne ouer the Maedonium four chundred and feuenteene yeares after Rome built, and after his owne birth twentie yeares. The firange dreames of Philip his Father; and that one of the Gods, in the finape of a Snake, begat him on objection his Mother, 50 I omit as foolifit tales; but that the Temple of Dimae (a worke the moft magnificent of the World) was

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burnt you the day of his birth, and that fo firange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three feuerall victories, obtained by the Mstedonians, it was very remarkeable.

remarkeable, and might with the reafon of those times be interpreted for ominous, and foreshewing the great thinges by Accander afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had opprest, beganne to consultabout the recourse of their former libertie, and to aduenture it by sorce of Armes. Alexanders young-years sque them hope of preualing, and his suspected seuerite increased courage in those, who could better resolute to die, than to live slawishly. But Alexander gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his estate. For after reuenge taken you the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew you his Tombe; and the celebration of this Puneralls, hee first fushed with on him his owne Nation, by freeing them

10 tion of his Funerails, dee Initiatiened vinto him his owne Nation, by freeing them from all exactions, and bodily flauerie, other than their feruice in his warres, and uch fed fuch Kingly aufteritie towards those that contemned his yong yeares, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselues of the cruedite of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, I he made a prefent journey into Pelaponnes, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great delire of his heart, elected Captaine-Generall against the Persons, you which warre Phissip his Father had not only resoluted, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vinder the leading of Parmenia, and Attalus, a part of his Armie, to recouser some places on Assis-side, for the fast descent of the rest.

This enterprife against the Perfum occupied all Alexanders affections; those faire markes of riches, Honour, and large Dominion, hee now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughes and imaginations were either gireuous or hardfull. But a contrarie winde articleth; for hee receiveth advertisement that the Albeniaus, 7 bebans, and Lucechemoniaus, had vnited themseliues against him, and, by affishance from the Persun, hoped for the recourse of their former freedome. Hereto they were persuaded by Dempshanes, himselfe being thereto persuaded by the gold of Persus, the desults he view was stained as more substituted that the desults he view was stained as the desults and brought into the affermance was stained as the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance was stained as the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance was stained as the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained against the Triballes, and brought into the affermance of the stained as t

30 bly a Companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, That himfelfe was prefent and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Dostrine of Policie (as Policie is now a-daics defined by fallhood and knaueric) that deutifed rumours and lies; if they ferue the turne, but for a day or two, are greatly atualicable. It is true that common people are fometime mock by them, as Souldiers are by falfe alarums in the Wairres; but in all that I haue obferued, I haue found the fucceffe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that finde themselues at one time abused by such like brutes, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are vopon true reports, and in occasions perilous, fummoned to affemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of fught rumperic, and for them seare opponences faire occasions to ended the Venters of fught rumperic, and for them seare opponences faire occasions to ended the search of

40 tertaine the truth it felfe. This labour vnlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grieuous to Alexander, but by turning his fiword from the legnoble and effentinate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and simous Grecians, of whose affishance he thought himselfe assured his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot indure to striue against the winde, shall hardy attaine the Port which hee purposeth to recourer: and it no less becomment the worthich men to oppose missortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

Hetherefore made fuch expedition towards these Revolters, as that himselse, with the Armietha followed him, brought them the first twews of his preparation. 50 Hercupon all stagger, and the Astherium, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that sainted, seeking by their Embassis downs to pacific the King, and to be received agains into his pace. Askeander was not long in resolving; for the Persons personal days in the special series. Wise men are not cassly drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King Pppp Ppp.

cuer brought to effect any great affaire; who hath intangled himfelfe in many enterprifes at once, not tending to one and the fame certaine end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he refolued to assure those Nations which ay on the North-side of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Trihalles, Peones, Geies, Agrians, and other faluage people, which had greatly vexed with incurtions, not only other of his Predeceffours, but euen Philip his Father: with all which after divers overthrowes given them, hee made peace, or elfe brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet find the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than libertie; the Greekes had enjoyed it ouer-long, and loll it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the 10 voke once againe. I he Thebans, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand Masedons, attempt to force it; Alexander hafteth to their fuccour, and prefents himferfe with thertic thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the Citie, and gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being euen heart-sicke with the delire of passing into Asia. So vnwilling, indeede, he was to draw bloud of the Gracians, by whom tice hoped to serve himselfe elsewhere, that hee offered the Thebans remission, if they would only deliver into his hands Phanix and Prothytes, the firrers up of the Rebellion. But they, oppoling the mounting fortune of Alexender, (which bare all retistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean-Sea) in fleed of fuch an answere, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, deman- 20 ded Philotas and Antipater to bee delinered vnto them; as if Thebes alone, then laied in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of Macedon, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacie. For while the Thebans oppose the Armie assailant, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, fixe thousand flaine, and thirtie thousand sold for flaues, at the price of four hundred and fortie talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Gr.e-

Many Arguments were vield by Cleedas one of the prisoners, to perswade Alexander to forbeare the destruction of Thebes. He prised the King to beleeue that they go were rather mile-led by guing halficeredit to faller perstahan any way malicious; for being perswaded of Alexanders death, they rebelled but against his Successor. Hee a' obelought the King to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that Citie, yet that his Ancestor Hierasch was borne therein: but all perswassions were fruitless, the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggrauate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he parsoned all of therace of Pindarst the Poet, and spared, and fet at libertie Timoelea, the sister of Theagenes, who died in defence of the libertie of Greece against his Father Philip. This Noble-woman being taken by a Theasin, and by him raussished, he exthreatend totack her life whesself the would consess the treasure, she cled the Thracian to a Well, and told him that 40 sheet head therein cash it, and when the Thracian shooped to looke into the Well, shee sheddainly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and shored him to death.

Now because the Athenians had received into their Citie so many of the Thelann, as had escaped and fled vnto them for succour, Alexander would not grant them peace, but you condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perfivaded this second revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of Persia, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines, wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him vaprositable: if or these good Leaders of the Greeians becook 50 themselves to the service of the Persian, whom after a few daies he invadeth.

δ. I

How ALEXANDER passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.



Hen all was now quieted at home, Alexander, committing to the first trust of Anipater both Greece and Macedon, in the first of the Spring and did palle the Helds from, and being readie to dilimbarke, hee threw a Dart towards the Anim shore, as a token of desiance, commanding

his Souldiers not to make any walt in their owne Territorie, or to burne, or defice those buildings which themselues were presently, and in the future to possels. He landed his Armic, constituing of two and thirtie thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neare wnto 7709, where he offered a solemne sacrifice you of Abullet Tombe, his maternall Ancellor.

But before he left his owne coult, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinfmen, whom Philip his Father had greatly advanced, not fparing fach of his owne as he fingleded, Hecalio tooke with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelitie he doubted; thinking by vnjuft crueltie to affure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrarie to 20 the policie which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing verie well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soone after withered,

and rooted vp.; thofe, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse fword as his owne, and all manner of constudion followed his dead bodie to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of Alexanders landing on Also-side was brought to Darsins, he so much scorned the Armie of Meedon, and had so contemptible an opinion of the surface him skip of the surface had been as the surface had been surface had been as the surface had been

of discussion bim feife, as having filled him his feruant on a letter which her wrote vinto him, reprehending his diffositie and audacite (for Dains inititled him file King of Kings, and the Kinfman of the Gods) her gaue order with all to his Licute 30 mans of the leffer Afia, that they fhould take Alexandor a-live, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his prefence: that they fhould finke his fhips, and fand the Macedom taken prifoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into Allbings, or form oother

vnhealthfull part of Affrica.

In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleffe, multitude which he commanded, difpose of the alreadie-vanquilified Macedonians; But the ill definies of men beare them to the ground, by what throng confidence focuer armed: The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heape into the field, gauerather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diffourangement at all. For befides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to premie

against those of less courage than themselues, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and filter their vpper garments, as if they attended the innation but of the bunnel-beames, than they did to arme themselues with yron and steele against the sharpe-pikes, swords, and darts of the bardie Macchotians; I say be sides all these, euen the opinion they had of their owne numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, a filled enery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazardany thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses in running away. The Macchoniums as they came to fight, and thereby to inrich themselues with the gold and

50 jewells of Perlia, both which they needed, fo the Perlians who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obaied the King, who had power to confiraine them in affembling themfelues for his feruice; but their owne feares and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power our them, they only then obaied, when their rebellion against fo seruile a passion did justly and violently require it. For faith V EGETIVS: Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prelium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam feiendum est in pugna vfum amplius prodesse quam vives; As the well-practifed Souldier defires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it for we muit an levitand, that in fight it more quaites to have been eaccultomed anto the like then only to have rude livength. What manner of men the Perlians were, Alexander discougred in the first encounter, before which time it is faid, by those that writhis Storie. That it was hard to judge, whether his during to undertake the Conquest of an Empire fo well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the fucceffe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which feuereth the Territorie of Trey from Propontis, the Perlians fought to flop his paffage, taking the higher ground and 10 banck of the riner to defend, which Alexander was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto and feale from the Levell of the water; Great reliftance (faith Curtius) was made by the Perfishs, yet in the end Alexander prenailed. But it feemes to mee, that the victorie then gotten was exceeding cafe, and that the twentie thousand Perlian foot-men, faid to be flaine, were rather kil'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bofomes by relitting. For had those twentie thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horfe-men, or, after Flutarah, two thousand and fine hundred horse-men. died with their faces towards the Alexander, Alexander could not have bought their lines at fo fmall a rate, as with the loffe of foure and thirtie of all forts of his owne. And if it were also true, that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encoun- 20 tred two of the Persian Commanders, Spinbridates and Rhafaces, and that the Persian horse-men sought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly how those Greeiums in Davius his pay holding themselves in one bodie your a peece of ground of advantage, did (after mercie was refused them) fight it out to the laft. how doth it then refemble truth, that fuch reliffance having beene made, yet of Alexanders Armie there fell but twelue Foote-men, and two and twentie Horfe-men.

#### ). III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granick.

He winning of this paffage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought fuch terrour vpon all those of the lesser Asia, as hee obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inualions, where the Nations inuaded baue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Riuers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will foone have perfivaded themselves, that fuch an enemic, vpon equal termes and even ground, can hardly be relifted. It was 40 therefore Atschiauels counfell, that he which refolueth to defend a paffage, should with his ablest force oppose the Affailant. And to fav truth, few Regions of any great circuit are fo well fenced, that Armies, of fuch force as may be thought fufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the waies. One paffage or other is commonly left vnguarded : if all be defended, then must the forces of the Countrie be distracted, and yet lightly, some one place will be found that is defended very weakely. How often have the Alpes given way to Armics, breaking into Italie? Yea, where shall we finde that ever they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they fuch, as (to speake briefly) affiled with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they give no fecuritie to those that lie behinde them; for 50 they are of too large extent. The Townes of Lumbardie perswaded themselues that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Smitzers had vndertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Duchie of Milan: but whileft these Patrons of Milan, whom their owne dwelling in those Mountaines

Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custodic of the Alpes; Francis appeared in Lumbardie, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the leffe they had expected his arrivall. What shall we fay of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such fort, as they leave but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Thermopyla, have seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how feldome (if euer) haue they been attempted in vaine? Xerxes, and long after him, the Romans, forced the entrance of Thermanyle; Cyrus the yonger, and after him Alexander, found the Gates of Cilicia wide to open; how strongly socuer they had beene locked and barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the back-side. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, wee finde examples in all histories that beare good witneffe. The deepelt have many Foords, the fwiftelt and broadeft may bee paffed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enough to beate his enemie; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his loffe, than by friging in vaine to hinder the pailage, as a matter tending to his owne disaduanrase, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their meanes of fafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of fuch as are too 20 good for them. Certainely if a River were sufficient desence against an Armie, the Ifle of Mons, now called Anglefer, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea; had beene fafe enough against the Romans, inuading it vnder conduct of Idius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vefscills to transport his forces, did affay the foords. Whereby hee so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by Sea, that surely beleeving nothing could bee hard or inuincible to men, which came fo minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the Britaines were men

frout enough; the Persians verie dashards.

It was therefore wifely done of Accounter, to passe the R nier of Granick in face
of the enemie; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conucy
his menouer it by some faster meanes. For having beaten them vpon their owne
ground, hee did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength,
leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Pro-

Soone after this victorie he recoucred Sardis, Ephefus, the Cities of the Trallisms and Adagnesia, which were rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he received with great grace, fully firing them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For hee obferued it well s, Nounn Imperium inchoantibus vitils elements fams, It is commodants with the slay the landations of a new Soncraignetic 40 ishaue the fame of being mereifull. Hee then by Parmenia wanne Addeus, and by force maltired Halicarnallyis, which, because it relifted obtlinately, hee razed to the ground. From thence hee entred into Caria, where Adathe Queene, who had beene cast out of all that thee held (except the Citic of Alinda) by Darius his Leutenants, prefered her felfe-wito him, and adopted him her fonne and fuccessor in the Alexander accepted in so gracious part as hee left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. Hee then entred into Systa, and Pamphilis, and obtained all the Sea-coasts, and stubjecting wito him Pridia, he directed himselfte towards Darius (who was faid to be advanced towards him with a martualous Armie) by the way of Parigia. For all the Prouince of Min the lefts, bordering won the Sea, his first victoric laied under his feet.

50 While he gaue order for the gouernement and fetling of Lycis, and Pamphilia, he fent Cleander to raile some new Companies in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas, seated on the River Meander, which was abandoned with o him, the Castle only bolding out, which also after fortie daies was guent vyto for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas he passive them to the property of the cast o

through Pinzgu towards the Exime Sea, till he came to a Citie called Gordium, the Regall-Gate, in former times, of King Oddas. In this Citie it was that he found the Gordium-knot, which when he knew not how to vindee, he ce cut it a funder with his fword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promife to him that could vnite it, the Lordthip of all Afa; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the manner how, fo it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophese, by hewing it in peeces.

But before he turned from this part of Affa the leffe towards the Eaft, hee tooke care to cleare the Sea-coatt on his backe, and to thruft the Perfamout of the Ilands of Leslon, Sua, and Ceas, the charge where othe conitred vinto two of his Captaines, to guing them fuch order as he thought to be most conucinient for that ferrue; and deliuering vinto them fittle talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first fpoilegotren, he fent threefeore talents more to Antipate his Lieutenant in Greece, and Ascedon. From Celenas he remoued to Antina, now called Anguart, flanding on the fame River of Sangarins, which runneth through Gorduns: there hee multired his Armie, and then entred Paphlagenia, whose people full buttered them felieus vitto him, and obtained fire dome of tribute: where hee left Catus Gouernour with one Reg: ment of Asseconium Stately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of Memnon, Darius Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to paffe on towards him, for of this only Captaine hee had morere- 20 spect than of all the multitude by Davius affembled, and of all the Commanders bee had besides. For so much bath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it bath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales. the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, connerted the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemics into cowardize; such spirits haue beene flirred vp in fundrie Ages of the world, and in diuers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Perfons and States; to the same certaine ends, which the infinite spirit of the Vniner fall, 30 piercing, mouing, and gouerning all thinges hath ordained. Certainely the things that this King did were marnailous, and would hardly haue beene undertaken by any man elfe : and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leffer Afia, it is like enough that he would have contented him@lfe with some part thereof. and not have discovered the River of Indus, as this mandid. The fivift course of victoric, wherewith he ranne over folargea portion of the World, in fo short a space, may justly be imputed vnto this, That he was neuer encountred by an equal spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater oppolition, than Defert places, and the meere length of tedious journies could make, were like the Colofius of Rhodes, not so much to bee ad-40 mired for the workemanship, though therein also praise-worthie, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by xenophon, discouer as braue a spirit as Alexanders, and working no leffe exquifitely, though the effects were leffe materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke upon fuch as Epaninandas, that encountring worthie Captains, and those better followed than themselnes, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still prenailed ouer those, that would not have yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are doe seldome live to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardie and well-ordered 59 State, than to tread downe and otterly fubdue a multitude of feruile Nations, compounding the bodie of a groffe vnweldie Empire. Wherefore these Paruo Potentes, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like abilitie, are to be regarded as choife examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to bee rather admired for the

Inditance of their actions, than the exquilite menaging: exactneffe and great neffection or their actions, that I can finde no initiance of both in one, fauc only that brance kern Cefer.

Haining thus farre digreffed, it is now time that we creturne vnto our Eafterne Conqueror; who strauading hathly towards chian, with a defire to recouer the Streights thereof before Lawiss floud arrive there. But first making a dispatch into Greece, he fent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, tome of the Persian Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; your which, by certaine inferiptions, he made them partakers of his victorie. Herein hee well aduited himselfe; to for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineth in the Warres, as hee doth of the spoiles, shall never beelong followed by those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often satisfies themselves with the purchase of slorie; as the

weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer. The Gouernour of Cilicia hearing of Alexander comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as Curtim noteth, hee beganne ouer-late to prife and put in execution the Counfell of Ottomnon: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to wast all the prouitions for Men and Horse, that could not bee lodged in strong places, and alwaies to 20 give ground to the Inuader, till hee found some such notableaduantage as might affuredly promife him the obtaining of victorie. For the furie of an inuading Armie is best broken, by delaies, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and fometimes too much, fometimes repoling themselues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from meat and fleepe, and refusing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the Parthians afterward did the Romans; hee might perchance have faued his owne life, and his effate: For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by Alexander to the Macedonians, in the third and last fa-30 tall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of Persia at once.

Aerxes when he inuaded Greece and fought abroade, in being beaten, loft only his men, but Darius being munded by the Greekes, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loft his Kingdome, Perdiet, though the Leadedmenius. Durtallin Afficies to the Gates of Atlens, yet could not bee drawne to hazard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight you the adunatage of time and place. Because we reade Histories to informe our understanding by the examples therein found, we will gime fome instances of those that have perished by aduenturing in their owne Countries, to charge an inuading Armic. The Romans, by fighting with Hanibal, were brought to the brinke of their destruction.

40 Pompey was well aduifed for a while, when hee gaue Cafar ground, but when by the importunitie of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at Pharfalia, he lost the battaile, lost the freedome of Rome, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battaile with the French to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of found judgement, that those Counsels which promise sureties all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of France made frustrate the mightic preparation of Charles the Fift, when he inuaded Prosence by wasting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; fodid the Duke of Alsa wearie the French in Majles, and distolute the boisterous Armic of the Prince of Orenze in the low-Countries.

The Leigners, contrarie to the adulfe of their Generall, would needes fight a battaile with the Bongonians, inuading their Countrie, and could not be perfeaded to linger the time, and thay their aduantage; but they loft eight and twentie thou fand you of the place. Public of Pauls fet you King Edward at Crefie, and King Iobn (when the English were well neare tired out, and would in fhort time by an orderly pursuit

Persian side by their indiscretion.

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of the commutike Armie leavied by DARIVS agains! ALEXANDER.
The variadified confer which DARIVS took in this expedition. He is
examplified at Iffur, where his Nothers, Wife, and Children
are made prifoners. Of fome thinges following the
buttaile of Iffur.

N the meane feafon *Darini* approched; who (as *Cartinis* reports) had compounded an Armic of more than two hundred and ninette thouse fand Souldiers, our of diuers Nations; *Infine* muffers them at three hundred thoufand Foot, and a hundred thoufand Horfe; *Pinearch* at fixe hundred thoufand.

The manner of his comming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to let out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his owne fafetic, perfwading himfelfe, as it feemed, to beat Alexander with pompe and fumptuous Pageants. For before the Armie there was carried the holy fire which the Persians worthipped, attended by their Priesis, and after them three hundred and threefcore and fine yong-men, answering the num-20 ber of the daies of the yeare, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Jupiter drawne with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the Sunne: Next after these followed ten fumptuous Chariots, inlaied and garnisht with filter and gold, and then the Vanguard of their horse, compounded of twelve severall Nations, which the better to avoidé confusion, did hardly understand each others language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serue very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of soote marched, with the Perfians called immortall, because if any died the number was prefently supplied; and these were armed with chaines of gold, and their coates 30 with the same mettali imbrodered, whereof the sleenes were garnished with pearle, baites, either to catch the hungrie Macedonians withall, or to perswade them that it were great incimitite to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well laid : Semptuose incluceus miles, le virtute superiorem alijs non existimet, cum in prelijs oportest fortituline animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quaniam hastes vestibus non debellaneur; Let no men thinke that he exceedeth those in valour, whom hee exceedeth in any garments, for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, an Inot by the apparell they on! on. that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrine that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought against the Sammites in that fatall battaile, wherein they all fware either to preuaile or die, thirtie thouland of them having ap-40 parelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of sea-

spacetic tremental memory in the state of th

To fecond this Court-like companie, intente thouliand wereappointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breede the more terrour), and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinfmen. Then came Paris himselfer, the Gentlemen of his Guarde-robe, riding before his Charior, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the Astechnium did not serve, but they served their turnes of the fight of this Chariot was fer with pretious shones, with two little golden Idols, concred with an open-winged Eagle of the same mettall: The hinder part being raised high wheron Daving flare, had a concring of inctimable value, This Chariot of the King was

followed with ten thouland Horfe-men, their Lances placed with filuer, and their beads

haue beene wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great furie, near Patters, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successed the constraint with the Fift of France made an other kinde of Tabian Warsiere, and though the English burnt and wasted many places, yet this

King held his refolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his adulte which told him, That the English could never get his inheritance by smoake; and it is reported by Bellarus and Hersuli, that King Edward was wont to say of this Charles, that hee wanne from him the Duchie of Gueta without core putting on his Armout.

wanne from him the Duchie of Guien without curer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short lined, and the charge of things is committed vnto such as either cannot see what is for their good, 10 or known or the own on the recognition and suppose to the purpose of the control of

or know not how to put in execution any found adulie. The course which Memmon had propounded, mut in all appearance of reason have brought the OMacedonian to a great perplexitie, and made him sland still a while at the Streights of Ceileia, doubting whether it were more shamefull to returne; or dangerous to proceede. For had Cappadonia and Paphlagonia beene wasted whilest Alexandre was farre off; and the Streights of Chiesia beene desended by Arsenes, Gouernor of that Prouince, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemie, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought yoon, of forcing that passings; or if the place could not have beene maintained, yet might cliesa as the tetre lesser have beene seenes.

throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Armie should have beene broken, by see- 20 king out miseries with painefull trauaile.

But arfenes leaving a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armic with him, to walt, and spoile the Countrie; or rather, as may seeme, to find himselfe some worke, by pretence of which hee might honestly runne further away from alexander. Hee should rather have adventured his person in custodie of the Streights, whereby hee might perhaps have faued the Province; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have beene conveighed into strong Townes. So should his Armie, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men haue had the leffe worke in destroying that little which was left abroade. Handling the mat- 30 ter as he did, he gaue the Cilicians cause to wish for Alexanders comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that Arfenes made all hast to joyne himselfe with Darius, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the desence, beganne to grow circumspect, and to thinke that furely their Generall, who gaue as lost the Countrie behinde their backs, had exposed themselues vnto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else, but to dull the Macedonian Swords: Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they faw that Arfenes himselfe could well forbeare) they speedily followed the foote-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Haruest. Thus 40 Alexander without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had been alienated from the

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heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrew in the Macedonian bloud, for feare of marring their beautic. He had for the proper Guard of his person two hundred of the bloud Royall, bloud too Royall and pretious to be spilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred flurdic fellowes, like the Switzers, would haue done him more feruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if hee had meant to have vied he would have marthalled fomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by Sifygambis the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawne in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horle-back, with liftcene Wagons of the Kings children, 10 and the wives of the Nobilitie, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses, and Eunuelis, most sumptuously apparelled, By which it should seeme that Darius thought that the Macedonians had beene Comedians or Tumblers; for this troupe was farre fitter to behold those sports than to bee present at battailes. Betweene these & a companie of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the Aluedonians. In this fort came this Mareame-King into the field, incombred with a most unnecessarie traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so eleminate, and sorich 20 in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have incouraged the nakeddest Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and what source else hath beene wont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches, The rich ships are boorded upon all disaduantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our English Nations have attempted many places in the Indies, and runne vpon the Spaniards head-long, in hope of their Royalls of plate, and Pistolets, which had they beene put to it vpon the like disaduantages in Ireland, or in any poore Countrie, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes against 30 their Commanders, contesting that they had beene brought without reason to the Butcherie and flaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that have well to line, doe rather fludie how to line well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. Careuilny, a rien a gargner, que descenps volontiers ilny, 211 pas ; Noman makes hajt to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his confultation with his Southfaiers, hee would have fatisfied himfelfe by the out-fides of the Perfians, and neuer haue looked into the intrailes of Beafts for fuccesse. For leaning the descrip- 40 tion of this fecond battaile (which is indeede no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hastic running away of the Asians could it be) we have enough by the flaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to informe vs what manner of reliffance was made. For if it be true that three fcore thousand Persian foot-men were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen, Or (as Curtius faith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horse-men, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexanders Armie there miscarried but two bundred and sourcescore of all forts, of which numbers Arianss and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeue that this finall number rather died with the over-transile and painestaking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And furely if the Perfun Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had any fauour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers; they would neuer haue fold fo good cheape, and at fo vilea price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daugh-

ters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honor beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings latetie and his estate at lesse! Darius by this time found it true that Charidenus a banished Gracian of Athens had told him, when hee made a view of his Armic about Babylon, to wit, That the multitude which hee had affembled of diners Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would bee found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrie, whom in passing by they would denour, than to the Macedonians; whom they meant to affaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groffe squadrons, which they call their Phallanx, well coursed with Armour for desence, and surnished with weapons for offence of great 10 aduantage, would make solittle accompt of his delicate Persians, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertaine (hauing so great aboundance of treasure to doe it withall) a sufficient number of the same Gracians, and so to encounter the Macedonians with men of equal courage, hee would repent him ouer-late, as taught by the miserable

fucceffe like to follow. But this difcourfe was fo unpleasing to Darius (who had beene accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore Grecian should bee presently slaine: who while hee was a fundring in the Tormentors hand, vied this speech to the King, That Alexan-20 der, against whom hee had given this good counfell, should assured y revenge his death, and lay descrued punishment vpon Darius for despising his adusse.

It was the faying of a Wife man. Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formata (unt, vt appera qua vtilia, necquiequam nisi iucundum accipiat; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares indge all that is profitable to bee too sharpe, and will entertame nothing that is unpleasant.

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilis esteius vita, &

essentia, qua erepta consilium enanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduise given him by the Greeian Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: but had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were viderlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men beene able to have opposed the furie of Alexander, without any affistance of the Persian foot-men. For when Darius was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Gracians, under their Captaine Amyntas, held firme, and marched away in order in despight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not casily dismaica: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits haue beene made by them, though the rest of the Armie in which they have serued, bath beene broken.

At the battaile of Rauenne where the Imperialls were beaten by the French, a 40 Squadron of Spaniards, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismaied; whom when Galion de Foix, Duke of Nemures, and Nephew to Lewis the twelfth, charged, as holding the victoric not intire by their escape, hee was ouer-turned and flaine in the place. For it is truely faid of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers feare them not, That, Neglecto periculo imminent is mali opus ip fum quantumuis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard socuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the missihiefe hanging over their heads may bring and as trucky of those that know the warres but by heare-say. Qued valentes funt of preuslentes ante pericula, in ipfis tamen periculis discedunt ; They have abilitie enough, and to spare. till dangers appeare; but when perill indeede comes they get them gone.

These Gracians also that made the retract, adulfed Darius to retire his Armie into the plaine of Mesopotamia, to the end that Alexander being entredinto those large fields and great Champions, he might have invironed the Macedonians on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to divide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one froke of Fortune, whereby he

might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once then might have beene well marihalled and conducted. But this counfell was fo contrarie to the cowardly affections of the Perfians, as they perfuaded Darius to inuirone the Gracians which gaue the aduise, and to cut them in peeces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God dorh not worke alwaies by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking understanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither give nor discerne of Counsels. For Darius that would needes fight with Alexander upon a straightned prece of ground, neare vnto the Citic of isia, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could, (who by the aduise of Parmenio stated there, as in a place of best aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrowne, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers had perswaded him to leaue in Babylon, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Iewels, and Honour, It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexanders presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Iewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though Darius Wife was a most beautifull Ladie, and his Daughters of excellent forme, Yet Alexander mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of Ariflobulus the Historian, That he imbraced the Wife of the valiant Memnon, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from 20 Damafeus by Parmenie, at which time the Daughters of Ochus, who raigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobilitie of Persia in effect, fell into captinitie; At which timealfo Darius Treasure (not lost at Issus) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches belides.

Darius himselfe leaving his brother dead, with diversother of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow given vnto Darins, all Phanicis (the Citie of Tyre excepted) was yeelded to Alexander, of which Parmenie was made Gouernour.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one 20 Strate was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it troade on his heeles, for Intigonus, Alexanders Lieutenant in Afia the leffe, ouerthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted; Aristodemus, Darius Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly leavied; the Lacedamonians that warred against Antipaser were beaten; foure thouland of those Greeks which made the retrait at the last battaile, for faking both the partie of Darius and of Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Agypt, to hold it for themselues, were buried there; for the time was not vet come to dinide Kingdomes.

Siexander, to honour Ephestion, whom hee loued most, gaue him power to dif- 40 pose of the Kingdome of Ziden. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to suftaine his life, being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people viito him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the fame houre.

It was a good defire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that hee could beare his prosperitie with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aductifitie; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which hee commended in an other mans desire: for it was a figne that he did but accompanie, and could not gouerne, his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, impor- 50 ting the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice sharmefully beaten, not vouchsasting, in his direction, to stile Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus,

returned him a more scornefull answere vpon the offer of peace, than they did betore the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, fo that of Darius had alreadie cast leafe, the one a resoluted well armed and disciplined Nation. the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and fent him word that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himfelfe.

#### ð. V.

How ALEXANDER believed and wanne the Citie of Twee

LEXANDER comming neare to the Citie of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victualls, and other prefents, which hee tooke very thankefully, returning them answere That he defired to offer a facrifice to Hercules, the Protector of their Ci-

tie, from whom hee was descended. But the Tyrians like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of Hercules was feated in the old Citie adjoyning, now abandoned and defolate: To bee short, Alexander resolved to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the 20 Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber fufficient from Lybanus, hee filled the paffage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a florme of winde, fornetime by the Tyrians fired, and fornetime torne a-funder, vet with the helpe of his Nauie which arrived (during the fiege) from Cyprus, he ouercame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had front feven Moneths in that attempt: The Tyrians in the beginning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned the meffengers fent by Alexander, perswading them to render the Citie, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused 20 two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to bee hanged on Croffes on the

kons them at thirtie thousand. Many more had died had not the Zidonians, that serued Alexander, conneied great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie. 108.418. Happic it was for Apollo that the Towne was taken, for one of the Tyrians having dreamt, that this God meant to for lake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of Hercules; but Alexander like a gratious Prince loofened

Sca-shore, and referred for slaves (faith Diodore) thirteene thousand; Arrianus rec- Arrian.1.

him againe. It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For Nabuchadanafor had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay 40 betweene the Hand and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to Philotas, the Sonne of Parmenio: Cilicia, he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus Lieutenant under Parmenio; Ephestion had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde Alexander at Gaza towards Egypt.

WI.

How DARIVS offered conditions of peace to ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER winnes Gaza; and deales graciously with the Iewes.



N the meane while Darius fends againe to Alexander, fets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the straightnesse of the place; he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to incompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riners of Euphrates,

Tigris, Araxes, and the relt, with all fuch other fearefull thinges : for, hee that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enough of that nature to prefent vnto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the Riucr of Alys, and the Hellestont, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But Alexander unswered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victoric and his owne vertue had poffest him of. That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any; and that he having paffed the Sea it felfe, difdained to thinke of reliflance in transporting himfelfe ouer Rivers. It is faid that Parmenio, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, that were he Alexander hee would accept of Darius his offers, to which Alexander answered, That so would be if he were Parmenia.

nate resolution, at the siege whereof Alexander received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone; Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left fo many of his Macedonians buried in the fands of Gaza, that he was forft to fend for a new fupply into Greece. Here it was that Alexander first beganne to change condition, and to exercise cruelto Coph. Ant.Liz. tie. For after that he had entred Gaza by affault, and taken Belis, (whom Iolephus calleth Babeme(es) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Affailants; he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to bee 20 drawne about the streets, whilest he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant a man as himfelfe, difdained to aske him either life or remiffion of his torments. And what had hee to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Hector? It is true, that crueltie hath alwaies fomewhat to couer

But he goes on towards Agypt, and comming before Gaza, Betis a faithfull feruant to Darius, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obsti-

Katt. c.vlt.

From Gaza (faith Infephus) he led his Armie towards Ierufalem, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before Tyre; He had fent for some supply thither, which Inddies the high Priest, being subject and fworne to Darius, had refused him. The tewes therefore fearing his revenge, and vnable to relift committed the care of their estates and safetie to laddus, who, being taught by God, iffued out of the Citic couered with his Pontificall-Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embrodered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written the Priefts & Leuites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a maner fo vnufuall, flately, and graue, as Alexander greatly admired it. Infephus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Prieft, as reverencing the name of God, and that Parmenio reprehended him for it; Howfoeuer it was, I am of opinion, That he became fo confident in his enterprife, and so assured of the successe after the prophecie of Daniel had been read vnto him, wherein he faw himselfe, and the conquest of Persia so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to Parmenio 40 (faith Iofephus) That in Dio a Citie of Macedon, when his mind laboured the conquest of Alia, hee faw in his fleepe fuch a person as Inddus, and so apparailed, profesfing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose hee had in hand with affurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his phantafic, he now beheld with his bodily eies; where with he was fo exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the Phamicians, (who hoped to have fackt and destroicd Ierufalem) he gave the Iewes all, and more than they defired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permiffion to line vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

d. VII.

Q. VII.
ALEXANDER winnes Agypt: and makes a journie to the Temple of

normal Rom serufalem Alexander turned againe towards Agypt, and entred ic, where Darius his Lieutenant, Allages, received him and delivered The bis hand the Citie of Memphis, with eight hundred talents of treature, and all other the Kings riches. By this wee fee that the Kings of Perfia, who had more of affection than of judgement, gaue

to the valiantest man hee had but the command of one Citie, and to the veriest co-10 ward the gouernement of all Agypt. When he had fet thinges in order in Agypt, he beganne to trauaile after God bend, towards inputer Hammon, fo foolish had profperitic made him. He was to paffe oner the dangerous and drie fands, where when the water which he brought on his Camels-back was foont, hee could not but have perified, had not a maruailous shower of raine fallen upon him, when his Armie was in extreme despaire, All men that know segget, and have written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there; but the purpofes of the Almightie God are feeret, and he bringeth to paffe what it pleafeth him; for it is also said. That when he had loft his way in those vast desarts that a flight of Crowes flew before the Armiewho making falter wing when they were followed, and fluttering flowly when the 20 Armie was cast back, guided them ouer those pathlesse lands to Inputers Temple.

Arrianus from the report of Ptolomie, the sonne of Lague, faires, That hee was led Anian. 13. by two Dragons, both which reports may be a-like true; But many of these wonders and thinges prodigious, are fained by those that have written the Storie of A. lexander, as that an Eagle lay houering directly oner his head at the battaile of this : That a Swallow flew about his head when hee flept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him, at Halicarnaffeus, fore-fliewing the treaton of Aeropus, practifed by Darius to have flaine him; That from the yron barres of which the Tyrians made their defensive ingines, when Alexander belieged them, there fell drops of bloud: and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a Citizen-

20 donish Souldier, at the fame time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The Spaniards in the conquest of the West-Indies have many such pretic tales; telling how they have been affilted in battaile, by the presence of our Ladie, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romifb miracles, which I thinke themselves doe hardly believe. The ftrangest things that I have read of in this kind being certainely true was. That the night before the battaile at Nounra, all the Dogges which followed the French Armie, ranne from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their lines, and in the morning following, Trinulzi and Tremouille, Generals for Lewis the twelfth, were by these Imperiall Switzers 40 vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of Jupiter Hammon is ill described by Curtius, for he bounds it by the Arabian Trogledites on the fouth, between whom and the territorie of Hammen, the Region Thebais, or the Superiour Egypt, with the Mountaines of Lybia, and the River of Wiles, are interjacent, and on the North he joynes it to a Nation, called Nationnes, who bordering the Sca-shore, line (faith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwrack, whereas the Temple or Groue of this Idoll bath no Sea nearesit by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; these Mafitmones be- Fold ITalia. ing due Well from it, in the South part of Marmarica.

When Alexander came neare the place, he fent some of his Paralites before him 50 to practife the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answere might be eginen in all thinges, agreeable to his maddeambition, who affected the title of tapiters fonne. And so hee was saluted Sonne of Jupiter by the Deuils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as fome thinke) defective in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to fay Opaidion, he faid Opaidios, that is ; O forme of Ingiter, in flead

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of O aeare jonne: for which Gramaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumor presently spread, that the great supster had acknowledged Alexander for his owne.

He had heard that Perfeus and Hereules had formerly confulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was imploied against Gorgon, The other, against Anteus and Busins, and seeing these men had derived themselves from the Gods, why might not hee? By this it feemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeede he made himselfe one, by thinking to coner from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deitie, hee had practized the Priefts to give answere to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to Inpiter to honour Alexander as his Sonne.

Who this Ammon was, and how represented, either by a boffe carried in a Boate, or by a Ramme, or a Rammes-head; I fee that many wife-men haue troubled themfelues to finde out; but, as Arrianus speakes of Dienysius, or Liber Pater (who lived faith St. Augustine in Ottofes time,) Ea que de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripsere non funt nimitum curiose per neftiganda; Wemuft not ouer-curioufly fearch into the fables which the Ancients have written of their Gods.

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell beganne to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and in all other Idols became speechlesse. For that this Hammon was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cafar, and in the time of Traian altogether forgotten, Strabe and Plutarch witnesse.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called Fons folis (though Ptolomie in his third African Table fets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noone as cold as any yee, to which I cannot but gine credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by Saint Augustine, by Diodore, Herodotus, Plinie, Mela, Solinus, Arianus, Curtius, and others. and indeede our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

#### d. VIII.

How ALEXANDER marching against DARIVS, was opposed very unskillully by the Enemie.

Rom the Temple of Hammon he returned to Mamphis, where among many other learned men he heard the Philosopher Pfammones, who, belike widerstanding that he aftected the title of Impirer Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generally and rething the pride of this haughtic King, brought him to fay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that hee acknowledged none for his children faue

He gaue the charge of the feuerall Provinces of Agypt to feuerall Gouernours, 40 following the rule of his Master Aristotle, That a great Dominion should not bee continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Roman Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the gouernement of Agypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner ranck and degree. He then gaue order for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Wester-most branch of Nilus. And having now setled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdomes of the leffer Ma, Phanicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawnes of Darius his ill fortune, one happie victorie would readily haue redeemed;) he led his Armie towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to Mazeus to defend, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander without refiftance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a Riner for the swiftnesse 50 thereof called by the Persians The Arrow. Here, as Curtius, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might Darius cafily have repelled the invading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waightie stones, and those that

moued not but lay in the bottome, were foround and well polifhed by continuall

Curt.l.4.

## CHAP.2. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

rolling, that no man was able to fight on fo slipperie a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the Riuer, otherwise than by joyning their handes and enterlacing their Armes together, making one waightie and entire bodie to relift the fwift paffage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deepe towards the Easterne shore, where Darius should have made head, as the foot-men were inforst to lift their Bowes and Arrowes and Darts ouer their heads, to keepe them from being moistned, and made vnseruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and understandingly faid of Homer.

> Talis est hominum terrestrium mens, Qualis quotidie ducit pater virorumg, Deorumg,

The mindes of men are ever so affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World by the surfeit of milgouernement haue beene subject to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases, So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought, it selfe into a burning and consuming Feuer, and thereby become frantick and without understanding, toreshewing 10 manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recoursed the Easterne shores of Tigris, without any other difficultie, than that of the nature of the place, where Mazeus (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vneuen forces hee durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them hee forfooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue ouer come. But it is commonly seene, that searefull and cowardly men doe cuer follow those waies, and counsells, whereof the opportunitie is alreadie lost.

It is true that he fet all prouisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might ferue 20 themselues ouer Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counfell is fruitlesse when vnscasonable. For now was Alexander fo well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competencie of the Armie which he conducted, Those thinges also which he fought to wast, Alexander being now in fight, were by his Horse men saued and recoursed. This, Mazeus might have done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foote out of fight, and farre behinde.

The new pronisions of DARIVS. Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.



ARIVS, vpon Alexanders first returne out of Ægypt, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (faith Curtius) that rather ferued to make vp the names of men, than to make relistance. Arianus hath numbred them with

their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all forts ten hundred thousand, and of horse 50 foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. Cartius who musters the Armie of Darius at two hundred thousand foote, and neare fiftie thousand horse, comes (I thinke) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vasfalls, it is like enough that hee had gathered together of all forts fome three or foure hundred thousand,

with which hee hoped in those faire plaines of Asyria to have oner-borne the few numbers of the inuading Armic. But it is a Rule in the Philosophie of the Warre.

In omni prelso non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quamars & exercitium (olent prastare victoriam; In cuerie battaile skill and practife doe more towards the victorie, than multitude and rude audacitie.

While Alexander gaue rest to his Armie after their passage ouer Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine prefage of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that difdained Philip for his Father, and would needes bee called the Sonne of Impiter, they should all perish; For hee not only infors them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon Alexander being readie to march forward made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the Agyptian Aftrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might bee affured that this defe-Ction of the Moone was a certaine prefage of good successe; for that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but referred the knowledge to themfelues, fo as a forrie Almanack-maker had beene no small foole in those daies.

Of this kinde of superstitious observation Cesar made good vse, when he sought against Ariouistus and the Germans: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely loose the battaile, Cafar forst them to abide it, though they durst not give it, wherein hauing their mindes alreadie beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Armie in effect perifhed.

Thele Agyptians gaue no other reason than this, That the Gracians were vnder the aspect of the Sunne, the Persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glorie ot being obscured. This judgement of the Agyptian Pricts being noised through 30 all the Armic, all were fatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though denifed fince, was well observed then. Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaineleade his Armie to the fight, when it is poffesed with matter of terrour,

It is truely observed by Curtius, that the people are led by nothing so much as by fuperstition; yea, we finde it in all Stories, and often in our owne, that by fuch inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue beene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and infurrections, and still to their owne loffe and ruine.

As Alexander drew neare the Persian Armie, certaine letters were surprized writ- 40 ten by Darius to the Gracians, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray Alexander. But these by the aduice of Parmenio he suppressed.

At this time also Darius his faire Wife, opprest with forrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident Alexander feemed no leffe to bewaile than Darius, who vpon the first brute suspected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her, but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of Alexanders Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferre it on so just and continent an enemie as Alexander, to whom he once againe before the last triall by battaile offered these condi-

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp and refigne all Affa the leffe, and with Agypt, all those Kingdomes betweene the Phanician Sea, and the River of Emphrates; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his

other Daughter thirtie thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, hee would leave his Sonne Occhus in hostage : To this they fought to perswade Alexancer by fuch arguments as they had. Alexander cauting the Embaffadours to be remoued, adulfed with his Counfell, but heard no man speake but Parmenio, the very meht hand of his good fortune; who perfuaded him to accept of these faire condirions. Hee told him, that the Empire betweene Euphrates and Helleftont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retayning of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of farre better vse than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable to that if he had followed his aduife, and bounded his ambition within thole limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe; who to affure themselus of what they had vsurped you his iffues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That Alexander in going fo farre into the Falt, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate admised and gratefull; and being taught new leffons by aboundance of prosperitie, became a louer of wine, of his owne flatterie, and of extreame crueltie. Yea, as Seneca hath observed, the taint of one vnjust 20 flaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beautie of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadors stay bis anfwere, which was to this effect, That what soener he had bestowed on the Wife and Children of Darius, proceeded from his owne naturall elemencie and magnanimitie, without all respect to their Master; that thankes to an enemie was improper that he made no warres against aduersitie, but against those that resisted him, Not against

Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of Darius, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great fummes of money to perfwade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet hee could not (were it otherwife and 20 faithfull) resolue in hast to accept the same, seeing Darius had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practices That for the Territorie offered him, it was alreadie his owne, and if Darius could beate him back againe ouer Emphrates, which hee had alreadie past, hee would then beleeve that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselse for the reward of the Warre, which hee had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in Darius possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which hee meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, hee told them, that hee came into Mia to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Sunnes: and therefore if 40 Darius could bee content to acknowledge Alexander for his Superiour, hee might perchance bee perswaded to giue him conditions sit for a second Person, and his

d. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not bee so strongly sought as report bath made it.



Ith this answer the Embassadors returne; Derius prepares to fight, and fends Mazeus to defend a paffage, which he never yet dared fo much as to hazard. Alexander confults with his Captaines, Parmenio perfivades him to force Darius his Camp by night; fo that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the Micedonians, being but

few. Alexander disdaines to steale the victoric, and resolves to bring with him the

day-light, to witheffe his valour, But is was the fuccesse that made good Alexanders resolution, though the counsell given by Parmenio was more found : For it is a ground in Warre, Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noclis tempus belli fortunam tentare. Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers & intrenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas Darius for seare of surprise had stood with his Armie in armour all the day, and forborne fleepe all the night; Alexander gaue his men reft and flore of foode, for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre. In pugna Milites validius reliftunt, licibo potuć, refetti fuerint, nam fames intrinfecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better fland to it in fight; if they 10 have their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagrely than

The numbers which Alexander had, faith Arianus, were fortie thousand foote, and feuen thousand horse; these belike were of the European Armie; for hee had belides both Syrians, Indians, Agyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes upon the River of Graniek and in Cilicia, the Micedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true faying, Victoria Victoriam parat, animuma, victoribus auget, & aduerfarijs aufert; One victoric begets an other, and puts courage in- 20 to those that have alreadie had the better, taking spirit away from such as have beene

Arrianus and Curtius make large descriptions of this battaile, sought at Gaugamela; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victorie inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That Parmento was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That Alexanders Reare-guard was broken and his carriages loft; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both fides, Fortune her felfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That Alexander in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, Curtius deliuers vs in accompt but three hundred dead Macedonians, in 30 all this terrible daies-worke; faying, That Ephestien, Perdiccas, and others of name, were wounded. Arrianus findes not a third part of this number flaine; of the Perfians there fell fortie thousand (saith Curtius,) thirtie thousand according to Arrianus: Ninetie thousand, if we beleeue Diodor. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Persians upon the first charge ranne away, and that the Macedonians purfued? For if of these foure or fine hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by Darius, enery man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as fixe or feuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainely, if Darius had fought with Alexander vpon the bankes of Euphrates, and had armed but fiftie 40 or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for Alexander to have past that River so casily, much lesse the River of Tigris. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, Hee abandoned all places of advantage, and fuffered Alexander to enter fo far into the bowells of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibilitie of escape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented vnto them the choife, either of death or victorie; to which election Darius could no way constraine his owne, seeing they had many large Regions to runne into from those that inuaded them.

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ð. XI.

#### ò. X I.

of thinges following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Sufa.



ARIVs after the rout of his Armie recoursed Arbela the fame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpole of making a retrait into Medis, perswading them that the Macedonians, greedie of spoile and riches, would eather attempt Palating a Company of the second o ches, would rather attempt Babylon, Sufa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobilitie

rather obeied than approued.

Alexander soone after Darius his departure arrives at Arbela; which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred vnto him: for the seare which conducted Darius tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. Hee that had beene twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neare the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had beene victorious he might have brought it after him at leifure, but being ouer come, hee knew it vnpoffible to drive Mules and Cammels laden with gold 20 from the pursuing Enemie, feeing himselfe, at the ouerthrow hee had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head to runne away with the more speede. But errours are then best discerned when most incurable. Et praterita magis reprehends possunt quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

From Arbela Alexander tooke his way towards Babylon, where Mazeus in whom Darius had most considence rendred himselfe, his children and the Citic. Also the Captaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streetes with flowers, burnt franckinsence vpon Altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and deliucred vnto him what soener was committed to his trust. The Mags (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: 30 after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite riche in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, Alexander caused his Macedonian foote-men to march. When hee entred the Castle hee admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found amounting to fiftie thousand talents of filuer vncoyned. The Citie it selfe I have elsewhere described with the Walles, the Towers, the Gates and the Circuite, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuite, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore foote high, and on the toppe theteof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is faid that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might 40 walke privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things but most of all in Voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie daies, And the consuming that time in banqueting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the mindes of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the seuere discipline of warre which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefulltrauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgot-

ten, than neglected. Heere it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, & Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled Chiliarchi. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honor those Captaines which were found by certain 50 selected Judges to have deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedoman companies confifted but of fine hundred. Certainely the drawing downe of the foote-bands in this latter age bath beene the cause (saith the Marshal Monluet) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath beene bestowed on every Picque Benf or Spurn-Cow, for when the Captaines of foote had a thouland Souldiers under

one imagne, and effer that hue hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the title was bonorable and the Kings were leffe charged, and farre better ferued. King Henrie the eighth of England neuergaue the commandement of any of his good

Inippes, but to men of knowne valour, and of great effate, nay fometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie commanders in one thip: but all orders and degrees are

fallen from the reputation they had.

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While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him agreat supply out of Enrefe, for Artipuer fant him isse thousand foote and fine hundred horse, out of Macedon, of Thracians three thouland foote and the like number of horse, and out of Greece fourethousand toose and foure hundred borse, by which his Armie was greatly 10 firengthned : for those that were insected with the pleasures of Babylon could hardly be brought againe, Lequiner la plume for dermir for ladure; Tochange from foft be b to bar ; bands.

Helefi the Cast'e and Citic of Eabylen with the Territories about it in charge vnto three of his owne Captaines, delinering withall into their handes to fupply al wants a thousand talents; but to grace Mazeus who rendred the citie vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him Bagiflines that game up the Cafile, and having diffributed to every Souldiera part of the Treafure, he left B drifon and entred into the Province Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Sufa in Perfa, the fame which Ptolomie, Herodotus, and Elianus call Memno- 20 nia, fytuate on the river Enless, a Citie fometime governed by Daniel the prophet. Abulites a fo, governour of this famous Citte gave it vp to the Conquerer with liftie thousand talents of filter in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all o-Distorfeeaketh ther the treasures of Davius. In this fort did those Vassalls of fortune, louers of the Dia bar peaketh of more than Kings prosperatie, not of his person (for so all ambitious menare) purchase their

force thouland owne peace and fafetie with the Kings treasures.

tension non While Alexander spoiled Arbeit, Nazens might have surinisht his owne King from nine Million Baltrion, and while he staid foure and thirtie dates at Baltrion, Abulites might have hol-While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazeus might have furnisht his owne King from of coined gold- pen him from Sufa: and while he feathed there, Tiridates from Perfepolis might have reficued him: for the great masse of treasure was laid up in that Citie. But who 30 hath fought out and friended fearcfull advertitie? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest for those that are but preedic of themselues, doe in all changes of fortune only studie the conservation of their owne greatnesse.

And therefore was Alexander well adulfed, that what socuer titles he gaue to the Perpans, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Sula, and Perfepolis, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Muccionians but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of Persa would have returned to their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings are neuer to beeyfed alone in great enterprifes by those Princes that entertaine them, nor over to be trufted with the defences of any fron-40 tier-Towne, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendring whereof they may redeeme their libertic and effates loft.

Hereof the French had experience, when Don Petro de Monarra, being banished out of Spaine, was trufted with Fontarabe, in the yeare 1523.

It is faid, that Charles the fifth having promifed Charles of Bourbon the governe-

ment of M. rfeilles, if he could have forth it, and whereof he made fure accompt, told fome of his nearest Counsellers, that hee meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promife, because hee should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

The government of Sufa, with the Castle and Treasure, Accorder comitted to 50 his owne Mucedonians, making Abulites who rendred it vnto him his Lieutenant, as he had done Mazeus and others, in giving them Titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and Davius his Mother and her children to repose themselves.

à. XII.

How ALEXANDER came to Persepolis, and burnt it.

Rom Susa Alexander leadeth his Armic toward Persepolis, and when he fought to passe those Mountaines which funder Susiana and Perfia, hee was foundly beaten by driobarcanes, who defended against him those Straights, called Pyla Persidis, or Susaides, and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forst to saue himselfe

by retrait, causing his foote to march close together, and to couer themselues with their T argets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountaine-top. Yet in the end he found out an other path, which a Lycian, liuing in that Countrie, disconered vnto him, and came thereby fuddenly in view of Ariobarzanes, who being inforst to fight vpon euenground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon hee fled to Persepolis, but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) hee returned and gaue a second charge vpon the Macedonians, wherein he was slaine. In like manner did King Francis the first, in the yeare 1515. finde a way ouer the Alpes, the Smitzers undertaking to defend all the paffages, who, if their footmanship had not faued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had beene ill paied for 20 their hard lodging on those Hils.

Foure thousand Greekes, faith Curtius, ( Iustine numbers them but at eight hundred) having beene taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in fight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way have beene knowne to their Countrie-men, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands

as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of Darius his false-hearted Grandes, hearing of Alexanders approch, made him know that Persepolis was readie to receive him, and praied him to double 30 his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoile the Kings treafure. This Citie was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon Alexanders arriuall, and they that staied followed the worst counsell, for all was left to the libertie of the Souldiers, to spoile and kill at their pleasure, There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had beene laied in ballance with Perfepo'rs, would have waighed it downe. Babylon, indeede, and Sula, were very rich; but in Perlepolis lay the bulke and maine Rore of the Persians. For after the spoile that had beene made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and filuer, and other jewells; there remained to Alexander himselfe one hundred and twentie thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in AO Sufa, and gaue the fame formall honour to the Traitor Tiridates, that he had done to Abulites; but he that had the trust of the place was Micarides, a creature of his owne. The bodie of his Armichee left here for thirtie daies, of which the Commanders

were Parmenio and Craterus, and with a thouland horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote, he would needes view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had coursed; a fruit leffe and foolish enterprise, but as Seneca faics: Nonilleire vult, fed non potest ftare ; He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to fland still. It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not indure the extreame frost, and make way, but with extreme difficultie, through the snow, that Alexander for sooke his horse, and led them the way. But

50 what can bee more ridiculous than to bring other men into extreamitie, thereby to fliew how well himselfe can indure it? His walking on soote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime for bearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse indure it. For mine owne little judgement I shall rather commend that Captaine, that makes carefull provision for those that

follow him, and that leckes wilely to preuent extreme necefficie, than those witlesse arrogant fooles, that make the vaint of hauing indured equally with the common-Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glorie and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that Cafar made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the prouision of victualls was their first care. For it was a true saying of Coligni, Admirall of France; That who so will shape that beass (meaning Warre) must beginne with his besite.

Curt.l.s.

But Alexander is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberalitie, of his elemencie, towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, 10 were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carrowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend T brone of the greatest King, into the companie and familiaritie of base Harlots, he beganne to be despited both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet Thais, he caused the most sumpruous and goodly Castle and Citie of Persepolis, to bee consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of Parmenio to the contrarie, who told him that it was a dilhonour to deliroy those thinges by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong personafion to the Asians, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby aliene their hearts: For they 20 might well beleeue that hee which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing leffethan (after such valtation) to hold their possession. Ferevinslentiam crudelitas fequitur; Crucltie doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For so it fell out foone after, and often in Alexander.

en.Epift.84.

## d. XIII. The Treason of Bess vs against Darivs. Darivs his death.



Bout this time he received a new fupply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde Davius in Media. Davius had there compounded his fourth and laft Armie, which he meant to have increafed in Badvia, had he not heard of Alexanders comming on, with whom (trufting to fuch companies as hee had, which was numbred at thirtie or fortie

thousand) he determined once agains to trichis fortune. Hee therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his refolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. Artabazau, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had fometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the yee, and protesting that hee could neuer be beaten by any aduersitic of the Kings, from the 40 faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same disposition (whereof they likewise affured Darius by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, Naburzanes, and Bessus, whereof the latter was Governour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master, and therefore adulsed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purfue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the Godsnor Fortune had in all things declared themselves to becan enemie: this preamble Naburzanes vied, and in conclusion admised the election of his fellow Traitor Beffus, with promife that, the warres ended, the Empire should again be restored to Darius. The King swollen with disdaine prest towards Naburganes to have flaine so him, but Beffus and the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while Naburzanes with-drew himselfe, and Besses followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Armie. Artabazas, the Kings faithfull feruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time,

[Geingt\_Acksim\_crws at hand, and that hee would at leaft make thew of forgetting the offence marle, which the King being of a gentle diffolition willingly yeelded vnto. Beful max's his fubmiffion and attends the King, who remoues his Armic. Patron, who commanded a Regiment of foure thouland Greeker, which had in all the former battailes Green Darius with great fidelities, and alwaies made the retrait in fright of the Chleschomus, offered himfelit to gund his perfon, protelling against the treation of Beful, but it was not in his definie to follow their adulce, who from the beginning of the Warre gauch him faithfull counfell, but hee inclined lill to Beful, alwander, and practified the diufilion of his faithfull Greants. Beful had drawner.

10 Alexander, and practifed the divition of his faithfull feruants. Beffin had drawne with him thirtie thousand of the Armie, promiting them all those thinges, by which the lowers of the world and themselues, are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safetie, and honour.

Now the day following Darius plainely diffcourred the purpose of Beffus, and being our-come with pallion, as thinking himfelfe vnable to make head against these wagaractfull and vinnaturall Traitors, he praised Ariabacus his fathfull feruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himfelte. In like fort he discharged the creft of his attendants, all faue a few of his Emmels; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him, His Persians being most base cowards, durit not vndertake his desence

20 againft the Bactrions, notwithflanding that they had foure thousand Greekes to joyne yith him, who had beeneable to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forfakes himselfe, no man followes. It had beene farrer more manilike and King-like, to have died in the head of those fourethousand Greekes, which offered him the disposition of their lines, (to which Artahesus perfusaded him) than to have lien bewarding himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to bee bound like a flaue by those ambitious Monsters that laied hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great chate, nor the honors he had ginen them, norther trult reposed in them, northe world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pittle: no, nor his present adversitie, which aboue all thinges should have 30 moued them, could pierce their viperous and vagratefull hearts. Vaincie was indeed

to hope it, for initidelitie hath no compaffion.

Now Darius; thus for fiken, was bound and laied in a Cart, couered with hides of boths, to the end charby any other ornament he might not bee diffeouered; and to adde defpight and derifion to his aduerlitie, they faftened him with chaines of gold, and fo drew him on among their ordinarie carriages and Carts. For Refluend Actions and Action to the control of the provided themselves to redeeme their lives and the Provinces they held either by delivering him a prisoner to Accounter, or if that hope failed to make themselves Kings by his flaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both for it was againft the nature of God, who is most just, to part of the price of the p

40 don fo firange villanie, yea though against a Prince purely Heathenish, and an Ido-

later:

\*\*Mexander hauing knowledge that \*\*Darins\*\* was retired towards \*\*Balfris\*\*, and durft not abide his comming, hafted after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, hee mounted on horse backe certaine selected Companies of them, and best arms d, and with fixe thousand other Horse, rather ranne than marched after \*\*Darins\*\*. Such as hated the treason of \*\*Bessies\*\*, and secrety for fooks him, gaue knowledge to \*\*Alexander\*\* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that \*\*Bessies\*\* on and how near hee was at hand : for many muniof worth daily ranne from him. Hercupon \*\*Alexander\*\* againe doubled his 50 pace, and his Vanne-guard being discouered by \*\*Bessies\*\* his reare, \*\*Bessies\*\* brought a horse to the Cart, where \*\*Darins\*\* lay bound, perfending him to mount thereon, and to faue.

o pace, and his Vant-guard being ditcouered by Beparins reare, Bepas brought a forter to the Cart, where Darish alp bound, perfounding him to mount thereon, and to face himfelfe. But the winfortunate King refuling to follow those that had betraied bim, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drewhim, and flew two poore fernants that attended his perfoir. This done, they

Rrr

all fled that could , leaving the rest to the mercie of the Macedonian Swords.

he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discoursed, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beafts breathing for life, and not able to moue, fearched the same, and therein found Davius bathing in his owne bloud. And by a Persian ca-

ptine which followed this Polyflratus, he vnderstood that it was Darius, and was in-

formed of this barbarous Tragedie. Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if

dying men ignorant of the liuing God can bee comforted) that hee cast not out his last forrowes vnheard, but that by this Macedonian, Alexander might know and

with him, recommending their reuenge to Alexander by this Messenger, which hee

befought him to purfue, not because Darius had defired it, but for his owne honor.

and for the fafetic of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. Hecalfo, having

nothing elfe to present, rendred thankes to Alexander for the Kingly grace ysed to-

wards his Wife, Mother, and Children, defiring the immortal! Gods to fubmit vn-

to him the Empire of the whole world. As hee was thus speaking, imparient death

preffing out his few remaining spirits, he defired water, which Polyflatus prefented

him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best thinges that the world

had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath.

where-with to delire the Gods to reward his compaffion.

take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly 10

Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursute of the vanquished prest with thirst, as

(though to his great dilhonour) to receive Wabarzanes that had joyned with Belizs to murder Daries.

#### d. X V.

Of THALESTRIS Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such Amazons have beene, and are.



Ere it is faid, that Thaiestris or Minothes, a Queene of the Amazones, came to vilite him, and her fute was, (which shee easily obtayned) That shee might accompanie him till shee were made with child by him: which done (refuling to follow him into Incia) thee returned into her owne Countrie.

Plutareh citeth many Hiltorians, reporting this meeting of Thalestris with Alexander, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of Alexander himselfe to Ancipater, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian bulinesse, may justly breede suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Hifiorian of the same time reading one of his bookes to Lysmachus (then King of 20 Thrace) who had followed Alexander in all his voiage; was laught at by the King for inferting fuch newes of the Amazons, as Lyfimachus himfelte had neuer heard of. One that accompanied Alexander tooke vpon him to write his acts; which to amplific, He told how the King had fought fingle with an Elephant, and flaine it. The King hearing fuch fluffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the River of indus; faying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inferring such fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as wee beleeue and know that there are Elephants, though it were falle that Alexander fought with one; fo may we give credit vnto writers, making mention of fuch Amazon, whether it were true or false that they met with Alexander; as Plutarch leaves the matter undetermined. 30 Therefore I will here take leaue to make digreffion, as well to flow the opinions of

the ancient Hiltorians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discouerers touching these warlike Women, because not only Strabe, but many others of the feour times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any fuch kinde of people. Julius Solinus feates them in the North parts of Alia the leffe. Pom. Mela finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River Thermodoon; the other, neare the soline 27, et 65 Caspian Sca; Quas (saith hee) Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromati- Libra das. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; Certum est (faith Vadianus, who hath Commented upon MELA) illus proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certaine that the Cimerian's were the next Nations to the Amazones. PTOLOMIE 40 fets them farther into the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines Hippaci, not Puls. farre from the Pillars of Alexander. And that they had Dominion in Alia it felfe Alexander. toward India, Solinus and Plinie tells vs ; Where they gouerned a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, fo called after Pandea the Daughter of Hercules, from whom all the rest derine themselves. Claudian affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus.

Medis lenibulá. Sabais Imperat hic fexus : Reginarumá, fub armis. Barbaria pars magna iacet.

Claud. de cap. Proferpine.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, raignes This female fexe; and vnder armes of Queene, Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

50

Rrrr 2

Diedorus

d. XIIII. How ALEXANDER purfued BESSVS, and tooke into his grace DARIVS his Captaines,

T was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their tranclls were neare an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when alexander had knowledge, hee was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth fufficed not his boundleffe ambition. Many arguments hee there-

fore vsed to draw on his Armie farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that Bessus, a most cruell Traitor to his Master Darius, hauing at his denotion the Hyrcanians, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, hee wanne their consents to goe on: which done, leaning Craterus with certaine Regiments of foot, and Amyntas with fixe thousand Horse in Parthenia, hee enters not without some opposition into Hyreania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. Hee passeth the River of Zioberis, which taking beginning in 40 Parthia dissolues it selfe in the Caspian Sea : it runneth under the ledge of Mountaines, which bound Parthia and Hyrcania, where hiding it felfe under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then rifeth againe and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zendracarta, the same Citie which Ptolomic writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region , hee rested sisteene daies, banquetting , and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest Comanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to Alexander, and were restored to their places and governements. But of all other he graced Artabazus most highly for his approved & constant faith to his Master Darius. Artabazus brought with him ten thousand and fine hun- 50 dred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had served Darius; He treats with Alexander for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render them sclues simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedemonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having flaine himselfe. Hee was also wrought,

Diogorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (faith hee) than those which kept the bankes of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxine

Herodotis doth also make report of these Amazons, whom hee tells withat the Southing call . Earpatas, which is as much as Viricidas, or Men-killers. And that they made incuriioninto Alathe leffe, fackt Ephefus, and burnt the Temple of Diana. Manethon and Auentinus report, which they performed fortic yeares after Troy was Enried 1.12 taken. At the flege of Troy it felfe wee reade of Penthefiles. That flee came to the

fuccour of Priamus.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the river of Thermodoon, 10 L.22.C.T. focaking confidently of the Warresthey made with divers Nations, and of their onerthrow.

Plus arch in the life of Thefeus, out of Philochorus, Hellanicus, and other ancient Hiflorians, reports the taking of Antiopa Queene of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him given to Thefens, though some affirme, That Thefens himselfe got her by stealth when thee came to visit him aboord his thip. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing. That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of Pompey focakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to aide the Albanians against the Romans, by whom, after the battaile, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp : and he faith farther, That thefe women entertaine the 29 Gela and Lelages once a yeare, Nations inhabiting betweene them and the Aba-

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old Hillor, Ind. part, times, Fran. Lopez who hath written the nauigation of Orellana, which he made down the River of Amazons from Peru, in the yeare 1542. (vpon which River, for the diners turnings, he is faid to have failed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the faid Orellana, to the Councell of the Indies, That hee both faw those women and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his paffage towards the Eaft-

It is also reported by Viricus Schmidel, that in the yeare 1542. where he failed up 30 the Rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Countrie, called Scherues, inhabiting under the Tropick of Capricorne, who gaue his Captaine Ernando Rieffere, a Crowne of filuer, which hee had gotten in fight from a Oucene of the Amazons in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the Kingdome of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breaft, and live a-part from men, faue at one time of the yeare, when they feaft and accompanie them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of Monomotapa in Africa, ninetcene degrees to the Southward of the line : and that these women are the strongest guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Por- 40

I have produced these authorities, in part, to instific mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was delivered mee for truth by an ancient Collect. of Guiana, how vpon the River of Papamena (fince the Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that these women still line and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

è. XVI. 50

How ALEXANDER fell into the Persians Luxurie : and how hee further purfued BESSVS.

Ow as Alexander had begunne to change his conditions after the taking of Persepolis: fo at this time his prosperitie had so much overwrought his vertue, as he accompted elemencie to bee but basenesse, and the temperance which he had vsed all his life-time, but a poore

and dejected humor, rather becomming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mightie a King, as the world could not equall. For he perfwaded himfelfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the Gods; hee was pleafed that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; hee ware the Robes, and garments of the Persians, and commanded that his Nobilitic should doe the like; hee entertained in his Court, and Campe, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomitical Eunuchs, that Darius had done, and imitated in all thinges the proude, voluptuous, and detelled manners of the Persiens, whom he had vanquilhed. So licentious is felicitie, as not with flanding that he was fully perfwaded, that the Gods, whom he ferued (detelting the vices of the inan uaded) affifted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe contrarie to the religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but searcfull vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearefull Monster than Darius, from whose tyrannic he vaunted to have delivered fo many Nations. Yea those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornefull discourse, That Alexander of Macedon was become one of Darius his licentious Courtiers: That by his example the Macedonians were in the end of fo many trauailes more impourrished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the conquered were the bafer 20 flaues. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts fought to pacific the better fort, and those of whose judgements he was most jealous; and making it knowne to the Armie that Bessis had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe Artaxerxes, and that hee had compounded a great Armie of the Bactrians, and other Nations, hee had arguments enough to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadic gotten, might not with themselues (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much valike the warfare of the French) having commanded euery mans fardells to be brought into the market-place, he together with his owne, 40 caused all to bee consumed with fire. Certainely, this could not but have proved most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these thinges, which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their bloud; than in the Kings ambition; had not (as Senera often observed) his happie temeritie ouer-come all thinges. As he was in his way, newes came to him that Satribarzanes, whom he had established in his former gouernement ouer the Arrians, was revolted, whereupon leaving the way of Bacteria, he fought him out, but the Rebell hearing of his comming fled to Beffus with two thousand Horse. Hee then went on towards Bellius, and by letting a great pile of wood on fire with the aduantage of a ftrong winde, wonne a paffage ouer a high and vnaccessable Rock, which was de-50 fended against him with thirteene thousand foote. For the extremitie of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise innincible. I saw in the third ciuill Warre of France certaine caues in Languedoc, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certaine bundells of strawler downe

by an yron chaine, and a waightie stone in the middest, those that defended it were so smothered, as they rendred themselves with their plate, monie, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three yeares before my arrivall in Guiana, three hundred Spaniar ds well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie people, who did set the long drie-graffe on fire to the castward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwaies East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the fmoke, there was not any one that escaped. St John Borrowes alfo, with a hundred English, was in great danger of being loftat Margarita, in the tivil-Indies, by having the graffe fired behinde him, but the fmoke being timefully discoursed, hee reconcred the Sen-thore with the losse of fixteene of his 10 men. I remember these thinges, but to give caution to throse that shall in times to come inuade any part of those Countries, that they alwaies, before they passe into the Land, burne downe the graffe and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwife, without any other enemie than a handfull of firaw feton fire, die the death of honnie-Bees, burnt out of the Hine.

#### ò. XVII.

A conspiracie against ALEXANDER. The death of PHILOTAS

LEXANDER was after he parted hence no where refifted, till he came into Aija, to the Ealt of Baccria, wherethe chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called Articosns, was a while defended against him, by the re-uolt of Sartibarzones, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of

five thousand and five hundred foote, and neare five hundred Horse, out of Greece, Theffalie, and other places. His journie out of Perfix into these parts is very confusedly described. For having (as all his Hillorians tellys) a determination to finde Besses in Builria, he leaves it at the very entrance, and cakes the way of Hyrania; from thence 30 hee wanders Northward towards the obscure Mardi, upon the Caspian-Sea, and thence ouer the Mountaines Corones into Ain, and Drangiana.

At this time it was that the treafon of Dinanas brake out, of which Philotas the fonne of Parmenie was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This Diminus, having (I know not you what ground) confined with time others againft the life of Alexander, went about to draw Alexanders, a young man whom he loued, into the fame treason. The youth, although he was lift bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vitered, beganne to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have flaine him for fecuritie of his owne life. So conftrained by feare, hee made thew as if hee had beene wonne by perfuation, and by feeming at 40 length to like well of the bufineffe, hee was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine orten of them, all men of ranke; whose names Dimmus (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to Nicomachus. Nicomachus had no fooner freed himfelfe from the companie of this Traitor Dimput, than he acquainted his owne brother Ceballinus with the whole Historie; whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that Ceballinus (who might with leaft (uspition) should goe to the Court and vtter all. Ceballinus, meeting with Philosos, told him the whole bufinesse; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which hee promised to doe, but did not. Two daies pailed, and Philotas never brake with the King about the matter; but fall excused himselfe to Cehallinus by the Kings want of leisure. This 50 his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused Ceballinus to addresse himselfe to another, one Sterron, keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to Alexanderspresence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed betweene Coballings and Platetas, did fully perfuade himfelfe that this concealement of the trea-

fon argued his hand to have beene in the bulinesse. Therefore when Dimnus was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this : Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke PHILOTAS more worthies abe King than I? Dimnus perceiuing, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had fo wounded him felfe that hee lived no longer than to give his laft groane in the Kings prefence. Then was Philotas called, and charged with the fulpition which his filence might justly breede. His answere was, That when the practife was reuealed unto him by Nicom schus, he judging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint Alexander therewithall, vntill he might have better information. This errour of his, (if

to it were only an errour) although Alexander, for the notorious feruices of his Father Parmenia, of his brother Nicanor lately dead, and of Philotas himselfe, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for affurance; yet by the infligation of Craterus, hee againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Indges : Curtius gives a note of Craterus in this bufineffe; How hee perfivaded himfelfe, that he could never finde a better occasion to oppresse his private enemie, than by pretending pietie and dutie towards the King. Hercofa Poet of our owne hath given a note as much better as it is more generall in his Philotas.

See how these great men cloathe their prinate hate, In these faire colours of the publike good, And to effect their ends, pretend the State, As if the State by their affection flood, And arm'd with power and Princes jealoufies, Will put the leaft conceit of discontent Into the greatest ranke of treacheries, That no one action shall seeme innocent; Yeavalour, honour, bountie, shall be made As accessaries vnto ends vnjust: And euen the fernice of the State must lade The needfull'it undertaking with distrust, So that base vilenesse; idle Luxurie, Seeme fafer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were fo that the King, following the adulfe of Craterus; had refolged the next day to put Philatas to torment, yet in the very evening of the fame night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discourfed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotas was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him beganne to binde him; he cried out upon the King in these wordes : O A LEXANDER, the malice of mine

40 Enemies bath (us mounted thy mercie, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumflances were viged against him by Alexander himselfe; (for the Kings of Macedon did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was nor the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when Alexander wrote vnto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that facred Fellowship of the Gods, and yet hee could not but withall grieue for those that should line under such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (faith Alexander) a firme perfivation vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that hee held my glorie in despight. See what a strange Monster

50 flatterie is, that can perfuade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those thinges in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. Philot, is was brought before the multitude to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vilde garments, and bound like a Theefe; where hee heard himfelfe, and his abfent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers

Hetter and Ayesmor having beene loft in the prefent Warre. Hee was 6 greatly oppreft with griefe as for a while he could vtere nothing but tears, and forrow had fo waited his jirits as hee funke wider those that led him. In the end the King asked him in what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherenic had pleased the King to accuse him, which hee did to the end that the Profinns, as well as the Akacedoniums, might vinderstand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perfavading the aitembly that hee diddained the language of his owne Countrie, and so with drawing himselfels, left him to his mercitelle entemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, feeing the King who had fo fharply invaied against him, would not vouchfafe to heare his excuse. For, 10 not his enemies only were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest having discourred the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselues which of them should exceede in hatred towards him: Among many other arguments which he yied in his owne defence, this was not the weakest, That when Nicomuchus defired to know of Diminus what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) Dimmus named vnto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber. Nicanor, Amyntas, and fome others, but spake not a word of Philotas, who by being commander of the Horfe, would greatly have valued the partie, and have incouraged Nicomachus. Indeede, as Philotas faid well for himfelfe, it is likely that Dimnus, 20 thereby the better to have heartned Nicomachus, would have named him, though hee had neuer dealt with him in any fuch practife. And for more certaine proofe that he knew nothing of their intents, that practifed against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforst by torments or otherwise, that could accuse him, and it is true, that adversitie being seldome able to beare her owne burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as sieee rather desires to draw others (not alwaies descruing it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howfocuer it were, to avoide the extremitie of relistlesse and vnnaturall torments, denifed by his profest enemies Craterus, Cenus, Ephestion, and others, Philotas accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would have slaine him 20 forthwith. But he failed euen in that miferable hope, and fuffering all that could be laied on flesh and bloud, he was forst to deliver, not what he knew, but what soeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Aug.de Civit. Dei.l.19.6.6. Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding St. Inguistine greatly complained as a matter to bee bewailed, faith her, with Fountaines of teares. Quideam in fue acust quist, to requestive: & cum quartur virum sit nocess cruciatur. & imnecess timp to inverto felelve exvisiomes panes non quiathad commissific detegitur, sed quiar non commissific nescitars. What shallwed syst vis, when one is put to vortice in his owneest; and commented whitely pet it is in question whether he be guiltie, and being innecent suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certaintie, not because he is known to have committed the of-40 street, but because either deep when the subject of the content of the subject of the content of the

It had been een ough for Alexanders fafetie if Philotas had been put to death without torment, the rels would not much have givened thereat, because he was greatly suffected. But Hemolius, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings crueltie and delight in bloud the greatest motive of his own eill intent. Therefore, Sendellus, In nead peaking of Alexander, faith thus: Crudellus ninne humanum malanses, indicate homine than miti unima; fermalflarabuse eil fanguine gaudere Coultarilus, Schaiet ohomine, in fluestre animal transfire; Crueltie is not a humane vice; it is omvorthie of so mild a spirit. It is even a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and easiling away the nature of man to become a lause Monther.

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, Curtius makes a doubt, whether the confession that Philosas made were to give end to the torments which hee could not any longer indure, or that the same was true indeed; For (faith he) in this case, they shat speake truely, or they that denic failty; come to one and the same end. Now

while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that Lyncefles, fonnein-Law to Antipater, who had beene three yeares in prison, should bee slaine: The fame dispatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused: others there were that were suspected, because they had followed Philotas, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings tauour as by louing those whom the King fauoured; they were dismist. But Parmenio was yet lining; Parmenio, who had ferued with great fidelitie as well Philip of Mucedon the Kings Father, as himfelfe; Parmenio that first opened the way into Asia; That had depreft Attalus the Kings enemie; that had alwaics, and in all hazards, the leading of to the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leffe prudent in counfell, than fortunate in all artempts; A man beloued of the men of Warre, and, to fay the truth, hee that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glorie and fame he had : That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not you the King, (for it was valikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelitie in his elderlage, having now lived threefcore and ten yeares) yet voon those that by the witchcraft of flatteric had poffett themselves of his affection; it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. Polydamas was imploied in this butinesse, a man whom of all other Parmenio trusted most, and loued best, who (to be short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other Murderers with him, flew him walking in his

20 Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. Hie exitus Parmenton's funt, the sumilitie domig, clarivini, Multa fine Rege profpere, Rex fine illo militimagneric gettered; Thirtwas the end of Parmento (liath Cartys) who had performed many notable thinges without the King, but the King, without him, did neuer effect any time worther of praile.

#### A. XVIII.

How Alexander fubdated the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people, How Bessys was delivered into his bands. How he fought with the Soythians.

Hen these things had end, Accorder went on with his Armie, and brought under his obedience the Araspians or Eurogituse; the made Americes (Sometime Darius his Secretarie) their Governour; then the subded the Araspians, and left Menon to command over them. Here the Armie, sometimes led by Parmenio, findes him, contilling of

twelve thousand Macedons and Greekes, with whom he past through some colde regions with difficultie enough. At length hee came to the foote of the Mountaine Taurus towards the East, where he built a Citie which he honoured with his owne 40 name, and peopled it with feuen thousand of his olde Muedons, worne with age and with transiles of the warre. The Arians, who fince he left them were renoited, hee subdued againe by the industrie and valour of Carenus and Erigins; And now he resolues to find out the new King Bessus in Bactria. Bessus, hearing of his comming, prepares to passe ouer the great River of Oxus which divides Bactris from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made Gouernour of Bactria abandoned by Bellius; The Macedonian Armie suffereth for want of Water, infomuch as when they came to the River of Oxus, there died more of them by drinking inordinately then Aexander had loft in any one battaile against the Persians. And it may well be ; For (as Clyrus did after obiect vnto him) he fought against weomen, not against men, and nor a-30 gainst their persons but their shadowes. He found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materialls, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forst to sow together the Hides that couered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe ouer his Armie; which Besses might cafily have diffrest, if he had dared but to beholde the Macedonian Farmic aL.7.

farre-off. He had formerly complained against Darius for neglecting to defend the bankes of Tigris, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slaue had ftyled himselfe a King, hee durst not perfourme any thing worthie of assaue. And therefore those that were neerest vnto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit Spitamines, Dat ophernes, Catanes, and others the Commaunders of his Armic, moued both by the care of their owne fafetic, and by the memoric of Bellus his Treason and crueltie against Darius, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Mafter, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his neck like a maftife Dogge, and fo was dragged along to be prefented to his enemie.

In the meane while Aexander was arrived at a certaine Towne inhabited with 10 Greekes of Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, when long before heereturned out of Greece, whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Countrie language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sworde, and destroyed their Citic. At this place he received Bellus, and, having rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of Oxatres, Darius his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himselfe secure, some twentie thousand Mountainers affalted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a thot in the leg, the arrow-head

flicking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-Lytter, sometime by the horse-

men, fometime by the foote.

Soone after he came vnto Maracanda, which Petrus Perondinus takes to be Samarchand, the regall Citic of the great Tamerlaine. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (Curtius faith.) Heere hee received the Embaffadors of the Seythans (called Arians) who offered to ferue him.

The Bastrams are thortly againe with the Sagdisms stirred to Rebellion by the fame Spitamenes and Catanes who had lately delinered into his hands the Traitor Beffus. Many Cities were refoluedly defended against him, all which, after victorie, hee defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these hee received a blow on the neck which strucke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many daies after. In the meane while Spitamenes had recovered Maracanda, against whom 20 he imployed Menedemus with three thousand foote and eight hundredhorse.

In the heate of these tumults Alexander marched (on if we may beleeue Curtius and others) till he came to the River of Tanais; vpon whose banke he built another Alexandria threefcore furlongs in compaffe, which he beautified with houses within feuenteen daies after the walls built. The building of this Citie is faid to have bin occasion of a war betweene him and the Soythians; the Soythian King perswading himfelfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him under. I doe not well understand, why the Scythians, offering warre in such terrible manner that Alexander was judged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit fickneffe for verie feare, should neuerthelesse make suit for peace : neither finde I the reason why Alexander 40 (not intending the conquest of those Northerne deserts, but only the desense of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victorie described; in pursuit of which the Macedons ranne beyond the boundes and monuments of Buchus his expedition.

The truth is, That Curtim and Tregus have greatly mistaken this River which they call Tanais. For it was the River of Jaxartes, that runnes betweene Sogdiana and Scythia, which Alexander pastouer, while Menedemus was imploied in the recouery of Samarchand: But Tanais which divides Asia from Europe is necre two thoufaud miles distant from any part of Bactria or Sogdiana, and the way desert and vn- 50 knowne. So that Alexander had (belides Inxartes) the great Riner of Folga and manic others to swimme ouer, ere hee could recouer Tanais; which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Armiethat followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he lived in Asia in that travaile.

Where-

Wherefore it is enough to belowe, that the Assatigne Scythians, making some offer to diffurbe the crection of this new Citie, which was like to give fome hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the Macedonians; and being naked of defensive Armes, easily chased some tenne or twelve miles; which is the substance of Curtius his report. As for the limits of Bacchus his journie; like enough it is that Bacebus (if in his life time he were as fober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not verie farre into that walt Countrie, where hee could finde nothing but trees and stones, nor other bulines than to set vp a monument.

Threefcore of the Macedons are faid to have been flaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might eafily be, in paffing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of Sorthian horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set downe the numbers of such as perish in battell : yet C.efar commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors bath beene fo inquilitiue into the greatnesse of their owne successe, that writers have beene able to deliuer fuch particulars by credible reporte, I hold it not vnlawfull to fet downe what we finde; especially when it serves to give light to the bulinesse in hand. The small number which the Mucedonians lost, the omission of the number which they flew (a thing not yould in Curtime, who forbeares nothing that may

20 fet out the greatnesse of Alexander) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this warre was no better than the repulsion of a few rouing Tartars (the like being yearely performed by the Mofeonite, without any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit

by others.

While Alexander was affuring himselfe of those Seythians bordering upon Jaxartes, he received the ill newes that Menedemus was flaine by Spitamenes, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foote, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appeale the rebellion and to take reuenge of Spitamenes, makes all the hast he can; but Spitamenes flies into Bactria. Alexander 30 kills, burnes, and laics wast all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and

fo departs, leaving a new Gouernour in that Province.

To repaire this loffe he received a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and the old Armie, hee returnes towards the South, and paffeth the River of Oxus; on the South-fide whereof hee built fixe Townes neare each other for mutuall fuccour. But hee finds a new flartvp-Rebell, called Arimazes, (a Sogdian) followed with thirtie thousand Souldiers that defended against him a strong peece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when Alexander had fought in vaine to winne by faire words, hee made choise of three hundred yong-men, and promifed ten talents to the first, nine to the second,

40 and fo in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the loffe of fome two and thirtie of their men, and then made a figue to Alexander, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one Cophes to perswade Arimazes to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by Cophes that the Armie of Macedon was alreadic mounted vp, yeelded simply to Alexanders mercie, and was (with all his kindred) foourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe: Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which 50 I will give you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of Sarke, joyning to Garnfey and of that government, was in Queene Maries time furprifed by the French, and could neuer have beene recovered againe by strong hand, having cattle and come enough vpon the place to feede so many men as will ferne to defend it, and being enery way fo inaccellible that it might bee

held against the Great Turke. Yet by the industrie of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this fort regained. Hecanchored in the roade with one thip of fmall burden, and, pretending the death of his Marchant, befought the French, being fome thirtie in number, that they might burie their Marchantin hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Ille; offering a prefent to the French of fuch commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not fo much as with a knife) the French-men yeelded. Then did the Flemings put a Coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carkaffe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuffes; The French received them at their landing; and fearthing enery of them fo narrowly as they could not hide a pen-knife, gaue to them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficultie; some part of the French tooke the Flemish boat and rowed aboord their ship, to fetch the commodities promifed, and what elfe they pleafed, but being entred they were taken and bound. The Elemings on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, thut the dore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin fet vppon the French; they runne to the Cliffe and crie to their companie aboord the Fleming to come to their fuccour, but finding the boat charged with Flemings yeelded themselves and the place. Thus a Foxe-taile doth sometimes helpe well to peece out the Lions-skinne, that elfe would be too fhort.

Q. XIX.

How ΛLEXANDER flew his owne friends.



England Fter these sogdian and Seythian Warres, wee reade of Alexanderskiling of a Lion, and other frivolous matter, and that he committed the government of Manacanda, and the Countrie about it, to Clytta, and how he flew him foote after, for valuing the vertue of 2 billip the father before that of Alexander the sonne, or rather because hee objected to

the King the death of Parmenio, and derided the Oracle of Hammon: for therein he 30 toucht him to the quick, the same being deliuered in publike and at a drunken banquet. Clytus, indeede, had deferued as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular faued his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himfelfe, and when it was too late. Yet to fay the truth, Clytus his infolencic was intolerable. As he in his cups forgat whom hee offended, fo the King in his (for neither of them were themselues) forgat whom he went about to flay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face and forrowed fo inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of Califibenes, it is thought he would have slaine himselfe.

Wine begat furie, furie matter of repentance : but præceding mischieses are not amended by fucceeding bewailings. Omne vitium ebrief. is & incendit, & detegit; ob- 40 stantemmalis conatibus verecundiam remouet; obi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quiequid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebriet as vitia, fed protraint; Drunkenneffe both kindles and laies open euery vice; it remoues out of the way that flame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out : drunkennesse indeederather discouers vices, than makes them.

Soone after this, Spitamenes, who flew Befins, and had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his Wife, and his head prefented to Alexander. Spitamenes being taken away, the Dahans also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator Dataphernes, and deliuered him vp. So Alexander being now freed from all these pettie-rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past ouer, and went on with his Armie into Ga- 50 baza, where it fuffered fo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his traine. From hence hee inuaded the Sacans, and destroicd their Countrie. Then came he into the Territorie of Cohortanes who submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with

thirtic beautifull Virgins, among whom Roxane, afterward his Wife, was one: which although all the Macedonians disdained, yet none of them durst vie any freedome of speech after Clytus his death. From hence hee directed his course towards India, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and rwentie thousand armed men.

In the meane while hee would needes bee honoured as a God: whereto that hee might allure the Macedonians, hee imploied two pernitions Paralites. Hagis and Cleo: whom Califbenes opposed: For, among many other honest arguments yield to the affembly, he told Cleo, That he thought that Alexander would diffaine the gift 10 of God-head from his Vaffalls; That the opinion of Sanctitie, though it did fometime follow the death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest thinges, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the World. He further told him. That neither Hercules nor Bacchus were Deified at a banquet, and voon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by Cleo at a carowling fealt) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and fucceeding Ages numbred among the Gods. Alexander flood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to bee reuenged on Califlhenes, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet foone after tormented to death, not for that hee had be-20 traied the King to others, but because hee never would condescend to betray the King to himfelfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the King made by one Hermolaus and others (which they confest) he caused Calliflhenes without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne a-funder vpon the rack: This deede, vnworthie of a King, Senecathus confureth. Hoc est ALEXANDRI crimen aternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fælicit as redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit; Occidit Perfarum multamillia: opponitur, & CAELISTHENEM: Quotiens aiction erit, Occidit DARIVM: opponitur. & CALLISTHENEM. Quotiens dictumerit Omnia Occano tenus vicit, ipfum quoque tentanit nonis classibus, & Imperium ex angule Thracia via ad Orientis terminos protulit : dicetur, sed CALLISTHENEM occidit. Omnia licet an-30 tiqua Ducum Regumá, exempla transierit, ex his que secit nihil tam magnum erit quam feelus CALLISTHENES; This is the eternall crime of ALEXANDER, which no vertuenor felicitic of his in Warre shall ever be able to redeame. For as often as any man shall (ay, He flew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he flew CALLI-STHENES: When it Shall be faid, He flew DARIVS, it Shall be replied, and CALLISTHE-NES; When it shall be said, he wanne all as farre as to the very Ocean, thereon also he aduentured with unufuall Nauies; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the otmost bounds of the Orient, It shall be said with all, But he killed CALLISTHENES, Let him baue out-gone all the ancient examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts makes fo much to his glorie, as CALLISTHENES to his reproach.

#### δ. X X.

Of ALEXANDERS iournie into India. The battaile betweene him and Porvs.



. Ith the Armie before remembred, of one hundred and twentie thoufand foot and horse. Alexander did enter the borders of India, where fuch of the Princes, as submitted themselves vnto him, he entertayned louingly, the reft hee conftrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they refifted. Hee then came before Nifa built by Bia-

chus, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he rensoued to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to Bacehus, to whom hee made feafts for ten daies together. Now when hee had drunke his fill, hee went on towards Dedala, and thence to Acadera,

Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, victualls failing, he divides his Armie; Projomie led one part, Cenon an other, and himfelfe the reft. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was Mazage, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was veelded vnto him by Cleophe the Queene, to whom againe hereftored it; at the fiege of this Citic he received a wound in the legge. After this, 2V or a was taken by Polyfberchon, and a Rock of great strength by himseife: he wannealso a passage vpon one Erre, who was flaine by his companie, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as hee arrived at the R iver of Indus. Comming to Indus hee found there Ephesition, who (being fent before) had to prepared boates for the transportation of his Armie, and ere Alexanders arrivall, had perswaded Omphis King of that part of the Countrie to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, foone vpon Alexanders comming, Omthis presented himselfe with all the strength of his Countrie, and sixe and sittle Elephants, vinto him; offering him his feruice and affiftance. Hee made Alexander know that hee was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named Abiafares and Porus; wherewith Aexander was not a little pleased, hoping by this diffusion to make his owne victoric by farre the more case. Hee presented. Alexander with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of filuer coine, which Alexander not only refused, but to shew that he was co- 20 uctous of glorie, not of gold, he gave Omphis a thouland talents of his owne treasure, belides other Perlian rarities. Abinfares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemic Omphis into his protection, refolued to make his owne peace alfo : For, knowing that his owne firength did but equall that of Omphis, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue hee thought it an ill match when Alexander, who had alreadie beaten under foote all the greatest Princes of Asia, should make himselfe a Partie and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but Porus, to whom he fent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from Porus hee received this manly answere; That hee 200 would fatisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement hee was refolued to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander resolues to passe ouer the Riuer Hydaspes, and to find Porus at his owne home. Porus attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troupe of Horse. If Darius had done the like on Tioris. Alexander had furely staid somewhat longer ere he had seene India. The River was foure furlong broade, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and fwift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacitie. Alexander fent Ptolomie vp the River with a great part of the Ar- 40 mie, shrowding the rest from the view of Porus: who by this deuice being drawne from his first incamping, fets himselfe downe opposite to Ptolemie, supposing that the whole Armie of Mucedon meant to force their paffage there. In the meane while Alexander recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troups and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather believes that Abiasares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come ouer Hydaspes to his aide, than that Alexander had pastit. But he finds it otherwise, and fends his Brother Hagis with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of litle vie: for there had fallen fo much raine, and thereby the fields were to fo moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The Septhians and Dahans had the Vantguard, who fo galled thefe Indians as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the wagons & those in them. Perdiseas also gave vpon the Indian horse-men, and the one & the other were forft to recoile. Porus moues forward with groffe of his

Armie, that those of his Vantguard scattered might recouer his Reare: Alexander being followed with Epheflion, Ptolomie, and Perdicons, tooke on him to charge the indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding Cenus or Cenon to inuade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus , hee directed to breake upon Porus his battaile of foote, throughhed with Elephants, Porus himfelfe being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the Masedons, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head and ranne over the foote that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advan-10 tage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulneffe of the Macedonian Captaines. the victoric fell to Alexander, who also farre exceeded Porus in number : for besides the Macedonians and other Easterne and Northern Nations, Porus was affailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne person he never gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prifoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his estate with a great enlargement.

#### δ. X X I.

How ALEXANDER finished his expedition, and returned out of India.



Forbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a friuolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the Mace Ionians found in these their trauailes : or of those pettie Wars which Alexander made between the ouerthrow of Porus, and his failing downethe River of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head and branches there of are better knowne vnto vsin this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into

those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of 30 those Kings we could in no fort be perswaded to beleeue, till our owne experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger thinges in the World, than are to bee feene betweene London and Stanes.

Our great traueller Mandeuile who died in the yeare 1272, and had feene fo much of the World, and of the East India, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he an other reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers Guillimins in Liege, where the religious of that place keepe some thinges of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence; For an honorable memorie of his Excellencie, faith of the low Guichardine.

40 The Countries towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Rivers of Hydaspes, Zaradris, Acesines, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possest by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlane, who commands all that tract betweene Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a ship of London, suffered shipwrack in the yeare 1600, and some of the companie trauailed ouer Land till they came to Agra, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call Nagra, being named of old Diony fopolis.

Phylostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyanaus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells vs that those two great Captaines (whom Alex-50 ander fought by all meanes to out-fame) when they indepored to subject vnto them the Oxydraca, a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Hyphalis and Ganges, they were beaten from the affault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainely knowne, that the great Kings of the vttermost East, have had the

vie of the Cannon, many hundreds of years since, and even fince their first civilitie and greatnesse, which was long before Aexanders time. But Alexander pierst not to farre into the East. It fufficed, that having alreadic over-wearied his Armie hee diffeourred the reat of melia by fame. The indian Kings whom he had fubdued, informed him, that a Prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many Nations beyond the River of Ganges, was the powerfulleit King of all those Regions; and that he was able to bring in o the field two bundred thouland Foot, three thouland Elephants, twentie thouland Horle, and two thouland armed Chariots. With this report, though sixuality were more inflamed than euer to proceede in this difcouerie and conqueit, yet all the art he had could not perfwade the Souldiers to wan- 10 der ouer those great defarts beyond Index and Ganges, more terrible vnto them than the greaten Arane that the hair could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perfuafine Oration, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of indus was their infallible guide. Alexan ler feeing that it would bee no otherwise, deuised a prettie trick, where-with hee hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for the Souidi.rs, greater Horfe flalls, and higher mangers than his Horfes cou'd feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horsesto bee made larger than would ferue for vie; and feattered these Armours and Bridles about his Campe, to 20 bekent as religious, and wondered at by the fauages. Proportionable to thefe he raifed vp tweine great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a readie way to encre ife the same of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing fane a fulpition that it was leffe than is thought, feeing he strone so carneslly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned agains to the banke of Acosines, and there determined to fet up his fleet where Accomes and Hyanipis incounter, where to tellifie by a furer monument, how farre he had past towards the East, he built by those Riners two Cities: the one hee called Niesa, and the other Bucer balon, after the name of his beloued Horfe Bucephalue. Here againe her received a fourth supply of fixe thousand Thra- 30 cian Horse-men seven thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at Babylon five and twentie thousand Armours, garnished with filter and gold, which bee distributed among his Souldiers. A bout these Rivers he wanne many Townes, and committed great flaughter on those that relisted; It is then written of him, that affaulting a Citie of the Oxidracans, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of Benis of Southampton, friuolous and incredible. Finally, hee path downe the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in Baččria, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embaffadours from a King of India, who fubmitted himfelfe vnto him. He feafted these Embassadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all 40 the fumptuolitie that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirtie Wagons, and to each foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other thinges rare

Their entertainements ended, be failes towards the South, paffeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he tooke in this paffage, Samus was one, the Inhabitans whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which Pto'omie (afterward King of Egypt ) was wounded and cured by an hearbe which Alexander dreamt that he had feene in the 50 mouth of a Scrpent,

When he came neare the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a fuddaine fluffled one vpon an other by the Floud, fo on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the fandie bankes of the Ri-

nor, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed, but after hee had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to Neptune returned : and the better to informe himfelfe, hee fent Nearchus and Onesicritus, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of Emphrates. Arrianus in the beginning of his fixt Booke hath written this paffage downe the River of Indus at length, with the manner of the Veffells, in which hee transported his Armie, the Commanders that were yield therein, and other the marnailous prouifions made.

Neare the out-lets of this River hee spent some part of the Winter, and in eighto teene daies march from thence recoursed Gedrofia, in which passage his Armie suffered fuch miferie for want of foods, that of a hundred and twentie thousand foot. and twelve thouland horse, which hee carried into India, not the fourth part returned aliue.

#### ð. XXII.

of ALEXANDERS Riot, Crueltie, and death.

Rom Gedrosia Alexander led his Armic into Carmania, and so drawing neare to Persia, hee gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of Bacchus. And though this Swinish vice bee hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Cruel-tie. For (saith Curtius) the Hang-man followed the feast, for ASP ASTES one of his Provinciall Governours he commanded to be flaine, fo as neither did the exceffe of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuousnesse,

While he refreshed his Armie in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foote and a thousand horse, was brought him by Cleander, and his fellowes, that had been imploied in the killing of Parmenio. Against these Murderers great complaint was 20 made, by the Deputies of the Provinces in which they had commanded: and their offences were fo outragious, as Alexander was perfuaded, that had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of India, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him whom they had flaughtered. The end was, That Cleander and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them imploied, were delinered ouer to the Hang-man; enery one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laft executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and Onesieritus were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange thinges; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie; which done, that they should enter the 40 mouth of Euphrates, and finde the King at Babylon.

As he drew neare to Babylon he vilited the Sepulchre of Cyrus in Palargada, now Arrianus hath called Chelquera: where he was prefented with many rich gifts by Orfines, one of the Princes of Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because Bagoas, an Eunuchin especial fa- crus Tombe. uour with the King, was neglected, he not only practifed certaine loofe fellowes to witnesse against Orlines, that he had robbed Cyrus Tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but hee affifted the Hang-man with his owne handes in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradates to be flaine, suspecting his greatnesse. Caperat (faith CvRTIvs) effe praceps ad reprasentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credende; He beganne head-longly to shed bloud, and to believe falle reports. It is true, that 50 he tooke a way to make all men wearie of his gouernement, feeing crueltie is more fearefull than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is faid that Calanus the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when hee had lived threefcore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an Indian, Or fought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of

elder age, it is vncertaine; but in this the Historians agree, that fore-feeing and forethewing Alexanders death, he promised to meete him shortly after at Babylon.

From Palargada hee came to Sula, where hee married Statira, Darius his eldeft Daughter, giving her yonger lifter to his beloued Ephestion, and fourescore other Perlian Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests inuited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thoufand yong fouldiers out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the Macedonians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his Treasurer in Babylon having lauishly confumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fine thousand talents, and sixe thousand hired Souldiers, but he was rejected in Greece, and there flaine. Alexander greatly re- 10 joyced at the lidelitic of the Greekes, whom Harpalus with these forces and treasures could not flirre: yet hee fent commandement that they should againe receive their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves. (except the Athenians) though they refolued that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruailous discontentment in his Armie, because he had resolued to send into Macedon all those old Souldiers which could no longer indure the trauell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in Asa. He vsed many Orations to fatisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest of their furie. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine threed, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconfiderate multitude easily conducted when 20 their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent Craterus, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of Macedon, The Salie, and I in ace, which Antipater had held from his first departure out of Europe, who had beaten the rebellious Greekes in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fidelitie, and fent him so many strong supplies into Asia from time to time. Certainely, if Alexander had not taken counfell of his cups, hee would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given Antipater a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imploied him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to Babylon, the warre being now at an end. For Antipater faw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this Antipater, 30 the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected though valiant; but there is a kinde of Kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After hee had fent for Antipater, hee made a journie into Media to fettle thinges there; where Ephestian, whom he fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his love, laments his losse; hangs his Phisition; and beflowes upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which hee returnes to Babylon. Thither Antipater came not, but fent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to 40 free himselfe. For if we beleeue Curtius (whom Plutarch and others gaine-fay) Antipater by his Sonnes, Caffander, Philip, and 16 la, who waited on Alexanders cup, gaue him poifon, The falus (who was of the confpiracie) having inuited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than Hercules himselfe, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainely the Princes of the World haue feldome found good by making their ministers ouer-great, and thereby suspitious to themselues. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to bee a debt, but is perfwaded that Kingsought to purchase it from their Vaffalls, will neuer please himselfe with the price giuen. The only restoratine, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his liberalitie makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that Antipater having commanded two or three Kingdomes twelve yeares, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than C.efar did, after he had follong a time gouerned the Gaules, where he vtterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruell

and ungratefull traitor Antipater was, if Curtius doe not belie him: For though hee feared some ill measure upon his remoue (the Tragedies of Parmenio, Clytus, and Callifhenes, having beene foliately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrarie, but that the King had refolued to have given him some other great government in Afar the old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance defired to be governed by Craterus, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

### ò. XXIII.

Of ALEXANDERS Person and qualities,

Owlocuer it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot bee excused, no more than his vanitie to be effected the fonne of Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his seuer and death. In that hee lamented his want of enterprifing, and grieued to confider what hee should doe when hee had

conquered the World, Augustus Casar found just cause to deride him, as if the well governing of fo many Nations and Kingdomes, as he had alreadic conquered, could 20 not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busic his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sr Franeis Bacon, in his first booke of the advancement of learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praife, because it exceeded proportion. It is faid. That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his Seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modestie refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune : to whom Alexander replied, That hee did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which SENECA; Animofa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultisima. L.2.de Ben. e.1 Nibil enim per le quemquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, vbi, &c. sine quibus fasti ratio non constabit : habeatur personarum és dignitatum proportio és cum sit vbiá, virtutis 20 modus, aque peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit; It scemes a brane and royall speech, where as indeede it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe beseemes aman. We mall regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which confiders tions no act can be approued. Let honours bee proportioned unto the persons : for whereas

vertue is ever limited by measure, the excesse is as faultie as the defect. For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resoluted that hee had ten thousand in his Armie as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended fimply, wee should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Thecues, Ruffians, and mastife Dogges. For certainely it is no way praise-worthie 40 but in daring good thinges, and in the performance of those lawfullenterprises, in

which we are imploied for the seruice of our Kings and Common-weales. If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who have bought their glorie with fo great destruction, and effusion of bloud, I thinke him farre inferiour to Cefar, and many other that lived after him, feeing hee never undertooke any warlike Nation, the naked Scythians excepted, nor was euer encountred with any Armie of which he had not a most mastring aduantage, both of weapons and of Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captaines by farre exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seemeth, Fortune and Destinies (if we may vse those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, 50 both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, wee will agree with Senecs, who fpeaking of Philip the Father, and Alexander the Sonne, gives this judgement of them. Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua pla- Natural quant sum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; That 13.9.1.

they were no leffe plagues to menkinde, than an over-flow of waters, drowning all the levell; or some burning droughth, whereby a great part of living creatures is scorehed up.

# CHAP. III. The raigne of ARIDEVS.

10

ð. I

Of the question about succession to ALEXANDER.



HE death of Alexander left his Armie (as Demedes the Athenian then compared it) in fuch case, as was that monstrous Giant Polybemus, shaining lost his only 20 eye. For, that which is reported in tables of that great Cydops, might well be verified of the Chacelonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vnessedul, and harmefull chiefly to themfelues. The canses whereof c' under the duine ordinance) were, partly the vnectranecie of Title to succession in the Kingdome of Macelonian, partly the sub-borne pride of Alexan Levin fields; who thinking none

worthie to be his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing every one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had 30 carned of their Master to suffer no equalls; a lesson some taught who spirits reflecting upon their owne worth, when the renerence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) gouerning in Macedon as Protector, assumed vinto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendring it with a Amylata, (the Sonne of his elder brother Perdiceas) when he grew to mansessates, but only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crowne vinto himselfe:

Amylata neuer attempting ought against Philip, though (with price of his life) he did against Alexander in the beginning of his raigne. Wherefore Eurydies the sole liste of his marriage, ought in reason to have beene acknowledged Queene after 40 Alexander, as having better Title theretee, than either He or Philip had, when they lived, vinesse as having better Title theretee, than either He or Philip had, when they lived, vinesse from their owne bodies: and of great were their conquests, that Oxideadon it selse was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laied in ballance against the demand of their posteritie, had they left any able to make challenge of the Roiall seas.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues had iffue by none of the principall of them.
Barfine the Daughter of Artabasas a Perfan had borne vnto him a yong Sonne: and
Rossnet he Daughter of Oxyaries (whom he had more folemnely married) was left 50
by him great with child. But the bafenefle of the Mothers, and contempt of the
conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of the Plea made for them, by
feme that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, under the name of
Alexander's children.

Cleopatra

Common the theor of Alexander, widdow to the King of Epirm, and Aridaus his bate brother (forme to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lade Emphage to be for mentoned, were next in con 16. Of Clopatra there was no feech, which may give sufficient, that either Law or Cultome had made that sex in apable of the Soveraignette: Aridaus (besides his bashardier) was neither for next in nor qualitie fit to rule as Kings yet you him the election fell, but slowly and cashappeners often) for lack of a better: when the Counsaliors having over-labouted diest disagreeing witsin deuting what was belt, were content for very wearing to to the what came next to hand.

Problem: (fooneafter King of Agypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Porlim broode, King Alexanicos children, was of opinion, that the rule of all floud be eginen to the Captaines, that going for law which by the greater part of them floud be decreed: fo farre was hee from acknowledging a-

ny one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This Palamic was called the forme of Lagus, but repited of Philip: who having vied the companie of Affaic Pelameir mother, deliuted ber in narriage to Lagus being great with child. Therefore, whether it were fo, that he hoped well to worke his owne fortune out of those diffentions, which are incident vnto the confultations of many ambitiousmen, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their

20 quiet with fubjection to one, deferuing regard by his bloud, and truft for his euen carriage, or whether hee defired only to get a thate to himfelfe, which could not have come to patie had all been eginen to one; plaine enough it is, that hee thought not on preferring drikum before himfelfe; and therefore gaue fuch counfaile a sitted his owneand other mens purpofes. Yea, this denife of his tooks place in deede, though not in forme as hee had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to have all mbled at diexanders emptic chaire, as Ptolomic had conceiued the forme of their confultations, or to let in the chaire fitch a Kiregas Arikusa, no wifer then the chaire it elife. All of the controuer lies ariling were determined by the greater part of the Capatines, by the greater part, if not in number, yet in publiance.

But as these counterfait shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often takecheck by the painte dealing of them, who dareto goe more directly to worke: so was it like to have fared with Protonica and the rest, when Arisloms, an other of the Captaines, interpreted the wordes of Alexander; saying, That hee left his Kingdome to the worthiest, as designing Perducan, to whom (lying at the point of death) hee delinered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that Alexanders purpose appeared plaine enough, so long as no man would interpose an other construction: eury one being uncertaine how the secret affection; of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore either our of their lone, or because they would not be of the latest, veged Perducas to take

42 youn him the effate Roiall. He was no flranger to the Roiall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not fach reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom hee had been very inward, and that effectally lince the death of Ephetlion (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his owne worth hee might well bee commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giten much proofe of his prinate valour. But very furly he was: which qualitie (joyned with good fortune) carried a flew of Majesile: being checkt with misduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the prefent bulineffe a foolish ouer-weening did him as great harme, as it had been egreat happineffe to haue sticeceded Alexander. For not content to haue the shackmation of the Souldiers, approuing the sentence of Aristons, he would need counterfait modessite, thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the waightie burden of an Empire, which would beet he self-entious the more follownitie he vsed in the acceptance. It is truely faid, He that faineth himself a single properties of the princes would be a support of the second with the second self-entities and the second self-entities and the second self-entities are self-entities.

nious

nious, and bearing a particular hatred to Perdiceas) tooke advantage of his irrefolute behauiour, and very bitterly inneighed against him. In conclusion he pronounced, that who focuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treafure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing flow, to fhare it. This diffurbed all the Confultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without confent of the Souldiers, who greedie of spoile thronged about Meleager.

#### ò. I I.

The election of ARIDEVS, with the troubles there-about arifing; the first dunsion of the Empire.



Vring this vp-rore, mention was made of Arideus by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, wntil at lait it grew to the voice of the Armic. Askleage hauing with drawnehimfelfe tumulity from the companie of the Lords, was glad of fo faire an occasion to make himfelfe great: therefore he produced Arideu's, com-

mended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name Philip, and 20 brought him into the Palace, inucfting him in Alexanders Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withflood this election, but in vaine : for they could not refolue what course to follow, rejecting this. Only Python, a hot-headed-man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of alexander by Roxane, according to the counfaile which Perdice as at first had given, appointing Perdice as and Leonatus his Protectors. Butthis child was not yet borne, which made that attempt of Python vaine. Finally, Perdiceas with fixe hundred men, and Ptolomie with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where Alexanders bodie lay : but the Armie conducted by Meleager, who carried the new King about whither he lifted, calily brake in voon them, and inforced them to accept Arideus for their Soueraigne Lord. 30 Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither fide farthfully meant.

Leonatus who was of the Roiall blond a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iffued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobilitie. Perdices abode in the Citie (but flanding upon his guard) that he might be readie to take the opportunitie of any commotion, that should happen among the infantrie. The King (who was gouerned by Meleager) commanded or gaue leaue to haue Perdiceas made away; which attempt succeeded ill being neither fecretly carried, nor committed to fure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected : and they were by Perdiceas rebuked with fuch granitie, that they depar- 40 ted honester than they came; being sorrie of their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the campe was in an vp-rore, which the King leeking to pacific wanted authoritie, as having newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtefie. The matter it selfe affoorded no good excuses, and his indifferetion made them worfe. He faid that no harme was done, for Perdiceas was aline: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which hee imputed to Meleager; abandoning the furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeafed, untill the King by offering to refigne his effate unto them, remued out of their pittie that fauourable affection, which had moved them to fet him up at

Perdicent basing now joyned himfelfe with Leanatus kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victualls from the Citie. But after fundric Embassies pasfing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of fedition ginen vp into their handes; the King, that Meleiger might bee joyned with

Leonatus and Perdiceas, as a Third in gouernement of the Armie) things were compounded according to the Kings delire. Meleager should have done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treacherie lurked under their great facilitie. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had beene in Alexanders time : but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windie spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of Perdicas, tending to his owne to differace, but in fuch termes as might feeme to have proceeded from Meleager: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an injurie done to himfelfe; and (as, defirous of a true friendship) defired of Perdicas, that such authors of discord might bee punished. Perdice as (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should bee made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Armie. The plot was mischicuously laied: Had Meleager given way to feditious rumours, he must needes have incurred the generall hatred of all, as a fower of diffention; and thereby with publike approbation might have beene cutoff, as having often offended in that kinde : his Prince being 20 too weake a Patron. Now feeking redreffe of thefe diforders, he haftened his owne ruine, by a leffe formall, but more speedie way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practifed with many ceremonies, as for cleanling of the Armie. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their qualitic fet in array, a-part from others, as if they had beene of fundrie forts, met at aduenture: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercife) according to direction of their feuerall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the Phalanx, led by Meleager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disaduantage; and the countenance of the horse and Elephants beginning to give charge vpon them, was such, as discouered no je-30 fting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horsemen; of which custome Perdiceas made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemics. For Aridaus was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before hee had sought the death of Perdicess at the infligation of Meleager : now he rides with Perdiceas vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all fuch as Perdieens required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them flaine, in the presence of the King who should have defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment Meleager had expected: they were fuch as had followed him, when he distur-40 bed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Having therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as vnwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when hee faw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuarie: for thither they fent and flew him.

The Armie being thus corrected was led into the Citie, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to Arideus the office of a Visitor, and yet making Perdiccas his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funeralls of Alexander thought vpon; whose 50 bodie hauing beene seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Æeyptians: no ligne of poison appearing, how great soeuer the suspition might bee. The charge of his buriall was committed to Aridaus: one of the Captaines, who was two yeares preparing of a great and coftly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laied; many coarses of his friends being laied in the ground,

## ò. 111.

### The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

before that of Alexander was beltowed in Alexandria, a Cittie of his owne buil-



ding in Egypt.

Hilest these thinges were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Craterus, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of Alexanders followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a Warre, which the Athenians more brauely than wifely had

begunne in Alexanders life, but now did profecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. Alexander, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. Hee knew the factious qualitie of the Gracian Estates, and therefore thought so to prouide, that in every Citie hee would have a fure partie. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wanne by this proude injunction. His pleasure indeede was sulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyrannie. The Athenians greatly decaied in cliate but retaining 20 more, than was needfull, of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution or dissessed in their Dominions; fo did alfo the Leolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but feemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more then they might weil justific by reason : neuerthelesse to preuent the worst, the Athenians gaue secretins ruchions to Leolihenes a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leavie an Armie, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for Leefthenes to doe: great numbers of Greeke Souldiers being lately returned from the Afian Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered up eight thou fand, when the certaine newes were brought of Alexan- 20 ders death : at which time the Citic of Athens declared it felfe, and more honorably than wifely, proclaimed open Warre against the Macedonians, for the libertic of Greec. Hereupon Leofthenes drew in the Etolians, and some other Estates, gave battaile to the Baotians, who fided with Antipater, and ouerthrew them; growing fo falt in reputation, and fo strong in Adherents; That Antipater (arming in all halt, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to Craterius for

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies a-farre off, which deceine all mortall wisdome, even when they seeme neare at hand. One moneth was fearcely past, fince nothing so heavily burthened 40 the thoughts of Antipater as the returne of Craterus into Micedon; which hee then feared as death, but now defired as the most likely affurance of his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as of all men the most affured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conneigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeede Antipater in the gouernement of Macedon and Greece. The fulpitions were ftrong that hee had a privile charge to put Antipater to death : neither did that which was commonly published found much better; which was, That Antipater should bee fent vnto the King, as Captaine of the yong Souldiers, newly to bee leavied in Europe. For Alexander was much incenfed against him by his Mother Olympias: and would fometimes giue out speeches testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him that to yet he strone to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of Alexanders Lieutenants had escaped with life : most of them indeede were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings riCHAP. 2. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

gour was fuch, ascould inderebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted enen lewd gouernement) in base persons; little might Anipater hope for, who having sitten Viceroy ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the prefence of so fell a Master, and the enuie of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiors, which would now repine to fee him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poison, given by his Son lolaus, Alexanders cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth vntill opportunitie had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his Sonne Callander: great cause of much searche had, which I note in this place as the ground 10 of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present Crater wi was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neare, follicited to make halt. Not without cause. For in Macedon there could not at that time be raifed more than thirteene thouland foot, and fixe hundryd horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrie being emptied into Asia. The Thessalians indeede who had long stood firme for Pining and Asyander, who also were the best horse-men of Greece, furnished him with very brage troupes, that might have done great feruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the libertie of Greece. With these forces did Antipater in Thesalie trie the fortune of a battaile with Leofthenes; rather (as may feeme) fearing the increase 20 of his enemies power and rebellion of the Greekes, (were they not checkt at the first) than prefuming on his owne strength. For Leosthenes had of Athenians, Atolians, and Mercinaries, two and twentie thousand foot, belides the affiltance of many pettie Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians: of horse hee brought into the field about two thousand and fine hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the Thessalians had revolted vnto him. So Antipater lost the day : and his losse was fuch, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a fafe retrait into his owne Countrie: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all thinges necessarie to beare out a siege. Thither did Leosthenes follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon the refusal close vp the

30 Towne with earth-workes, and a wall. There will wee leave him for a-while, trauailing in the last honourable enterprise that euer was under-taken by that great Citie of ulthens.

#### ò. IIII.

#### How PERDICCAS emploied his Armie.



Ing Aridaus living under the rule of Perdiecas, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court : all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. Perdices had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to

be welcome to any whom hee should visit in his Gouernement. A stronger Armie then any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnsetled condition of thinges to make better worth to him than many Prouinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of Cleopatra, the sifler of Alexander; yet about the same time he either married Nicea the Daughter of Antipater, or made such loue to her as blinded their eies, who did not somewhat narrowly fearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Countrie, had continued faithfull to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, even from Pharnaces the first that raigned in Cappadocia, who married Atolfa fifter to the great Cyrus. Some of his Ancesters had (indeede) beene oppressed by the Persians; but what Fortune tooke from them at

one time, Vertue restored at an other, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the farall Period of fo great an Empire, with much wifedome, and (Darius being flaine) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Magedenian in the Persians roome. This hee did not; neither did Alexander call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But Perdiceas, who had no greater bufinesse wherein to entertaine his Armic, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdome, furrounded with Provinces of the Macedonian conquest, and for his owne particular to have one opportune place of fure retrait, vnder the gouernement of a fledfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappallocia, fought with Ariarathes, who drew into the field thirtie thousand foot, and 15 fifteene thousand horse (astrong Armie, had it not incountred a stronger, and better trained) wanne the victoric, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much crueltie did he vie the victorie : for hauing taken Ariarathes prisoner with many others, hee crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon: and fo delinered that Prouince to Eumenes, whom of all men living he trusted most.

An other part of his forces he had committed to Python rather as to the most honourable of fuch as remained about him, than as to the most affured. Python was to Subdue the Greekes, rebelling in the high Countries of Asa. Aboue twentie thoufand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by Alexander, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were foone wearie of their 20 vnpleafant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived : and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselues a better fortune. Against these Python went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to deftroy them: which intent of his Perdice as discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebells to the sword, giving the spoiles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it vnto Pythons Captains (his owne creatures) that they should fee this command executed. These directions for vse of the victoric might have proued needleffe; fo vncertaine was the victorie it felfe. A Captaine of the Rebells commanding over three thousand, corrupted by Python, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessitie to a Hill not farre off. This dif 30 maied the rest, and gaue the day to Python: who being farre enough from Perdicens, offered composition to the vanquilhed, granting vnto them their liues and libertie under condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these companies her might well have a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by firength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territorie. He had thirteene thousand soot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needleffe feare without great loffe had caused to leave the field; but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof Python might thinke himselfe assured, was ( and soone appeared to be) inherent in Perdecas. For by his command were ten thousand foote, 40 and eight rhousand horse, of those which followed Python, leavied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obaying the letters of Perdiceas, by which they were enjoyned to giue affiftance to that bufineffe : and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by Perdices, did the Macedonians cut in pecces all those poore men who had yeelded themselues; leauing Python as naked as hee came forth to returne vnto his

Now was Perdicens mightie aboue the mightie, and had faire leifure to purfue his hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all : but this must be fecretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded will appeare, when the Lamian warre taketh ending.

out succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so foone as he expected, he came to parle with Leofthenes, & would have yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with

hope of victorie doe feldome limit their defires. Leofthenes willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him fuch a dif to honorable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, Antipater prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victualls. In this lingring war, the £10lians (whether wearie of fitting still at a fiege, or having bulineffe which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their owne Countrie. Their departure left the trenches fo thinly manned, that Antipater found meanes to fallie out vpon his enemies to their great loffe; for many were flaine, and Leosthenes himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relicued; their victualls wasted; and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greekes in open fight. Craterus was long in com-20 ming. Ly/imachus who was nearest at hand in Thrace, had work too much of his owne leading no more than 4000, foote, and 2000, horse, against Seuthus the Thracian King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though Ly/machus, not without loffe, had gotten one victorie, yet the enemie abounding in multitude felt not the blow fo much as might abate his courage. Therefore Leonatus was carneflly follicited by Antipaters friends, to make all haft to the refeue. He had the government of Phrygia the leffe, and was able to raife an Armie of more than 20000 foot, and 2500. horse, whether leavied out of his Province, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Armie, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journie into Greece, than Antipater was to have him come, 30 For Cleapatra had written vnto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chiese Citic of Mucedon, and very kindly offering her felfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requilite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspition. that foone ended with his life. Antiphilus, chosen Generall by the Athenians in place of Leosthenes, hearing of his approach for fooke the fiege of Lamia, and tooke the readie way to these great Conquerors of Asa, with purpose to give them an euill welcome home, before Antipater and they should joyne in one. He had (not with standing the departure of the Atolians) the advantage of Leonatus in horse, by the ods of 2000. Thessalians, in other things he was equall to him; in cause he thought himselfe Superiors in the fortune of that day he proued fo: for he wan a great victoric (chiefly by 40 vertue of the Theffalians) which appeared the greater by the end of Leonatus him-

selfe; who fighting valiantly was driven into a marish peece of ground, where hee found his death, which desperately he had fought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his nativitie. He was the first of Alexanders Captains which died in battell, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day the Athenians did neuer any thing sutable to their ancient glorie.

The vanquished Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, & too proud to flie. They betooke themselues to high grounds, vnfit for service on horse-back, and fo abode in fight of the enemie that day; the day following Antipater with his men came into their camp, and tooke the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their 50 strength to be at the greatest, and searing less that of the enemic should increase did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by an other battaile. But still Antipater kept himfelfe on ground of advantage: which gave more than reasonable confidence to the Greekes, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemie to be vanquished. This rechlesnesse (incorrigible in an Armie of voluntaries)

was very inexcufable; feeing that the victories by Land were much defaced by loffes at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to have made themselves once againe Mafters, were put to the worft.

But now the fatall captinitie of Greece came on, of which shee neuer could be delinered vnto this day. Craterus with a strong Armie hauing made great marches from Cilicia, passed ouer into Europe, and comming into Thessalie joyned himselfe with Antipater. The forces of Leonatus, Antipater, and Craterus, being joyned in one, contained fortie thousand waightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiftie thousand horse; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thousand and fine hundred in horse, in foot eighteene thousand. Carefully therefore did Antiphilus 10 labour to avoide the necessitie of a battaile, vntill such time as the Townes confederate should return evito the campe those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so flow in comming, and Antipater so virgent upon the Greekes, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more helpe they had carried away the victorie: for the Thestalians had the upper hand, and held it, untill such time as they perceived their battailes (ouer-laied with multitude) retire vnto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little eife to boait of, confidering that with the loffe of a hundred and thirtie men, they had purchased only the death of some fine hundred enemies. Yet hereof was 20 great vse made. For the Greekes, as not subject vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euerie one defirous to preferue his owne estate, and Citie; concluded to make a treatie of peace with Antipater; who being a fubtile artificer, & well vnderstanding their aptneffeto divilion, refused to hearken to any generall composition. but willed enery Citie to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuise was so apparent, that it was rejected; the Greekes choosing rather to abide the comming of their Affaithents, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betraied the cause. Antipater and Craterus belieging & winning some townes in Theffalie, which the armie of the Confederates wanted meanes & courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne affured and prefent calamitie. 20

Q. VI.
Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthe-NES his death.



He Thessalians falling of, all the rest soone followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward inuiting fuch as were flack. Only the Athenians and Atolians held out. Little favour could they hope for, having beene Authors of this tumult; and their feare was not great; the feate of the warre being farre from

them. But the celeritie of Antipater confounded all their imaginations; who fate 40 fill at Athens, denifing yoon courfes of profecuting the Warre to come, which came to their dores, before their consultation could finde iffue. He was readie to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no abilitie to refift, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to fend Embaffadors desiring peace upon some good termes: necessitie enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. Phecion, with Demades the Orator, and Xenocrates the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; Phocion as the most Honorable; Demades as a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by Antipater), and Xenocrates, as one admired for wisedome, gravitie of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of leffe regard, when their admiration was to cost much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to minde the pride of Leofthenes, required of the Athenians that they should wholly submit themselues to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the Citie to those of most wealth, depriving of the related this frage all fuch as wanted a conucnient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the adminiffration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democratie. But the rafcall multitude of beggarly perfors, accuftomed to get their huings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out that this was a meere oligarche, the violent viurpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King Philip had beene wont to fay, T hat warre to them was peace, and peace warre) Antipater planted in Thrace, and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to moleft the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatted) hee caused Demosthenes and Hyperides famous Orators, with some others to bee flaine. Had the death of these two, especially of Demosthenes, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have patied for very milde: whereas now all fuch, as either are delighted with the Orations of Lemofficenes, or have fur-rendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a blood intyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the ex-20 uill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemith any action, how good focuer otherwife it be, or honourably carried.

Demostheres had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of Neptune, in the Isle of Calauria; there did Archias (fent with Souldiers by Antipater for the purpose) finde him, and gently perfeade him to leaue the place, but not fo preuailing he threatned violence. Then Demollhenes, entreating a little respit as it had beene to write fomewhat, secretly tooke poison which he had kept for such a necessitie, and so died; rather chooling to doe the last execution upon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of fuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathert man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in bat-20 taile, howfocuer valiant in perfuading to enterprifes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. Hee loued monie well, and had great fummes given him by the Perfian, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Accedonians at home. Neither did bee ill (me thinkes) in taking from the Persians which loued not his Countrie, great rewards, for speaking fuch thinges as tended to his Countries good; which hee did not cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can indure no honourable, though true, mention of Antipater, may (if they can) beleeue Lucian, who tells vs, That it was Antipaters purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemie to the 40 Macedonians; therefore diferetion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the handes of Phocion, a vertuous man, and louer of his Countrie, yet applying himfelfe to the necessitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citic much good, and now procured this peace, which (though gricnous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquilhed ) hee endeuoured carefully to

Tttt 3

#### d. VII.

How Craterys and Antipathe were drawne from their Ætolian
Warres into Afia. The grounds of the first civill Warre
betweene the Macedonian Lords.

O Antipater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they firengthned their friendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking Philips Ia, the Daughter of Antipater, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the £tolians, whose pouertie was 10 not so cally danted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great faitheffe, into which they conneied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre : with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully relifted. With great obstinacie did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Atolians made good as long as their victualls held out. But when Craterus had thut vp all paffages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe; then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equall ground, with unequal numbers; or to en- 20 dure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resiflance; or to yeeld themselves to the Macedonians : who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue fo stubborne enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These Atolians did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molefled them : wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gratious to their courage. For fuch newes came out of Asia into the Macedonian campe, as made Antipater and Craterus thinke every houre a moneth, till they had rid their handes of these Atolians, 30 giuing them what soeuer conditions they would aske; yet with purpose to call them to seucre account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captiuitic, when once they should have settled the affaires of Asa; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is the disposer : in whose high Councell it was ordained , that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Alia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was so farre from taking effect, that it served meerely as an introduction to all the civil warres

The grounds of the Aflatique expedition, which did fet the World in an vp-rore, were thefe. Anipter and Craterus were of Alexarders Captaines the mightieft in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the prefent rule which he bare in the parts of Europe: The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of Alexarder and of the whole Armie. Next vnto these had Perdicas beene; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, is not to both together. The first intents of Perdicas were, to haue conforted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernement of all: to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Anipators Daughters. But seeling in short space the great of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite an other way. Aridasu was a very simple man, yet served well enough to weare the title of that Majestie, whereof Perdicas being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietarie, the practife was more seuere than ab beene in the daies of Alexarders.

ander: the delire to feeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preferring themfelius from contempt, and of guing finch a fire lufter to their actions, as may dazell the cies of the beholders. How cruelly the poore Greekes in the higher Jia were all put to the fivord; and how tyrannoully the King and Princes of Cappadota were crucified, hat alreadie beene flowed. The Prificans were the next who felt the winth of these counterfait Alexanders. One Citie of theirs was viterly razed; the children fold for flaues; and all the reft maffacted. The Jiantians by this example growned eliperate, when after two or three daies triall they found themselues vinable to continue the defence, lock themselues into their houses and set the Towne on fire, included flame whereof the yong-men did throw themselues, after that they had a

while repelled the Micedonians from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Armie had no other worke than to lift the ashes of the burnt Citie for gold and silver; but Perdice is had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrarie to his ends, than to fit ftill without imploiment : letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileft others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their feuerall Provinces. Hee purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the feate of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings 20 presence would make the offices of his Viceroies (during the time) aftually voide: Intipater with Craterus being once in case of private men, and only Peraiceas holding authoritie, the match with Cleapatra might eafily bee made. So should greatnesse meete with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of Ptolomie might give, who held Egypt, well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Ascedonia. like enough it was that either Ptolomie would follow of himselfe, or bee driven to come to reason. Antigonus likewise then gouerning in Phrygia, a busic-headed man, and ill affected to the fide, was to bee looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought Perdiceas; and was deceived in fo thinking. Antigonus 30 was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great vndertaking, as any of Alexanders Captaines. His imploiments had beene leffe than fome of theirs, which made him also the lefferespected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched Perdiceas, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For Perdiceas hauing with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonus, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This deuise Antigonus would not feeme to perceive, but prepared himselfe in shew to make an-40 fwere, indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne

fwere, indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne Demetrius aboord of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden with such tidings, as finished the Athenian warre before mentioned.

As the comming of \*\*Stigenus\*\* made \*\*Craterus\*\* and \*\*Inipiater\*\* manifeffly perceive their owne danger: 60 his flight gaue \*\*Perdices\*\* to vnderfland that his intentions were laied open, and muft now be juiltified by the fword. Therefore he prepared as fall as he could not only for defence, but (as hauing on his fide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing flack in prouiding to encounter him. \*\*Ptomine being aductified of thefe proceedings, and confidering how nearely they comine being aductified of thefe proceedings, and confidering how nearely they considered him, fided with \*\*Antipater\*\*. To his government of \*\*Asypt he had annexed the Dominion of \*\*Crear\*\*, not without confent of the chiefe \*\*Citizens\*\*; and now in the middelt of thefe garboiles he celebrated the funerall of \*\*Acxander\*\* with great folemitie, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, not-withstanding the terrible report of the Kings Armie comming again thim.

d. VIII

#### δ. VIII.

### PERDICCAS his voiage into Agypt, and his death.

REDUCEAS, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at the length refolued to be youn Pidomies; leaving Emmens to keepe to his vie, against Craterin and Intipace, the parts of The bordering youn Emopo.

It may feeme frange, that hee did not rather make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men to that Professic Could bring. Perhaps he though, to make a quick end with Professic; or belieued that Grateria would not be readie for him foone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it work with hil handling.

Ptolomie by his fweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. Perdices contrariwife was full of infolencie, which nener faileth to bee rewarded with batted; that is truely defined. An affection founded vpon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole storic of his proceedings in Agypt is not worth relating : for he did nothing of importance ; but (as a wilfull man ) tired his followers, and walted them in hard enterprifes without fuccess. His most forecable attempt was upon a little Towne, called the Camels Wall: thither hee marched by 20 night, with more hall than good speede; for Protomie preuenting him, did put himfelte into the place, where behaving himfelfe not only as a good Commander, but as a flout Souldier, hee gaue the foile to Perdicens, cauling him to retire with loffe; after a vehement, but vaine, affault continued one whole day. The night following, Perdiceas made an other journie, (which was his laft) and came to the divisions of Nilus, ouer against Memphis. There with much difficultie hee beganne to passe ouer his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong. the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants aboue the paffage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it : to take vp fuch as were carried away by fwiftnesse of the water. A great part of his Ar- 30 mic being arrived on the further banke, the channell beganne to waxe deepe; fo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chinne, they who should have followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rifing of the water. or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so manie Men. Horfe, and Elephants) no remedie there was, but fuch as had paffed muftrepaffe againe, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished. a thousand were denoured by Crocodiles; a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; fuch as were ftrong and could fwimme recourred the Campe; many 40 were carried down the ftreame, and driven to the contrarie banks, where they fell into the handes of their enemics.

This misfortune exafperated the Souldiers againft their Generall, giving libertic to their tongues which long time had concealed the cuill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murning news came from Ptelomns, which did let them in an vp-rore. Ptelomic had not only blewed much compallion on those who fell into his handes alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the River had cast upon his fide; and finally, funt their bones and ashes to bee interred by their Kinsinen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldier, but made the Captaines fall to mutinic, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre upon to 50 vertuous and honorable a person, to fussil the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like shaues. The sedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly sound. Pathon was there, who inwardly hated Perdicase, for the disgrace which hee had suffered by his procurement, after the victoric vpont the rebellious

Greekes. Python had liaed in honourable place about Accusades, he was it the diufion of the Prouinces made Gouernour of Media; hee had followed Perdiaeus, and being in all thinges (the Protectorthip excepted) equall to him, had neuertheleffe beene feornefully vfed by him, which now he required. Drawing together a hundred of the Capitaieus, and a good part of the horfe, which conflited of the Gentries (the foot-men hauing declared themfelues before) he entred the Tent of Perdiaeus, where without further circumflance they all ranne vpon him, and few him. Such end had the proud mifgouerning authoritie of Perdiaeus. Hee might haueliued as great as any, could be haue fuffered any as great as him felfe yea, peraduenture matter of the felf had be not beene too malterly ouer those which were alreaded his.

The next day Prolomic came into the campe, where he was joyfully received; he excueded himfelf of thinges path, as not having beene Author, or given caufe of the Warre, and was cally believed; the favour of the Armie being fuch toward him, that needes they would have made him Protector in the roome of Predicess. But this her critical, I twas an office fit for one, that would feeke to increase his great-neffe with his trouble. Prolomic was well enough alreadie; wherefore, for his owne quite he forbare to accept it, and for their well-defenting of him hee procured that honourable charge to Python, and to Ariskaus the Captaine, who having had fome companies of Souldiers, to furniff with their attendance the folemnities of Alexan-20 deep Functalls, did with them adhere to him againft Perdicus.

In the middeft of these businesses are newes of two great victories obtained by Eumenes; which newes, had they arrived two or three daies sooner, had beene carterianed with joyfull acclamations; and would have given such reputation to Podescas, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the cares which would have given them well-come, found bad acceptance, as shall be showed hereafter.

## 

Efore wee proceede in the relation of thinges, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that wee speake of those businesses in the lower Afs., which were handled by Eumens with notable dexteritie, while the Perdicess was occupied in the Agyptian warres. Aleass, the brother of Perdicess, and Meoptolemus, hadreceived command from Perdices to be affiltant to Eumenes, and to follow his directions. But Alcetas made flat answere, That he would not; alleaging the backwardnesse of his men to 40 beare armes against so great a person as Antipater, and a man so much honoured as Craterus. Neoptolemus was content to make faire shew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedencie given to Eumenes, as thinking himselfe the better man. Eumenes difcouering, through the counterfaited lookes of Neoptolemus, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely diffembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hee might stand vpon his owne firength, he raifed out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well vp. Not without great neede. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations 50 made by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the inuafion of his Provinces, hee willed Neoptolemus to come to him with all his power. Neaptalemus did (indeede) aduance, but in hostile manner, though vnprouoked, prefented him battaile. Neoptolemus had fecretly couenanted with Antipater to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, he

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was thamefully disappointed. For though his foot-men, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and premailed farre you Emmens his battailes; yet were his horfe driuen out of the field, and himfelle compelled, with a few of them, to runne away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men, to bee charged by Emmens, who forced them in fuch wife, that casting downe their Pikes they cried for mercie, and gladly tooks their oath to doe him faithfull feruice. Ontipates and Criteria endeuored with many goodly promises to draw Emmens into their focietic, who contrariwise offered limitles, as meane of reconciliation, between Perdicare and Criteria, whom he dearely loued; professing withall his hatred to Matapates, and confiant him to the cause which he had vulcturate no maintained.

Whilest these negotiations were on foor, Neoptolemus came with his broken crew to Antipater, and his Affociates, vilifying Eumenes, and calling him a Scribe (at which foolith railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of Craterus (as well hee might) with high commendations; affuring them, that if Craterus did but once appeare, or that his voice were but heard by any Officedonian in Eumenes his Campe, the victorie was wonne, for they would all forth-with repolt vnto him. Earnefly therefore he defired them to give him aide against Eumenes, and especially requested that Craterus might have the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their owne affections did easily leade them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of Craterus might prevaile as much, as the force which hee drew along, 20 For he had in the middeft of Alexanders vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselues to the Persian fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian forme of behauiour, and apparrell; whereby hee became verie gratious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia, with discontented eies, as reproachfull and derogatorie to the manners of their native countrie. So Antipater tooke the way toward Cilicia, to hold Perdiceas at bay, and to joyne with Piel mic. Craterus vied great celeritie, to haue taken Eumenes reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common falhion of Captaines after a great victorie. But hee had a warie and well aduised enemie to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisedome foresaw all that was to bee feared, and the 20 meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that Craterus was able to defeat him without battaile, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Armie following him: (yet the Armie following him was fuch as much exceeded his owne in footmen, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more vneasse to keepe the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon hee tooke in hand a strange peece of worke, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wife managing, prosperously accomplished. Hee gaue out reports that Neoptolemus was returned with fuch companie as hee could gather together, and had gotten Pigres (a Captaine of no great estimation, who lay not farre off) to joyne with him. Ha- 40 uing animated his men against Neoptolemus, whom hee knew to be despised and bated among them, (as bauing been vanquilhed by some of them, and for saken others in plaine field, whileft they valiantly fought in his quarrell ) hee tooke great care to keepethem from receining any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Messenger nor Trumpetter should bee admitted; and not herewith fatisfied, he placed against Craterus no one Micedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he beene knowne : but Thracians, Cappadorians, and Persians, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of Perdice, s and himfelfe. To these also begave in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should runne vpon the enemie, and give him no leifure to 59 fay or doe any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his owne person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battaile, opposite to Neoptolemus, who (as heavnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrarie fide, hee held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and readie to

charge the enemie as floone as the diffance would give leave. A riling peece of ground lay between them, which having aftended, the Armies diffeouered each other: but that of Eumenes every way prepared for the light, the other wearied with long journes; which ouer-habily they had made, Leking the deceitfull iffue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for Crateria (having fields in turpriling them as enemies), to diffeouer himelifeteo his old friends and hillow-fouldiers; of whom hee could fee none. Phanica Trainting, and Artabezua Perfun, had the leading of that fide, who mindfull of their infurctions beganne to give youn him, with fuch countenance as told him his errour; which to redeeme, he bad his men fight and winne

to the day, and take the fpoile to them felius. But the Beare who se kinne hee sells is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battaile was sought gaue most aduantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts; especially about Emments and Neoptolemus, who as soone as they had discoursed one an other could not containe them selves, but with great rage met bodic to bodic, and letting loofe their bridlesgrappled so violently together; that their horses ranne from whet rhem, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. Neoptolemus rose first vp, but Emmenes had his sword inthe drawne, where-with hee houghed the other; causing him to fall downe and sight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receited many wounds, but Neoptolemus guing suing light ones tooke sinch as were deadly, by which hee died in the

30 place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) ftripped by his mortall enemic, whose reultings hee required, lying even at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of Neopolemus cause this hollowers to runne away you not espure, and seeks shelter behind the battailes of their foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For Eumenes pained himselfe to carrie succour to his left wing, which he suppeded much to be distribed byte sound accompanied with the same fortune, that had affished him when he sought in person. Craterus had gallantly borne himsele a while and suffained the impersion of artabasus and Pharms, with more courage than force; holding in tothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the sight, when hee was charged by men of little clitical.

30 mation or note. Otherwise it is not valikely, that he might hauseither carried the day, or preferued himfelf: to a better aduenture by giuing ground, as the refl (when he and Aeopeleems were flaine) did. But whileft he fought to preferue his reputation, he loft his life by the fall of his horfe, or his falling from his horfe, through force of a wound received; you which accident he ewas trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perilhed vriknowne, till it was too late to know it. Euncus recomming to the place where hee lay madegreat lamentation, as having alwaics loued and honoured O-Leius, of whole death hee was now become the influencent. The vanquilhed Armic entertained a Treatic of peace with Euncus; making flew of willingnesses to become this followers, but their intent was only to refush them 49 feltues, which (by his permission) having done, they stale away by night, and fled

toward Antipater.

Toward Amplier.

This bartaile fought within ten daies of the former wanne to Eumenes more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers rooke the death of Craterus heauily; and the Armies lying further off were imaged with the newes. But other matters there were which incenfed men againft him, befides the death of Craterus, whereof it manifetly appeared, that hee was as for it as any that pretended greater heatineffe. His Armic wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wifely amended, by giving to them the fpoile of fuch Townes as were ill-affected to him. So hee redeemed the loue of his sowne men, who of their meere motion appointed varo him.

50 a guard for defence of his perfon. Others were not fo easie to be reconciled. They who had beene Traitors to Perdicas hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought that he would have them for their fallfhood; neither found they any lairer way of excursing their lair evoids, that by a reading and condemning the side which they had for faken. Wherefore they proclaimed Eumenes a Traiter, and

condemned him to die: but it was an eatier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

#### X

Quarrells betweene Evry dici the Queene, and Python the Protector.

Python resignes his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Y THO N and Arideus being chosen Protectors of King Arideus, and 10 the children of Alexander, tooke the way to Arithelese, conducting the Armic through Syria. Of these two Python was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to suffaine so important a charge. For Eurydiee, wise to King Arideus, was come to her husband, a Lacke of a masculine spirit, well undertlanding what thee was or should be, and thinking her selfe able to support the waight which Fortune had laied upon her foolish husband, being due to her owne tule. Her Mother Cynn, sister to Alexander by her father King Philip, was married (as hath beene shewed) to Annua, who was right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only sonne of King Praiceas, Philips elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; thee had led Armies; and (as a true fifter of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Caria Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought up this Eurydice in the same vnwomanly art of warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brooke her curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were so that Python had some purpose to advance the some of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intents or whether only defire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The Armie having shaken off 30 Such a ranke-rider as Perdiceas, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. Python bearing himselfe vpon his office took vpon him to give directions in the kings name, which the Oucene did oftentimes controll, ving the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers. Python, seeing this, would needes refigne his office, whether vpon wearineffe of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuic, it is vncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the farre worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retaine the place, and have his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successiour. Eurydice was nothing forrie at this course; for now shee thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne wil, being freed from the 40 troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and Python, of their contrarie expectations: choosing Antipater, the only powerfull man of Alexanders Captaines, then living, into the roome of Python. Hereat the Queene fretted exceedingly, and beganne to deale earneftly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord faue only the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three thinges: the apparent weakenesse of her husband : the growth of Alexanders children, who (though borne of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian campe; and the mightinesse of Antipater, who commanding a great Armie neare at hand arrived in few daies at the campe, and enforced Eury dice to hold her selfe content. Intipater was 50 of such power that hee needed not to worke by any close denises, as Perdicens had done; he had no concurrents; all the Gouernours of Provinces that remained alive acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he tooke the King, Queene, and Princes

along with him into Macedonia, leauing Antigonia Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good feruices done, and to be done against Eumenes, hee gane the rule of Sufiana, befides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of Asia during that warre.

#### X I.

Anticonvs Lieuctenant of Allawinnes a battaile of Evmenes, and beflegeth limin Nora: He vanquisheth other sollowers of Pendicons,



Ere beginnes the greatness of Antigenus, whose power in sew yeares of our growing the rest wanted lite of spreading it sells ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre you Eumenes, Alectus the brother, and Astalus the brother in-law to Persitess: worke enough to

keepe his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as hee might find occasion to make vse of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which hevndertooke was Eumenes, with whom Alcetus and Attalus refused to joyne, hauing vnscasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. Eumenes had an Armie strong in number, courage, and all needfull pronisions: 20 but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all waves of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Armie with letters: which practife failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as hee thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too haftily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking to carelefly to himfelfe, that he and his were furprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. An other follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in companie with Antigonia) kept his treacherie secret, referring it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this falle man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonias 30 presented battaile to Eumenes; in the heate wherof Apollonides, Generall of the horse to Eumenes, fled ouer to the contrarie fide, with fuch as he could get to follow him : but was closely followed by fome, whose companie he defired not. Eumenes, perceiuing the irrecouerable mischiefe which this traiterous practise brought upon him, purfued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himselfe into the troupes of Antigonus, and boast of his treacherie. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the toffe of that battaile, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, and left it very hard for him to make a fafe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amafed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonia himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victorie to get possession 40 on of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilest Antigonus held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse returned to the place where the battaile had been fought; there he burned (according to the maner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and alhes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, railing vp heapes of earth as Mountaines over them, and so went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit : so the newes which Menander (who was set to looke vnto their cariages) brought and published among them, entited them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open Plaine, careleffe, as after an affured victorie, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of 50 their long feruice; all which he might haue taken: but fearing least such a purchase should proue a heavie burthen to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to Menander to flie to the mountaines, whilest he detained his men (whom authoritie could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to baite their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtefic, as a

noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strippe them out of all their wealth, and make their children flaues, and to rauish their wives: but Antigonus told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtilitie had avoided those precious setters, which would have hindered his speedie flight. He told them true. For Eumenes did not onely thinke all carriages to be ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than availeable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as faft as he could, withing them to thift for themselves; and retaining onely five hundred horse, and two hundred soote. When hee had wearied Antigonus awhile in following him vp and downe, he came to 2\(\text{ora}\): where againe, keeping no more a-10 hout him than necessitie required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little Fortresse in the borders of Lycaonia & Cappadocia, so strongly fituated that it feemed impregnable, and so well victualed and stored with all neceffaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did Antigonio followe him, with more detire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose he entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For whereas Antigonus offered him pardon, and his loue; Eumenes required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without Antipaters consent. Then was Nora closed vp; where Antigonus leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his journie into Pisidia against Alcetus and Attalus, with whom hee made short worke. 20 He came vpon them vnexpected, and feifed on paffages, which wanted not men, but fuch a Captaine as Eumenes, to have defended them. Alcetus and A talus, as they had beene too fecure before his comming, fo were they too adventurous in fighting at the first fight, vpon all disaduantages; and their folly was attended with surable euent. Attalus with many principall Captaines was taken; Alcetus fled to the Citie of Termefus, wherethe love of the yonger fort was toward him fo vehement, that stopping their eares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needes would hazzard their liues and their Countrie in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing. For the Gouernours of the Towne-hauing foretly compounded with Amigenue, caused the yong men to fally out; and vling the time of aduantage, they with their 30 fernants did fet vpon Alcetus, who vnable to refift flew himselfe. His dead body was conucied to Antigonus, and by him barbaroufly torne was calt forth without buriall. When Antigonus was gone, the yong meninterred the careasse with solemne funerals, having once beene minded to fet on fire their owne towne in revenge of his death. Such fauour had hee purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great focuer, is infu?ficient.

Q. XII.
PTOLOMIE winnes Syria and Phanicia. The death of ANTIPATER.



Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather feeking to enjoy their Gouernments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Onely Ptolomie looking abroad wanne all Syria and Phanicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumftance in the mannaging. He fent a Lieutenant thither

with an Armie, who quickly tooke Laomedon prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of Antipater, and formerly of Perdice as; but (as may feeme) without any great ftrength of Souldiers, farre from affiltants, and vainely relying vpon the authoritie which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with feeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Matipater was old and fickely, defirous of rest, and therefore contented to let Antigonus pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. Hee had with him Polysperchen, one of the most ancient of Alexanders Captaines, that had lately suppreffed a dangerous infurrection of the Ætolians, which Nation had firred in the quarrell

quarrell of Perdice.ts, prenailing farre at the first, but soone looting all that they had gained, whileft Antipater was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this Poly/perchan, Antipater did reposegreat confidence; so farre foorth, that (suspecting the youth of his owne Sonne Callander of infufficiencie in so great a charge) hee bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of Macedon and Greece, together with his Office of Protestorship. So Antipater died, being foure-score yeares oid, having alwavestrauailed in the great affaires of mightie Princes, with fuch reputation, that Alexander in all his greatnesse was icalous of him, and the successours of Alexander did either quietly give place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppolitions. to In his private qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaulour, not vulcarned, as having beene Scholler to Ariflotle, and written some Histories. He had beene much molested by Olympias, Alexanders mother,

whom after the death of her Sonne hee compelled to abstaine from comming into Micedonia, or entermedling in matters of effate: yea, at his owne death he gaue efpeciall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was foone forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forrowfull experience approued to have beene found and good.

Of POLYSPERCHON who succeeded unto ANTIPATER in the Protector-The insurrection of CASSANDER against him.



OLYSPERCHON was very skilfull in the art of warre, having long time beene Apprentife in that occupation; other qualities, requities in fo high an Office as he vnder-went, either Nature had not gitten to him, or Time had robbed him of them He mannaged his builinfife more formally, then wielly, as a man of a fecond wir, htterto affilit,

than commaund in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage hee called to coun-30 faile all his friends, wherein, for waightie confiderations (as they who waighed not the contrarie reasons held them) the Queene Olympias was remoked out of Epirus into Macedon, that the presence of Alexanders mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all maiestie, that might give authoritie to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the bounds of ductic fuch as could not by force have beene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of fight, whilest present mischiese laie vnregarded in their bosomes. Cassander the Sonne of Antipater, was not able to discouer that great sufficiencie in Polysperchon, for which his father had reposed in him so much considence : neither could hee discerne such oddes in the qualitie of himselfe and Polysperchon, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practise of those times was of more importance, than the title now feemes to implie. He should thereby have beene as Campe-master, or Lieuctenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had 50 relied on his Father were his owne affured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales; whose formes had beene corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the fide, and drawe in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular

to adhere visco the Captains by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetons of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercifed ouer the principali Citizens, were kept in order, obaying their betters perforce. Belides all their helpes, Coffander had the fecret lone of Queene Eurydice, who had in private rendered him such courtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queenes favour, nor all his other poffibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee faw Polysperchon much reuerenced among the Afacedonians, and firong enough to suppresse him before he could have made head. Therefore he made thew of following his pleafures in the countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under prefence of hunting, adulfed 10 with them upon the fafelt course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie was apparant of railing an Armie, before the bufineffe were fet on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie prefented him with faire meanes. Ptolomie had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his government of Agypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus voon the first newes of Antipaters death, beganne to lay hold voon all that he could get, in fuch fort that hee manifeltly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Mia. These two therefore stood in neede of a civill Warre; which Callander well noted, and prefumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his Father and them, would availe him somewhat. Whereupon hee se- 20 cretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conneied himfelfe on a fodaine ouer the Heile pont, that he might in person advance the businesse with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he defireth. Anigonus coueted nothing more, than to finde Polysperchon worke by raifing some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) Cassanster did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to affift him in this enterprife; telling him that Ptolomic was readie to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedie dispatch. Intigents on the other side repaied him with the fame coine; faying, That for his owne fake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, hee would not faile to giue him all manner 20 of fuccour. Having thus feafted one an other with words, they were nothing flack in preparing the common meanes leading to their feuerall ends.

downe of Cassander.

Reat necessitie there was of timely provision. For Polysterchon necded no other instructions to informe him of Cassanders drift, than the 40 newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition, which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomie, to the ftrengthning ofrebellion; and well beeknew that one principali hope of Cassander was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Gracian Estate. Therefore (louing to work circumspectly,) he called an other Councel, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawne; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose handes Antipater had committed the supreame authoritie, should forthwith bee either flaine or banished. This was a fure way to diminish the number of Cassanders friends, and to raife vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was difclofed both an vnthankefull nature in Poly(perchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could be be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Sonne went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only bountie had inabled him to doe it? or what could bee faid in their defence, who fought to destroy

many worthic men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from firring against the Macedonians; and in opposition to their private Enemie; gaue the rule of thinges to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the timpire? But as in mans bodie, through finnewes newly iffuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any diftemper in the contrarie hand : fo in bodies politique, the humours of men, fubdiuided in faction, are more inraged by the difagrecable qualities of fuch as curbe them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are divided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to passe, that conto trarie religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawne in, to take part in civil warres; and ancient hatred called to counfaile against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee bath taught the arme to offer it felfe vnto manifest losse in detence of the head: they are deprayed affections, which render men fensible of their owne particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranne under the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily difcerne, that Poly/perchon had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as Poly/perchon gaue, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reft it 20 contained fuch a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sodaine from those who had kept them in hard fubjection, might well appeare to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it felfe too bale and unfit for a King to vie toward his conquered Subjects, and often-fubdued Rebells.

of the great commotions raised in Athens by POLYSPERCHONS decree. The death of PHOCION.

Euerthelesse the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happic-feeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Wicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Towne, would needes take longer time of deliberation, than was

pleating to their haftie defires. Quicanor, as a truftic follower of Cassander, was by him shifted into the place, and Menillus (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when In inter was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of Antipaters death, cried out vpon Photion, faying, That he 40 had fufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by advertifing them in due time have put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian voke. Farremore grieuoufly would they have beene offended, had they knowne the instructions, which Casander had given to Micanor, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retaine Munyelna, any injunction to the contrarie notwithstanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some Companies into Piraus, and fortifie that also, which was the principall Hauen, against the high-Towne. How to accomplish this herather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the Athenians were not long in giving him fuf-50 ficient cause to doe that, which he would have done without any cause given. They

defired him to come vnto their Councell, affembled in the Priaus, there to confider of the Kings Proclamation; whither vpon Phocions word and fafe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with Cassander in the warre which was readicto breake forth. Contrariwise they viged him first of all, to make them Masters of

their owne, which how to we they might confult afterwards. Each of them refufing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies meafure justice by profit, wet seldome through by that course) practifed with Dercyllus, a Captaine following Foly (perchen, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Towne, and take Nicanor prisoner. But Photion who then governed in Athens, a man very vnlike to the reft of the Citizens, being nothing pleafed with fuch a trick of politique dilhonettie, did quietly fuffer him to depart and faue

Nicanor hereupon beganne to deuise vpon taking Pireus; not as following now the project of Callander, but profecuting his owne just revenge. He leavied as many to Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munrelia: which done he iffined into Pireus, tooke it, and intrenched himfelfe therein: to the exceeding difcomfort of the Athemans, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, faw him now Matter of both. Aexander, the sonne of Polysperchon, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouring all, and addreffed themselves vnto him; who made faire thewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceived not being blinded with the vaine Epiftles of his Father, and of Olympias the old Queene. Olympias taking upon her to command, before thee durit well aduenture to returne into Mucedon, had peremptorily charged Nicanor to reflore to the Athenians the places which hee held; but hee would first confider 20 more of the matter. Polyperchan had further ordained, that the Iffe of Samue Should be rendred vnto them; a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeede) to farre from purpoling to let them have Samos, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Hauens was fuch, as he would rather get into his owne handes, than leave in theirs: yet rather wilhed in theirs, than in Caffanders. His fonne Alexander notignorant of this, made faire fliew to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with Nicanor, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to entermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceited against him they powred out your Photion, depriving him of his Office. This 20 was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselves into the affembly of the Citizens, who distracted with fundric passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought enerie one that best could inueigh against thinges palt, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the cuill threatning them. In this burlie burlie was Alexander denifing how he might come to fome good point of composition with Nicanor, and held much privice conference with him; which he could not fo fecretly carrie, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the vp-rore in the Towne was fo farre increased, that Phocion with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seeke saveguard of their lives by slight. So they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commen- 40 dation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Poly/perchon was in the Countrie of Phoeis, readie to enter with an Armie into Attical. Thither came Phocion with his Companions, boping well that the letters which they brought, and their owne deferts. ( having alwaies beene friends to the Macedonians, as farre as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, Dinarchus a Corinthian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went along with them, (in an cuill houre) who promifed to himfelfe and them great fauour by meanes of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon was an vinitable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, vet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily so changing his intended courses, and doing thinges by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good faccelle. For feare of Cassander, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians; this had caused them to love him cout of their love hee gathered hope of deceining them, which made him to change his minde, and feeke

how to get into his owne handes those keies, with which Cassander held them fail lockt vp; finding himfelfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false difbonourable man, hee flood watering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his denotion, would indeed have done well : but the effecting of this beganne to grow desperate; and many Townes of importance in Greece beganne to call their eies you his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wifelt way to redeeme their good opinion, by giving all contentment vnto the popular faction, which then was growne to be Matter of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian 10 Embaffadours come, treading (as one may fay,) vpon Photions heeles, whom they were fent to accuse. These had solemne audience ginen to them in the Kines prefence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oftentations fake was glorified with all exteriour showes of majestie; yet all too little to change dridew into Alexander: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as hee faw others. doe, For beginning of the bulineffe Polysperchon commanded that Dinarchus should be tortured and flaing: This was enough to toffifig his heartie affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake, whose Embaffadours he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answere to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, Photion and the rest 20 were pronounced guiltie of treason; but to give sentence, and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours fake) referred vnto the Citie of Athens, because they were Burgeffes. Then were they fent away to Athens, where the rafcall multitude, not fuffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to die. So. they perished being innocent. But the death of Phocion, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the reft to be of the leffe regard. Fine and fortie times had bee beene chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent : so well was his integritic knowne, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the fame vertue. Hee was a good Commander in Warre, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance. 30 and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counfaile : nor any private man of having trufted his word. Philip of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did Alexander, who (besides other signes of his loue) fent him two hundred talents of filuer, and offered to bestow upon him of four Cities in Asia any one which bee would choose. But Photom refused these & other gifts, howfocuer importunately thrust you him; resting well contented with his honest poucrtie: wherein he lived aboue fourescore yeares, and then was compelled by the vajust judgement of wicked men to drinke that poifon, which by just judgement of the righteous God, so infected the Citic of Athens, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthie man refembling the vertue of their

Q. XVI.

Of POLYSPERCHON his vaine expedition against

CASSANDER.

Ot long after these things were done, Cassader with such forces as

Antigenus lent him, entred into Piraus; which newes drew Polyfperchon head-long into Attica, with a great Armie, but so ill victualed, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only hee had given some impediment to the enemie; who not contented with de-

fending what he held beganne to looke out, and make new purchases abrode. Finding therefore himselfe ynable to drive Callander out of Athens, hee left his sonne Alexander, with fuch number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victualls, to withit and his further incroching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into Peloponne jus; to make the Countrie fure to himselfe, wherein Cassander had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponne fus were fuch, as they had beene in other parts of Greece. First, he beganne to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratic or Popular forme of gouernement. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by Antipater beene made Rulers, should be either flaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: the vulgar fort being very readie to feale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in fubicction. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to Casander; especially they of Megalopolis, on whom Poly/perchan meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteene thousand seruiceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resoluted to endure the worst. And neede there was of fuch refolution. For Polysperchon comming thither with all his power did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall betweene them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came up to the breach; and at the fame time with great labour they raifed up an inner wall, to beare out the next affault. The Affailants having failed to carrie the Towne at the first attempt, tooke much paine to cleare the ground, 20 and make faire way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to operthrow all that came in their way. But the townsfmen perceiuing their drift prepared boards driven through with long nailes, which they yied as gall-throps, bestowing them fleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beafts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beat upon their fides with Arrowes and Darts, as they were inftructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Warres. Of these provisions they made happie vse in the next assault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trufted) either forely hurt, or driven back vpon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polysperchon came as ill fir-nisht for long abode to Megalopolis, as before to Athens. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requilite, hee for fooke the fiege, with fome loffe, and much dishonour; leaving fome part of his Armie to lie before the Towne for his credit.

After this he fent Clitus, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with Aridaus that was come out of Pingus, and to cut of all fuecour which might come to the enemie out of Allo Against allo fent his whole Fleet under Naemary, who taking along with him fome thips of Antiquous, came to the propontis, where hee fought with Clitus, and was beaten. But Antiquous hearing of the out-ethrow gathered together the fluips that were cleaped, and manning them very well fent out Naemar againe, affuring him of the victoric, as well he might. For hee fart out fufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom hee had caufed to bee wafted ouer the Straights in finall Veffells by night; these before day-light fetting vpon Clitus, draue his men, that lay fecurely on the Land, head-long into their flips 3 in which turnult Niemar arriving did affaile them so lutility, that few or none cleaped him.

This loffe at Sea, rogether with his bad fuccesse by Land, brought Polysperchan into great contempt. He had a good facilite in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his owne fword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemic which lay in 50 their bosomes, came to agreement with Cassinary; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and refloring all thinges to the same state wherein antipater had left them. The like inclination to the partie of Cassinary, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly revolved with ohim, as to an industrious

man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie set in a combustion, yneasie to be quenched; which preferred vnto Anigonus an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselte Lord of Asia.

### XVII.

A NTIGONYS feekes to make himfelfe an abfolute Lord: and therenpon treates with EVM 1 NES, who disappointed him. Phrygia and Lydia worne by ANTIGONYS.

NTIGONYS had in Antipaters lifetime a firmeresolution, to make vnto himfelfe the vtmost benefit that hee might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for advancement of his purposes came the newes of Antipaters death; even then, when all the busines in Pisidia was dispatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, faue onely the continuance of the fiege of Nora; a small thing of it felfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. Eumenes lay in that Fort of Nova, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manito telly subject, would in continuance of some yeares (which hee might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow fickly and vinferuiceable : which made him to practife many denifes of keeping them in health and luftic. But when he had continued thut vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good palle, and he was called of his cares by Antigoniss himfelfe, whose forces held him belieged.

Antigonus knowing the great infliciencie of Eumenes, and confidering his fidelitie shewed vnto Perdiceas, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in mannaging those high designes, wherein he doubted not that hee should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to Eumenes by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with fome part of his intent, and promiting to make him a greater Lord than ever hee had beene, and the next man to himfelfe, if things fell out as hee defired : in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, heemight at his good pleasure iffue fafely out of Nora, and enjoy his perfect libertie. Eumenes peruling the forme of the oath perceived the meaning of Antigonus; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the Decorum, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding wordes and summe of all 40 the rest were such, as tied him fast onely to Antigonia, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it vnfeemely to become a fworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the mastrie; and being assured that his voluntarie affiftance, which way focuer hee gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would be not therefore breake off the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of inlargement which might perhaps beelong in comming : but seeming to bee well agreed with Antigonus, hee prepared to give vp his Holde and depart. As for the oath it felfe, when he came to take it, he made thew of diflike, in that it was not folemne enough for fuch personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in te-50 stifying their Allegeance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Wora, liked his wordes, and gaue him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of Alexander, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and so he de-

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone us hee came downe to the Sea-side, to

head.

remoue fome of the Gouernours of Prouinces, behaving him felfeaccording to the authoritie which hee had received of Inipates, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did hee want fashicine presence whereby to institute his proceedings. For if Polysperchan might lawfully hold the Protectorfup, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed vinto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not bee himslife as fivell treatnet be Leintennyship of Asia, that was granted vinto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by Antipates, who had power to ordain what should seeme convenient whilet thee lined, not to dispose of thinges that should happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: 10 if any were not herewith statisted, he had three feorethous and footmen, ten thous fand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a reading to an offerer them.

The first that perceited his drifts, and prouided to resist him, was Aridaus Gouernour of Parzau, who sortised the Townes of his owne Province, and sought to have wonne Crastus, a faire Hauen Towne, and seated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon Antigonus took occasion to commaund him out of the Countrie. Aridaus was so sarresmostying him, that he sent forces to relieue Euments. Neverthels set in single that he was rable of himselfs to make long resistance, he tooke such companies as he could drawealong with him, and so passed on the survey, to complaine at the Court. The like for 10 tune had Clims, who ruled in Lysia, and sought he like remedie of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good wordes) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath alreadie beene declared.

### d. XVIII.

Antigonys pursues Evmenes, Evmenes having authoritie from the Court raiseth great warre against Antigonys in desence of the Roiall house.

30

hundred

Notion we shawing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of Mia the lefte, was able to have entred Macedon, and leifed you the Court, which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may feeme) for fome of these reasons. It would have bred as much realousse in teams of reconciliation; It would aske more time then he ecould lepare; and the enuie which followed the Protestians was fuch, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to fluunc, then to pursue. Besides all this, it was 40 manifest that Eumens would not only reside to take his part, but would make war you him in defence of the Roiall house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not stand well affected. Against him therefore hee bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foote, and source thousand Horse, made great

Emmens was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead master, which being well knowne in the Court, hee had commission sent who him from thence to raise an Armie, and make warre vpon Amigomus, taking of the Kings treasure as much ashee should neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouer-50 nours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to Emmens, and bee ordered by his direction respecially to the Captaines of the olde Souldiers, called the Argundiete, or filture-sheelded bands, commandement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and sue

hast toward Cilicia, hoping to suppresse him before hee should bee able to make

hundred horfs, before this authoritie was giuen him: but now he purposed with all the strength which her could make, to fight with Antigonus in defence of the Roiall bloud. Oipnass had written to him, deliring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the sonne of Alexander; and in the meane time to giue her his aduice in that which Possippershon required of her: for shee was delirous to returne into Macadon, but suffected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. Emmens therefore counselled her to remaine in Epirus, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good tille; which done, hee promised that his faith and care should not he wantine to the feed of Alexander.

Strange it is to confider, that in all the Empire Carce any one could bee found among the Noble-men, in whom Alexanders mother, wines, and children, might repole firme confidence, fauing onely this Eumenes, a stranger to the Alexa. Entire bloud, borne at Cardas, a Citic of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it, his followers obeyed at their ownediferction; and compelled hee was to trausile as Farre as Per flat to gather together an Armie sufficient, to result the enemies that pursued his becles.

ð. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon flood affected mutually. OLYMPIAS takes ARIDEVS and EVRYDICE, whom shee cruelly puts to death.

Ow, forasimuch as in this present warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of Asia, but Micedon it selfe, which brought a new face vince the State, by the extirpation of the rotall house of Patipa and Alexander: I hold it conucnient in this place, before we enter into the parti-

30 culars of the warre it felfe, to flow breifly how the great ones did mutually trand affected; and by what paffions they were drawne into those courses, which ouer-threw most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few as a likewise to what extremitie the fraction brake out in Macedon it felfe; about the maine controuersic of title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have beene depending.

Aridaus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polysperchan, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the fonne of Alexander by Roxane to the Kingdome, and become Governour to a King 4° of his owne making.

Eurydice the Queene discoucring plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with Cassander, who hated the memory of Accounter, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassanders held fresh in mind the danger wherein his samily had beene through Alexanders malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by Alexander, who knockeds his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the Persian maner. The displeasure hereof; and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him resolue, both to suppresse the linage which hee hated, 3° and to maintaine his belowed miltress, either by supporting her weake hulband, or

by taking her to be his owne wife.

Thereft of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who raigned ouer all, fo as they might raigne in their feuerall Countries, and establish their authoritie in such wife, that it might not be taken from them.

Amono

Among these, *Ptolomie* and *Antigorus* were well enough alreadie, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and Seleacus lying farre off, and being ftrong, had fome good hope to encroach you their neighbours. Againft these, Pencylies and Some others with much aduc hardly made rentlance, until fuch time as Enmens came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters which he lived not to accomplish.

this met. the old Queene (as it is common with Repdames) hated the children of her hulband by his other wines. It was thought that thee had guen poyfon to Aridous, which failing to take away his life had much impaired both his bodie and wittes. Now the confidering, that Eumenes was too full of businesse to come home to foone as she wished that he should; and that Cossander daily preualled in Greece; thought it the best way to sopn evith Posts speechon, and set vp.as King, her Nephew Alexander, the sonne of Rexame, remouing Aridous before Cassander were able to desend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in Epirus, and so tooke her way towards Posts she who is opining with the entired into Oslacedon.

Eurydiec hearing these newes wrote veric carnetily to Calfander, praying him to set asset all eacher bussels, and come to succour her. Shee hersels by entreatic, gilts and promises, circw to her partie as many of the Macclonians as shee could, yutil thee thought her owne side strong enough, and then taking her husband with her went boldly forth against Osmpias, and the Traitour Parisperchan.

The fe two Queenes met armed, as if the matter should have be andetermined by their owne shands, which ended without any stroke fireken, by the revolve of those who followed Euryliee. For a soone as the Maedanian sheeld of Jupylie, I calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her bushand and some, they resulted to list any weapon against her. Euryliee shoting hersels thus for skeen, sled towards - Amphippli, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias having obtained this victoric without bloud, thought that all thinges would fucceed as eafily, and that upon the same considerations for which they had tetused to beare Armes against her, the Macedonians would not sticke to maintaine her, what focuer her proceedings were. Having therefore that vp Aridem and his 30 wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, sheefed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare least the people should haue commisferation of him, that had raigned almost fixe yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliucred Aridans to some barbarous Thracians, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to Eurydice shee sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poylon, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death, who praying that the like prefents might one day bee fent to Olympias, yeelded her necke to the halter, having spent her last curses not invaine. Nicanor the brother of Casander, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did Olympias then choose out, all whom since commaunded to be flaine. His brother tolaus that was alreadic dead and buried, shee 40 accused of poyson given to Alexander; and thereupon caused his Tombe to bee throwne downe, and his bones to be scattered abroade. The Macedonians wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselues, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contrarie to Antipaters charge given on his death bed, called this outragious woman to the gouernment of the Empire.

è XX. 53

ò. X X.

How CASSANDER Wasrenenged upon OLYMPIAS.

† I.

The great expedition of Cassander, Olympias fbuts her felfeinto Pydna, where Cassander be before the Racides King of Epirus, comming to fuctor OLYmpias, is forfaken, and banifled by his owne which



ASSANDER at that time laie before Teges, in Pelopomefus; whither when all the feill tidings were brought to him, he never staict to take the Citie, nor to gue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though Alexander the fonne of Poff feedow were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of Teges, be cwilled his af-

20 fociates to looke to themfelues as well as they could, till his returne and foin all hat he tooke his journie toward Macedon, carried headlong with the greedic defire of juttreeners. The Artistism had taken the Straights of The mapping, in haour of the Queene and Polyfpershon, to hinder his passage, but he, net willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many hips as he could great and small, with which heet transported his Armie into Theilate. There hee disided his companies, appointing some vnder Callas, a subtile Captaine, to hold relyyers on hund, who then lay incamped neare to Perbabas, with the rest he marched directly against Olympias. Shee, having once prevailed by the respect guest to her dignitie, tooke more care now to appeare Maichteall, than to make herself strong. To this end

20 fince made a folemne progreffe to Pydma, a Sea-towne, and well lenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Courte flocially the great Ladies, among whom was Box.me, and her yong fonne Alexander, here to the great Alexander, by his grandmothers defignement: who, during his minoritie, kept the Soueraigne power in her owne handes. But all this pompe ferued to little vs., against the violence of the emenie, that foone prefented himfel be before the wals, sonely it fod the beforged with a vaine hope of fuccour, that would from all partes arriue, to refeue perfons of their qualitie. And hereof there foone appeared faire likelihood, which as foone vanished, and went away in finoke.

For \*Eacides King of Epirus, made great hast to bring succour to Olympias, his co40 sn, with whom Dealamis his daughter was also thut vp. Neuerthelesse, bis Subjects
were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding operatine passes taken in the
way by Callandors men, they called vpon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The
Kingsimportunitie vrging them to proceed, and the oblinate refusal of the Armie,
brake out at length into such termes, that when hee had raged in vaine against the
multitude, his authoritie, with which he thought to baue preuailed vpon them, was
by them taken from him and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander
vp and downe in forraine Countries, a banished man, his people ioyning with the
enemic, against whom he had led them forth to warre.

Pydna in the meane time was closed up straightly, both by Sea and Land, so that 50 neither any could issue of the Citie, nor any reliefe bee connected into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst great actions were mannaged abroade.

t. II

A continuation of OLYMPIAS berstorie. POLYSPERCHON defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. OLYMPIAS
yceldsto CASSANDER.

 $N^{\rm Ow}$ , though order of time require it, that wee should rehearse the doings of Eurocuss and Antigonus in this place, leaving Olympias yet a while to the hower of her destine, which growes the faster upon her, because thee may discerne it comming, yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, 10 by inserting her Tragedic in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; we will heere (as elsewhere wee haue done and elsewhere must) continue to an end one Historic, that we may not be therewith distracted, when wee shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the befeiged, remaining in Poly/perchon, was in like maner disappointed, as their former trust had beene, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirot. For Callas, who was fent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with monic, leaving him within a little while so flenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other butineffe of warre, than a fwift retrait. When famine had so farre prevailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcaffes of their fellowes, 200 and fawdust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the souldiers obtaining the Queenes leave; (who could not denie it) others, without asking leave, veelded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Countrie. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by thesemen, did so affright her wel-willers, that fuch as had referred themselves to the event, came in 2 pace and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortality was forgreat in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome fent of the dead.

O'propius bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that shee had: wherein her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be evnto her as a house of torment, and a laile, 20 out of which shee should not bee deliuered, but vnto an cuill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miferies, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kinde of life, shee offered composition; and with much labour hardly obtained of Cassander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her bodie) a graunt of her owne life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, Pella, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, was yeelded to Cassander. Amphipolis did stand out: for Aristonus, to whom Olympias had giuen charge of fuch forces as were left abroad in the Countrie, taking courage from the successe of some pettic services wherein hee had prevailed, beganne to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But Olympias, to winne Cassanders fauour, very car- 40 neftly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should give it vp. Heedid so; and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by Cassander, who partly bated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innouation.

# † III. The death of OLYMPIAS, and her Condition.

WW Hen olympias had now heard forrow full tidings of all her friends, thee her-felfe was called into question, and accused in an affembly of the Macedo.

mins, for the murthers (they were fo stiled in her affliction, which in time of profperitie shee called justice) by her committed. There was shee, (being notheard, sor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecu-

ted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had flaine. But it was at Casanders initigation; who (to haften the execution) fent her word that he would furnish her with a thip and other necessaries, to faue herselfe by flight: which when the refused, faving that shee would plead for herfelfe, and tell her owne tale; hee differnbled no longer. But fent vnto her fuch men as hated her most, who tooke away her miferable life. Shee was daughter and fifter vnto two Kings of Epirus, wife and mother vnto two the mightiell Kings of that or many other ages, a flout Ladie, and of ynreproueable chastitie; but her ambition was boundlesse; her hatred ynappeasable, and her furie in reuse amouton was bounderies her hatred wnappealable, and her furie in reusenge most wnownanly. Her peruer fe conditions made the hutband feeke other wines and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privie toher husbands death; after which, very cruelly the flew his late wife Cleopatra, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaftly furic broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne Alexander (otherwise louing her well) forbad her to meddle in the government of Macedon. But God, more severe vnto cruell Tyrants, than onely to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to live and fulfil the rest of her wickedneffe; (which was his justice vpon the adulteries of Philip, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which hee rewarded her malice by returning it vpon her owne head.

### t. IIII.

CASSANDER celebrates the funerall of ARIDEVS and EVRYDICE; and feekes to make him felfe King of Macedon.

A Fter her death, Cassander gaue honourable buriall to Aridaus and Eurydice, among their Progenitours, Kings of Macedon. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Ladie The following, whom he had taken at Pydna, being the daughter of King Philip by any other of his wines; that by her hee might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end the committed Rosane, and hervyong some, to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his same, and purchase loue, hee built a Citic, called by his owner name Cassander, that soon grewe to be very great and powerfull. He readified likewise Thebes in Greece, and restored it who the old janhabitants, after it had laine twentie yeares wast, being wtterly razed by Messander. By these meanes, specially by the restauration of Thebes, whereunto all Greece voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong that sew remained enemies who him; and they, with much abour, hardly coulders thim. Leauing him therefore daily prevailing

in Greece, we will returne to them, who contended in Asia
for lesse tiles, but larger Provinces, with

greater forces.

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CHÁP.

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# Chap. IIII.

# Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS got in Asia.

### ģ. I

The lownie of EVMENES into Persia. His wife dealing with those that loyned with him.



V M.E. N.E. s, hauing ioyned vnto his companie the Myrafida, made hath into the hafterne parts, or take poliefilion of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against Minigenus. He tooke his journey through Carlefyria and Phamicia, hoping to reclaime those Provinces, vsurped with the rest of Syria (as hath beene shewed) by ao Prolomic, to the Kings obscience. But rosselt his, his hast of his passing forward was too great, his Armic too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides

all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leffe effectuall. The Captaines of the Argyrafpides were fo froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelitie was fo vniteadie, that he might have more eafily dealt with open T raitours. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authoritie by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore hee 20 fained, that Alexander had appointed vnto him in a dreame, a place for their mec-\*ing, namely in arich paullion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if Alexander himfelfe had beene prefent at their confultations. Thus hee freed himfelfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no affurance. Yet when Ptolomie requested them, & Antigonus bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without confidering of the matter ) to take his part. So hee marched on, fending before him the Kings warrant; which Pytho and Seleucus refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authoritic, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Armie, for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to relie vpon their affiftance, who flood otherwife af- 40 feeled than his affaires required, and were not to bee dealt with by perfuafion, fought passage by strong hand, through the Countrie of Babylon, in such wife, that Seieucus, having in vaine affaired to hinder him, by opening the fluces of Euphrates. was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as defirous to be ridde of him. Thus he came to Peuceftes and the reft of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his companie, because of the differences between Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet the contention about superioritie, grew very hot among them; every one finding matter enough, to feed his owne humour of felfe-worthinesse. But the former denice of affembling in one paulion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being fure to follow that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wifestingining aduice, and 50 best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes hee wonne to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

ð. I İ.

How Anticonvs, comming to fet upon Evu enes, was driven off with loffe.



NTIGONYS, hearing that Eumene lay in the Province of Sufa, had an earneft defire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treafures, which were kept there. To which end, as foone as he had made himselfe ftrong enough, he removed out of Mefopotamia, where

hee had wintered; and taking to him Pitho and Selencus, with their men, hee marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battaile. Eumenes had fortified the Caltle of Sufa, and was retired backe toward Persia, keeping the River of Tigris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riner were well garded, and good espiall kept vpon Antigonus, to obserue which way he tooke. Before he came to Tigris it felfe, he was to passe ouer Coprates, a great Riuer, and not foordable, which he fought to doe by fmall veffels, whereof he had no great flore. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge vpon Treris, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foote, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and 20 drang them headlong backe into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned, verie few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeeled themselves priloners, in fight of Antigonus, that was not able to releiue them. This loffe made Antigomus glad to full off; and the heate of that Countrie in the dog-daies, breeding diferens in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into Media. So he tooke Pithon with him; (leaving Selencus to befege the Caftle of Su(a) and feeking to goe the nearest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmilhes, flew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in Media, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

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ð. II.

### . III.

of EVNENES his cunning. A battaile between e him and ANTIGONYS.



Frer his departure, Euments with his affociates fell into confutation, about the remainder of their bufineffe. Faine he would have had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which Antigenus had left behind birn; to which alfo the Captaines of the Arggrafides or Silvershive were verie inclinable, as deliring to draw nearcr to Greece. But Peneefles, and the reft, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries,

had note care of their owne particular Estates , and would needes march Eastward. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to divide it selfe into parts.

When they came into Perfix, Pensesses yearling there, seased them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers soue to himselfe. Eumeness, perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffired him awhile to keep good cheare, till the time of warre drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from Oranies Gouernor of Armanis, to Pensesses himselfe: The purport where twasthat Osmpias had vanquished Collander, and Sent ouer agent Armie vader Pesspecious, to jove with Eumense.

Callander, and lent oner a great Armie vnder Paylperenn, (1) oyne with imments.

9 The far week, as they filled the Campe with vaine joy, 6 they wrought in all mens mindes a great willing neffe to obey Eumenes, by whom was the likelieft apparance of their preferment, wherein they dealt wifely, hee being farre the most fufficient Commanufer, as they found foone after. For when Antigenus, comming out of Media, drew neere with them, Eumenes by fome milehance was fallen ficke; and

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faine to be carried in a litter; the Armie marched in verie bad array, and was likely to have beene forced to take battaile in that diforder. But Eumenes, when the reft of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his litter, and vpon the fodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that Antigonia, perceiuing him a farre off, could not refraine from giving him descrued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewardes to the Captaines, and all forts of men, if they would for fake Eumenes: which hopes deceiving him, hee came to the triall of a battaile. Eumenes had more Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, hee was inferiour in number both of horse and foot by athird part. The battaile was fought with variable fuccesse, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and 10 of the night following. Yet the victorie was vncertaine. For Eumenes could not force his men to lie farre from their carriages: by which meanes Antigonus (who had a more absolute commaund ouer his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the figne of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies, crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater figne of victorie had Eumenes. For he abode ftill in the fame place, and not onely buried his men verie honourably, at great leifure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas Antigonus was glad (having tarried but one day) to ficale away by night, and returne into Media, from whence he came.

Of diverle stratagems practifed by Antigonus, and Eumenes, one against the other.

Husdid the warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having front Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the fide which had hitherto prenailed, being hindered by the equall authoritic of many, from purfuing all aduantages to the best. Antigonus grew daily weaker in men and reputation, forthat to 30

repaire himselse hee could find no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered farre afunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Betweene him and them, the way was not long, being onely nine dayes journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hard'y passeable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a Countrie well peopled, but requiring twentie fine dayes journey, hee for looke, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because hee would come vndiscouered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not have them descried a farre off. This commaundement had beene well observed foure or fine dayes, 40 when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bolde to cherish themselves, being neare to their wayes end. The light of these fires gave notice of their comming; which being reported to Pencefles, and other Captaines, they were fo aftonished with the fodaine danger, that in all hast they betooke themselves to slight. But Eumenes, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promifing to make Antigonus march leasurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their mentogether. They could scarce beleeue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as hee appointed, who failed not in making his word good. Hee tooke with him fome companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certaine toppes of 50 mountaines, looking toward the Campe of Antigonus: there he chose a connenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in fundrie places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to Antigonis, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to seare least hee should bee

compelled to fight, whileth his men were tired with a long and painefull journey. Therefore he resolved to turne aside, & take the way to such places, as might better ferue to refresh his Armie. This hedid with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how readic Eumenes would be vpon all aduantages. Butaftera while confidering that no enemie stirred about him, he began to pause, and thinke in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that Defert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom hee learned, that they had feene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hil-tops. 10 It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had beene fo deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great furie, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not bee forced without much bufineffe, and long flay. All the Armie was come, faue onely Eudamus, Captaine of the Elephants, who, befides those beastes, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his companie. Antigonus hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent about two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. Eudamus being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and fo to defend himselfe as well hee could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multi-20 tudes were quickly broken, and driuen to runne away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, who fate your the Elephants, which way to turne them; for on all fides they received woundes, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpected to therefcue; and charging the affailants upon the backe, draue them to feeke their owne fafetic by speedic flight. These were sent by Eumenes; who though hee knew not what his aduerfarie meant to doe, yet hee knew very well what was fitteft for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games him felfe, prouided the remedic.

The conspiracie of PEVCESTES and others, against Ev-MENES his life.



Y thefe meanes Eumenes wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowleged a most expert Generall, and well worthie of the chiefe commaund. But Peueefles, and the other Captaines, guiltie of their owne much infufficiencie, were so transported with enuie, that they could now no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held 40 communication, as youn a necessarie point, how they might finde meanes to mur-

der him. Surely, it is great injuffice to impute the mischiefe, contriued against worthing men, to their owne proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that fmall vices doe ferue to counterpoyfe great vertues; (the fenfe of euillbeing more quicke and lafting, than of good ) yet hee shall bewray a verice foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisedome. to find good reason of the cuills, done to vertuous men, which often times have no other cause than their vertue it selfe. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of lingular courtelle, of a very fweet conversation among his friends, and 50 carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secretill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrewhim, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that hee should not bee flaine, before the battaile were fought with Antigonus, wherein they confessed that it flood best with their safetie, to be governed by his directions. Of this treafon, he was quickly aduertifed by Eudamus, to whom hee had done many pleafures, and by fome others of whom he vice to borrowmonie when he needed not, to to end that they flouid be carefull of his good, for fear of looling their owne. Confidering therefore, and difcourling with himfelfe of the villanie intended againft him, hee made his lait will, and born tall his writings that contained any matter of fecret: which done, her evoluted many things in his minde; being doubtfull what courfe were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more innumber, than in worth. How things at that time stood in Macedon and Greece, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their to helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with Aningonus, had beeneas ainth his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also subject to good, and make shift for himselfeamong his old friendes. At length hee refolued to doe his best against the common remie, and afterwardes to looke to bimselfeas well as he might.

# Q. VI. The last battaile betweene Antigonys and Eymenes.

20

He Souldiers, efectially those old bandes of the filuer-shields, finding Eumene perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and see them in arraie; for the reft, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers fa-

ces, but the chiefe Commanders were so missible inoutly bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke upon being beholding to him for the vistorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly 30

faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horfeman from the fide of Eumenes, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of Antigonus, That their wickednefle, in fighting againft their owne fathers, would now bee punifiled, as it well deferued. This was not fooken in vaine. For the Silver-finele's were men of threefore or feauentie yeares olde, firengthned more by continual lexer-fie, than decade by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be prefented in that fight. Therefore Antigonus his men (who had often beene beaerf by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Auncient and best regarded of all Alexanders Souldiers) grew verie pensitue, and adaunced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and searing that the threatnings vettered would prove true,

Anigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine leuelled field. Placing therfore himselfe and his sonne Demetrius in the right wing, and committing the left wing to Pithon, he did set forward couragiously against the enemies, that

were readie to give him a sharpe entertainment.

Eumenes tooke vnto him Peucesses, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the sace of Antigonus, meaning both to pretuent the Traitours, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sodaine, and (withall) to give proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto Pithen, hee bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, vnder one Philip, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient commanding him to protrast the

fight, and make a leifurable retrait, expecting the euent of the other fide.

So they joyned verie fiercely; Antigonus, labouring to make himfelfe mafter of all ¿Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to winne fuch a victorie vpon his open enemies, as might give him leifure and opportunitie to deale with his falle friends.

The footmen of Anigonus, being, even in their owne opinions, farre interiour to thole whom they must encounter, were at the first brung prefently defeated by the Slunessields, who slew aboue five thoussaid of them, looking of the circowne, not one man. But in horse, Eumenes was so over-matched, that he could not repell Anigonus, who pressed him very hard, but was shinter to stand wholy youn defence. Yet j his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers; that the enemie could not winne one foot of ground ypon him, yntill such time as Peucesses, with one thousind she bundred horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battaile, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backet.

Then did Eumenes desperatly, rush amongst his enemies, labouring to breake open the way vnto Antigome himselfe. And though hee failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter he did so beate vpon them, which came in his way, that the victorie hung a long time in suspense.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandie mould, through the trampling of hords, men, and Elephants, did call vp fuch a cloude of dult, as bin20 dered the prospect, so that no mancould see what was done a little from him. Antigrouns finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passive dudictions are described by the same of his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of sight, slenderly garded, (for that the whole bodie of the Armic lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had Peaesses resident existing the same should be such as the same should be seen to surprise them, & fo haud done as good a peece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where our of danger he might expect the euent: and Euroness was so ouer-laboured both in bodie and minde, that he could not giucan eye to e20 uerv place, being not well able to continue where he was

It happened fo, that the Elephants meeting together, those of Antigonus had the better hand; whereupon Eumens, finding himselfe cuery way ouer-charged, began to gue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other fide of the battaile, where Philip (as hee was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The Antigonum had ich to much of Eumensethat day, that they were well contented to thim depart quietly, and withed not to see him come againe; as faine he would have done.

The loffe of the carriages was reported vnto him, as foone as he had any leifure to hoare how thinges went, whereupon hee prefently ordered his men for a fresh 40 charge, and sent for Peaceles that was not farre off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby hee trusted, not onely to recourt their owne goods, but to inrich themselues with the spoiles of the enemies. Peacestes not onely refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were defirous to returne into their Campes. Yet Antigonus conceiued hope of doing formewhat more; and therefore taking halfe his broffemen, he waited yon Europes apart of his way homewardes, but found no opportunitie to offend him: the other halfe heecommitted to Pithon, willing him to fet you the Sthar-Jivelds in their retrait, which yet he forbare to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended, wherein Antigonus had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot; but the spoile which hee got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

How EVMENES was betrayed to ANTIGONVS, and flaine.



V MENES, comming into his Campe, and finding the Silver-fhields extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheare them vp.and put them in hope of recouering all with advantage. For their braue demeanour that day had fo crushed the enemie, that hee had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leffe able to drawe their Cartes after him, through that great Wilderneffe, ouer the

But these perswasions availed nothing. Pencestes was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; & the Souldiers had no defire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore Teutamus, one of the two Captaines of the Silver-shieldes, (who had in former times readily confented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner Antigenes) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making him felfe great, and winning the lone of those bands, dealt secretly with Antigonus, requesting him to reftore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their feruices in the warres of Philip, and Alexander.

Antigonia, as a fubtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreatie performe a great deale more than they promifed; and therefore he louingly entertained the meffengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they defired, if they would put Eumenes into his handes, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answere pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victorie, than forrow of their loffe, which they faid they would redeeme by another fight; in the middeft of this goodly talke they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his fword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and ftopping their cares against all perswasions, would not yeeld to farre, as to looken one of his handes and let him kill himselfe, but brought him alive (that was their owne Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campeto see him, was so great, that Antigonus was faine to fend a gard of horsemen and Elephants, to keepe him from being fmothered, whom he could not fodainly resolue either to kill or saue. Verie few they were that fued for his life; but of these, Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if hee were faued, he would foon be the chiefe in great reputation, for his great abilitie. So 40 after long deliberation, Antigonus cocluded, that it was the fafeft way to put him to death, which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it awhile in his own power to reverse the sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to have him liue hisfriend; halt of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of the worthie Generall, Eumenes; who had with great wisedome, fidelitie, and patience, laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast downe. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie, but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe in all her changes. Aduerfitie neuer leffened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Armie, 50 without full power to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by Gaspar de Collignie, Admiral of France, in our dayes, to one that foretold his death. which enfued foone after in the maffacre of Paris, That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himfelfe gaue to the body of Eumenes honourable Funeral; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with descrued vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the Silver-fieilas he burntaliue; many of the other Captaines he flew; and to the whole multitude of the Silver-fhields, that had betraied fo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carie them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a privie charge, to confume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aline vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beate upon the shoares of Greece and Macedon.

### d. VIII.

How ANTIGONYS flew PITHON, and occupied MEDIA. How hee removed Governours of Provinces, and made himfelfe Lord of Persia, carrying away PEVCESTES.



He two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentiuely bent vnto the bufineffe enfuing, Pithan began to confider his owne deferuings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefely maintained by the strength and riches of his Pro-

uince. Belides, he thought himfelfe as good a man as Antigonus, vnleffe it were in the fouldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to affay them with great liberalitie. But in following this course, hee was driven by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were unfecret, and others, bearing him no fincere affection. Thus was his purpose discouered to Antizona, who (nothing like to Pithon) diffembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diffention betweene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom hee meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower Asa. These reportes, comming

30 daily to his cares, did finely delude Pithon. By his greatnesse with Alexander: his authoritie in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the fouldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offenfiue warre. But what neede had he to vie the fword, when hee was likely without contention, to obtain more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as foone as he was fent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, and to divide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing leffe than to yeeld to any fuch division. As foone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and flaine out ofhand. For Antigonus, having begunne with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe 40 indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carclesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in Media, to order the Prouince; and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authoritie, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into Fersia, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of Alia. There began he to show how well he understood his owne might inesse. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Gouernours in all Provinces; leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, excepting fuch as lay too farre off to bee 50 diflodged eafily.

Pencestes, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheare to redeeme old offences; but was deceived; having to doe with one, that could not be taken with fuch baites: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer tooke effeet. Thus he, that equied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine)

the fortune of his enemie; after which he lined a contemptible life, till hee died obfeurely a man forgotten.

How Selevevs was thised out of Babylon, by Anticonvs. The great riches of Anticonvs.

RepErreces was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to

time continued in the fame tenor of good-will to Intigenus, and 10 now gaue proofe of his heartie affection toward h m, by making the Captaine of the Caltle of Sufa to meete him on the way, rendring vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein behowed. I his offer was fo great, that Antigonia (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleiue it; but vsed him with excessive kindnesse, tor teare so good a moode should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of cilexander, with the lewels of the Perfun Kings, which, added to his former flore of money, made up twentie fine thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himfelfe a happie man, if riches were fufficient to happineffe. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent, to leave no 20 Countrie behind his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Sourraigne Lord. Comming to Babylon, he was entertained by Sciencus with all possible demonstration of loue, and bonoured with prefents, befeeming the maieffic of a King. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the renenues of that Province. This demand Seleneus held virteafonable; faying, that it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was given vnto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerfull; who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessitie, moued Antigonus to presse him thus, but 20 onely the defire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such iffue, as Pithon and Penecifes had done. Therefore taking with him onely fiftie horse, he conneied himselfe away, and fled into Ptolomies Dominions; defiring him to protect him from the violence of fuch a man, as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equals. Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded ynto him without battaile, whereas to fight with Selenens for them hee wanted all pretences and to kill him it was not his delire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the Childenss brought a strange prophecie to Anigonus, bidding him looke well to 40 himselfe, and know, that if Selenens did cscape his hands, hee should recover Bidslen, yea, winne all Afia, and kill Antigonus in battaile. Eafie belieuers may give credit to this tale. Had it beene true, methinkes, anigonus rather thould have hanged those Childrens, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than fent purfuers (as they fay that he did) after him, whome the destinies presented for so great purposes,

When hee had fetled things at Babylon, he tooke his journie into Cilicia, where he wintred. There hee tooke vp ten thousand talents more of the Kings treafures, and casting his accounts, found his yearely income to amount vnto cleauen thoufand Talents.

## CHAP. V.

Of the great civill Warre betweene ALEXANDERS

Captaines: and how they assumed the name and

state of Kings.

¿. I.
The combination of PTOLOMIE, CASSANDER, and others, against ANTI-

GONVS. Their demands and his answer.



HIS great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonias dreaded, entited, and fulpected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. Ptolomie, Caffander, and Lysimachus, had privily combined them-selues together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practifes hee had fome notice; the good entertainement giuen vnto Seleucus, giuing him fufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them feuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their

loue toward him, that would be readic to require them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hafty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomie; it being likely that a good armie should prevaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, and was encountred by Embaffage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victorie, obtained against Eumenes their common enemie, and the honor that he had therby gotten. In which 30 war, for a fmuch as they being his Confederates must have endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole estates, if the contrarie faction had prevailed; they held it very iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voiage, wherin they had been all aductivers. Wherefore they defired him, that making betweene them all an equall divilion, of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would alfotake some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best beet to euery ones liking, if hee would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Caffander; and Phrygia, bordering vpon the Hellesport, to Lysimachus; for wheras his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victoric, he might well spare some of those westerne Prouinces, 40 to those that were seated in the West. As for Ptolomic, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his owne Territories. Prouided alwaies, that Seleucus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driuen fo iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet bee able to redeeme peace when soeuer he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of fuch bad friends, for feare only, leaft it should be taken from him perforce. Ra-50 ther he hoped that he should be able to find them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profits of that victorie, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeede they had alreadic sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his meanes kept

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their gouernments, wherof they were like to be dispossessed by Polysperchon, and the councell of chate in Misselon. But what meruaile was it, if they confidered not how he had faued them, feeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging fuccour, he was by his meere bountie relicued, and enabled to get all that he now held? Caffander did not (faid he) in those daies command me to furrender Prouinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers (ake) defired me to pittic him, and help him against his enemies; which I did; by lending him an Armie, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now prefumes to threaten me. As for Seleucus, how can be complaine of wrong, that durft not flay to pleade his right? I did vie him well; but his confeience told him that he 10 had deferred ill; else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly instific. I am now in the way to Spria, meaning to examine Ptolonies proceedings; and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

¿. I I.
The preparations and beginnings of the Warres.

Hen the Embaffadors were difmiffed with this answere, nothing was thought vpon but warre. Intigonus perceining that he should ben 20 inuaded from Europe, as soone as hee were entred into Syria; left his Neyhew Picionic to guard the Sea-coasts, and hinder Cassader from landing in Asia: giuing himalso in charge, to drive out of Caspadacia

fome that were alreadic fent ouer to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and Cyprus, not vnfurnished of monie, to draw friends to his side, and raife vp troubles to his enemies. Effecially he laboured to make himfelfe the strongeft by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journie into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanus, which affoorded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, having creeted Beacons, and laid post-horsesthroughoutall Asia, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, 20 he intiaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to main-

Ptolomie lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their natural! Lord : his other Proninces hee kept with a few Garrifons, better feruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemie. So Amizonus tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Countrie, and beganne to fet great numbers of Artificers on worke in making thips, which was one of his most carnest cares. In these bulinesses hee consumed a yeare and three moneths; notidly. For he tooke toppe, and Gaza, which were veelded vnto his diferetion, and wellvfed. The strong Citie of Trus held out long, 40 but was compelled in the end, by famine, to render it felfe vpon composition, that Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomie was not affeepe, whileft thefe things were in doing, though he kept himfelfe within the bounds of Egypt, as indeede it behoued him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against Antigonus in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuerthelesse by Sea (where his enemie was as yet vnreadie) he fent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof Selenens had the chiefe command.

Selenens paffed with an hundred faile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Antigonus, and his Armie, to their no litle discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which 50 was then gouerned by many pettie Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to Piolomie; the rest were, by the Factors of Antigonus bought for him with gold but now redeemed by the Agyptian with sharpe steele.

The same commoditie of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called

alfo Callander, but not the fonne of Antipater, how focuer by the painefull and learned writer Reinerus Reinescius, he is by fome ouer-light, counted for the fame) to declare for Ptolomie, and his Confederates, and bufily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutralitie, and thereby enjoyed reft; burnow her threw himfelfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vidergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have over-whelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten all the reft.

Howeach partie fought to winne the afiftance of Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Cassander. Alexander the some of Polysperciion renolteth from ANTIGONVS, who had let him up.

N the meane feafon all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide which way socuer it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the first Antigonus sped fo well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the La-cedamonians, and other Peloponnesians, of whom he waged eight thoufand, and caused Polysperchon (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse

20 himselfe againe, and taking voon him the title of Captaine of Peloponnesus, to make head against Cassander.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make Callander the more odious, hee called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greekes and Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, That Cassander had very cruelly slaine Olympias, mother to the great Alexander; and not herewith contented, had thut up in close prison the poore Ladie Roxane, Alexanders wife, and his sonne begotten on her bodie. That all this proceeded from a defire to make himfelfe King ouer the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Ladie Theffalonica; Daughter to King Philip, a match

30 vnfit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, Philip, and Alexander, hee had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Philip, in a new Cittie by him built, and called by his owne name Casandria; and had reedified the Citic of Thebes, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was leuclied with the ground by the victorious hand of Alexander. For these reasons hee required them to make a decree, that Cassander should restore to absolute libertie the Ladie Roxane, and her sonne; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire (by which name Antigonus himselfe was understood) or esse should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece 40 should be restored into freedome; this he did, not because he was carefull of their

good, but for the neede which he had of their affiltance. These things being decreed, Antigonus was perswaded, that not only the Greeks would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from Castander; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing, but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and thinke him the most faithfull of all others to the Roiall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wife to be deceined with vaine shewes. His vndertaking for the libertic of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got easie beliefe, in regard of his present hatred to Cassander. Yet herein also Ptolomic strone to be as car-50 nest as he, making the like decree, in hope to winne to himselfe that valiant Nation, which affoorded men farre more feruiceable in warre, than were to be found in any

Prouince of the Empire. And this indeed was the point, at which both fides aimed. Wherein Antigonus thinking to make all fure, deceived himfelfe, not without great cost. For he gaue to Yyyy 2

Alexander the sonne of Polyspershon fine hundred talents, willing him to set the warre on foot in Peloponne us, whereby it might appeare, that on his fide was meant

nothing elfe, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnelius, Callanders men had, with much bloud-flied, grieuoufly afflicted the contrarie faction; and he himselfe perceiuing, that they were more easily spojled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way, to make what yse he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiping that Alexander came furnished with plentic of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to winne the doubtfull, but to corrupt fuch as might feeme best affured : hee thought it a good part of wisedome, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not affure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he sent one to deale with Alexander, about the matters in controuerfic; letting him know, that Antigomas was very skilfull in fetting men together by the cares, not caring who prevailed. but only deliring to have them wearie themselves, whilesthe was busied elswhere; that so at length he might finde oportunitie to set vpon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keepe in his purse the fine hundred Talents which he had, and without ftroke ftricken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponne (145; it should be freely put into his hands by Cassander. Provided, that hee should from thenceforth, renounce all confederacie made with Antigonia, and enterinto a fure and faithfull league with Ptolomie, Caffander, and the rest of the Confederates. O- 20 therwise, hee might well perswade himselfe, that the Countrie which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in hafte be wonne by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with Antigonus fince the beginning of these wars : among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, ( which hee did not carrie verie secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that league. whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he loft both it and his life toge- 20 ther, by treason of the Sieyonians; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by Cratespolis, Alexanders wife, a difcreet and valiant Ladie. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death crucified thirtie of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by seneritie taught them obedience, did af-terwards containe her Armie in good order, and governed those places that shee held, with the loue and commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

### ð. IIII.

The Atolians rife against CASSANDER in favour of ANTIGONYS, and are beaten. A fleet and land-armie of ANTIGONVS, viterly defeated by PTOLOMIES Lieutenant. In what termes the warre food at this time. ANTIGONVS drawes nearer to Greece.



NTIGONVS, when he found, that with fo much monie he had only bought an enemie, beganne to raife troubles to Caffander and his other aduersaries, in Greece, by stirring vp the Ætolians against them; Likewise he laboured to winneto his partiette Ilands in the Greeke Seas, by whose affishance he might bee the better able to deale with

Ptolomie, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious Nation, and alwaics enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but fo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their loffes. Caffander wanne fome of their owne Countrie; fortified the Acarnanians against them, and compelled Glaucias, King of the Illyrians, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himfelfe to beare no armes against Caffanders friends.

On the other fide, as many pettic llands were drawne to ioyne with Antigonus: fo the Fleet of the Rhodians vnder Theodatus, who was Admirall to Antigonus, paffing along the coast of Alistoward Cyprus, with an Armie vnder conduct of Perilaus marching on the shore for mutuall affistance, was quite ouerthrowne by Ptolomies Nanie. Polyclytus, who in Ptolomies behalfe had beene fent into Peloponnelius against 10 Alexander, finding no neede of his service in that Countrie, because Alexander was

come ouer to their fide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprised. Hee rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces hee placed in ambush, whereinto Perilaus falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were flaine, making little relistance. Theodatus the Admirall perceiping this, made all hast to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whilest hee with all his Fleet were intentiue only to that businesse, Polyclytus appeared at their backs; who as foone as he perceived their diforder, haftened about the Cape, and charging them behinde suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings 20 caused Antigonus to deale with Ptolomie about some composition. First, hee sent Embaffadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld vnto

the demands of Ptolomie: fo the parlie was vaine. Hitherto each part feemed to have indifferently feed in the Warre, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and seare. This late victorie with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to Ptolomie for his losses in Syria. Likewise the repolt of alexander from Anisonus did equall the Consederacie, made betweene the Atolians and him; as also those petries kirmishes, that had beene in Alia the leffe, to Antigonus his advantage, were fufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduer fe to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in

30 those parts by the two Cassanders.

Contrariwife, Intigonus valued the loffe of his men, monic, and ships, no otherwisethan as the paring of his nailes, that were left long crough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territoric by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby hee had fed vpon a limbe of Ptolomie his enemie, and strengthened the bodie of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceede as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies upon Asia the 40 leffe; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to seare, left the people, being tied vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon small occafion report from him, to men of as honorable reputation as hee himselfe. To preuent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in perfon, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Armie in Syria, under his sonne Demetrius, to whom, being then but two and twentie yeares old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as affilt.nts, or rather as Directors: the reft he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

HOW LYSIM ACHVS and CASSANDER Vanauilled Some enemies, raised against them by ANTIGONVS. The good successe of ANTIGONVS in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against

He comming of Intigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the procedle of his bufinefle thereabouts. For his enemies had thort leifure to thinke vpon molefting him in Asia: they themselves 10 were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe fide. Seuthes a

King of the Thracians, joyning with some Townes that rebelled against Ly/imachus, brought also the bordering Seythians into the quarrell. All these relied vpon Antigonus, who was to helpe them with monie, and other aide. The Etolians likewife tooke courage, and role against Cassander, having Ancides, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their affistant. But Ly/machus gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee sodainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne to their dutie. He fought a battaile with the Soythians, and wild Thracians, and draue them out of the Countrie. Finally, he ouer-came Seuthes; and following the heat 20 of his victorie, flew Paufanias in battaile, whom Antigonus had fent ouer with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like fuccesse had Philip, Cassanders Lieutenant, against the Etolians. For he wasted their Countrie; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them; and after the victorie, fought againe with their forces io yned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing \* Eacides that vnfortunate King. Finally, hee draue the \* Etolians out of most of their Countrie, and forced them to seeke their safetie among the wild Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present Warre.

Yet thele actions required fome time, and wearied Antigonus his aduerfaries 30 with painefull trauaile; after which they remained only fauers. Antigonus himfelfe at faire leifure wanne all Caria the whileft, and fent Armies into Pelaponnelius. and other parts of Greece, bestowing libertie upon all the Cities he tooke out of Cals fanders hands. The whole Countrie of Peloponne fus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Ile of Eubaa, and many places of the firme Land were by these meanes wonne to be his in true and vehement affection, readie to doe or fuffer any thing for him, that had made so cuident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the libertie indeede, which others promifed in idle words. Many States defirous of the fame benefit, would faine have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by Cylinders Garrifons, who was too wife to truft them loofe. Therefore Antigonus 40 made thew as if he would paffe ouer into Macedon : by which terror he forced Caffander to repaire thither in all hafte, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Townes of Greece fo weakely guarded, that well they might take courage to helpe themselves, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they defired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of Antigonus, taking the advantage of Cassanders departure, entred the Countrie; draue his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thehes, and let the people at libertie. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thehes had not long before beene raifed out of her old ruines by the meere power of Caffander; of which act hee was accused by Antigonus, as if it had beene 50 fome hainous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus winnerth the Citic, and the loue of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainely they extend beyond all measure,

than backward vpon their miferable nullitie, that held them vncapable of being

Victories of PTOLOMIE by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which PTOLOMIE and SELEVCUS wanne, against DENE-TRIVS the Sonne of ANTIGONVS.



'S the presence or nearenesse of Antigonus gaue life to his affaires in the lower Alia, and Greece; fo the delignes of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceding bee had ouer-

topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wanered betweene contrarie affections, inclining one while to Antigonus, another while faintly regarding their couenant with Prolomie, was visited by an Agyptian fleet, wherewith Ptolomie, in his owne person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting fome to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own 20 appointment, Gouernour of the whole Countrie. With the same fleet he ranne alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria and Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loden to Cyprus. Demetrius the sonne of Antigonia, hearing frequent reports of the mileries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all hast out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did he tire himselfe and his followers, in hastie seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deepe could in a few minutes delude the labour of fo many dayes, if neede had forequired. Answerable to the vanitie of this expedition was the succeffe. For Ptolomic was gone, before Demetrius came into Cilicia. Neither was it cer-30 taine, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in Crprus, hee would returne vponthole maritime Countries; or make toward Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeede gone into Egypt, and there with Seleucus was deferibing aroyall Armie, which he leuied with all convenient speede, for the recouerie of Syria. This was more than Demetrius knew. Therefore he was faine to choose our of vicertainties the most likelyhood, and returne the way that hee came, with all his companies, which were fitter for feruice in the open field, than to be beflowed in Garrifons among the Cilicians. Hee had fearce refreshed his Men and Horses in Syria, when the newes arrived of Peolomies comming with a puiffant Armie, to give him battaile. Hereupon he called to counfaile his principall friends, who aduised 49 him to give way to the time, and expect some better oportunitie in the future: being a yong man, and weakely furnished with meanes to refist such ancient and famous Generalls, as Ptolomie and Seleucius. This counfaile feemed rather to proceede from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For Demetrius considering himselfe to beethe fonne of Antigonus, and now Generall of his Fathers Armie, thought his owne title waightic enough to bee laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as infufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promifed as much as could be required. Therefore perfuading himfelfe, that fuch ods 50 of number, and of great fame, would rather ferue to adorne his victorie, than hinder Arabia.

him in obtaining it, hee refolued to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as foone as they had finished their wearisome journic ouer the Deserts of

together.

Ptolomie and Seleucus ithing out of forich a Prounce, as Egypt, came to well

prouided of all necessaries, that their Armie felt not any great gricuance of the cuill

way, when battaile was prefented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all

things elfe they had the ods of Demetrius; of Elephants they were veterly unpro-

uided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had pre-

pared a kinde of Palifado, faftened together with chaines, and fharpened in fuch manner, that the Elephants could not feeke to breake younit, without receiving

much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in

multitude) were heartened with many fortunate feruices, by them performed that

long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein Demetrius was embattailed. The fight beganne, and was maintai-

ned with equall courage, for a long time, each part striuing more to winne honour,

than to satisfic any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But

after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of Deme-

triue, who vpon no necessitie would needes fight a battaile with disaduantage, be-

ganne to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, having

more to loofe by her than he could get: but in this fight flice was idle, and left all

to be decided by firong hands; vnleffe it may be faid, that the terror brought vpon

of warre hardly to be relifted on plaine ground, and therefore at the first they made

great spoile amongst Ptolomies men. A fterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were forely hurt, and cucrie one of them taken. This disaster caused the

Horsemen of Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till

now perceiuing that all must lie vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their

owne places good, they beganne to shrinke, and many of them to provide for their

fafetie by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius

had strough fo long in vaine to make his menabide, that hee himselfe was likely to

be loft; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as farre as

of his carriages was in Gaza, whither forme of his companie turned afide, hoping to

faue fuch goods, as in haft they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their

destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter Horses, and cloied up the gates, thronging, some

to get in and fetch, others, to carrie out what they had alreadie loden, Polomies Ar-

mie brake in without relistance, taking them with their goods and the Citie al-

This victoric restored vnto Ptolomie the best part of Syria, a Prouince more casie

Selencus. For betweene Gaza and Phanicia no place offered relistance. In Calelyria 40

in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of

and Phanicia, some townes held out a while, but were soone taken in by Ptolomie.

Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given

vp by the Inhabitants; Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutinie against their Ca-

ptaine; who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardo-

ned by Ptolomie, and honorably entertained, in respect of his fidelitie.

to Azotus, which was about thirtie miles from the place of battaile. A great part 30

his men, by the loffe of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beafts were in that kind 20

yeare, whileft the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine journies, or 10

d. VII.

How SELEVCUS recovered Babylon, and made bimfelfe Lord of many Countries in the higher Alia. The ARA of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which beganne with this Dominion of SELEVEVS.

Hile Ptolomie followed his businesse with such prosperitie, Seleucus tooke leave of him, and went vp to Babylon, to trie his owne fortune; which hee found so fauourable, that recouring first his owne Prouince, hee became at length mafter of the better part of Alexanders

This expedition of Seleucus was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His traine of no more then eight hundred foote, and two hundred horse, a number too small, to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those mainegreat Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Afia. But little force is needfull, to make way into ftrong places, for him that alreadie stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Seleucus was enough; whom the Babylomans had found fo good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to relift him; 20 but left that worke to Antigonus his owne men, withing them, ill to speede. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Enlignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and fubmitted themselues ioyfully to Seleucus. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should iffue forth into the field, and triethe matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemie, with more then a thousand Souldiers following him, so difmaied the rest, that 30 they did no more than feeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the

Holtages and Prifoners, that Antigonus held for his fecuritie in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. Seleneus quickly tooke it; and fo got the entire possession of Melopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Emplirates he had not done the like: for his owne great Armie lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victorie at Gaza, had opened vnto Selencus the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. 49 Hauing now gotten what he fought; it behoued him to feeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too fmall, and his friends were ill able to lend himany more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his Armie in Media, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came with ten thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to drive Seleneus out of that which he had wonne.

Against this power, Seleucus had only foure hundred horse, and somewhat aboue three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large conquest of vnwarlike Nations having yeelded him many louing subjects, but few souldiers. There-50 fore when his enemies were neare to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himselfe from the place where his reliftance was expected, into certaine marilhes not farre off; where he lay fecretly waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that hee had beene fled, and was the leffe carefull in fortifying his campe. In recompence of this vaine securitie, his campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrivall;

ð. VII. 50

the Satrapa, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with fundrie of the Captaines, were flaine, he himselfe was driven to flee for his life into the Deserts; and the whole Armie yeelded vnto Selencus: whose gentle demeanour, after the victorie, drew all Media, Sufiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lordwithout any further stroke stricken.

This victorie of Seleucus gaue beginning vnto the new file, of The Kingdome of the Greekes, an accompt much vied by the lewes, Chaldaans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeare of this Era. The authoritie of that great Astrologer Ptolomie, from which, there is Piol.A'mag.lin no appeale, makes it plaine, that the fine hundred and nineteenth yeare of NABONAS-10

SAR, was the fourescore and two years of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is L. Gaurie, in an- needleffe, than that note of the learned GAVRICVS, That the first of these reares notat. ad lunm was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirtie and eight yeares after NABONASSAR. With the observation of the Saturne, recorded by Ptolomie, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding the fame Planet to have beene so placed in the signe of Virgo, as the Chaldeans had observed it, in the same yeare; which was from Nabonassar the fine hundred and mineteenth; from Seleucus the fourescore and two yeare; and the last of the hundred thirtie and seuenth Olympiad. These observations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences 20 in Historie, and the yeares of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthic of note; that these yeares of the Greekes, were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appeares in the difference of one yeare, that is found betweene actions, related by the feuerall Authors of the two Bookes of the Machabees, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolomie, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeares distance.

### d. VIII.

How PTOLOMIE lost all that he had wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed onto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subiect unto the Persian Empire. Of divers pettie enterprizes, taken in hand by ANTIGONVS and DEMETRIVS, with ill successe.



N a happie houre did Seleucus aduenture, to goe vp to Babylon, with fo few men as his friend could then well spare : for had he staied longer 40 vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, Ptolomie could have spared him none at all, Demetrius the sonne of antigonus, having lost the battaile at Gaza, received from Ptolomie all his owne goods, his Pages, and Ser-

uants, in free gift, and therewithall a curteous message, to this effect: That no perfonall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which hee and his Confederates held with Antigonus; but only termes of honour, wherein they would feeke to right themselues after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of Ptolomie, did kindle in Demetrius an earnest desire, of requiting him, with some as braue liberalitie. Which to effect, he gathered together 50 the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could bee spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts; and advertising his Father of his misfortune, befought him to fend a new fupply, wherewith he might redceme his honour loft. Antigonus, vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said,

That the victoric which Ptolomie wanne vpon a beardleffe Boy, should bee taken from him by bearded men: yet voon delire that his sonne, whom hee tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, He was content to make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolomic hearing of Demetrius his preparations, did neuertheleffe follow his owner butinefle in Catefyriz; thinking it enough, to fend part of his Armie vnder Cilles his Licutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been ealreadie vanquished, when their forces were entire. I his peraduenture would have beene sufficient: had nor Cilles too much undertualised the power of fuch an Enemie. Hee thought that this yong Gallant, having lately faued his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of to baning a faire way at his back, than adventurous in fetting further forward, then vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were alreadic Mafter of the field, and should meete with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When Demetrius was informed of this careleffe march; he tooke the lightest of his Armic, and made his journie with fuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon Cilles vnexpected, and was on the fuddaine, without any battaile, Mafter of his Campe: taking him aline, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repaire the credit of Demetrius, which his losse at Gaza had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bountie of 20 Ptolomie, with equal fauor, in refloring to him Cilles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was Ptolomie so weakned by this losse, nor Demetrius so emboldened by his victorie, that any matter of consequence therevpon enfued. For Demetrius feared the comming of Ptolomie; and therefore he fortified himfelfe in places of advantage: Ptolomic on the other fide was loath to engage himfelfe in an enterprise, wherein he might perceiue, that if the comming of Antiganus found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shamefull retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more

than alreadie he possessed. Antigonus, indeede, was nothing flow in his way towards Syria; whither hee 30 made all hafte, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the yong man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victorie, he brought such forces, as might serue to re-conquer all Syras: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, laied by his sonne; whom from this time forwards, he imploied

in matters of greatelt importance. Profamic had now leffe reason, to encounter with Antigonia, than before his comming to hane affailed the Campe of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of confulration; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines adulfed him to retire into segrept; all eaging many good arguments, to that purpose: which they might well perceive to bee agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against Perdiceas, in the like defensive warre, So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any fuddaine passion of seare: and he departed at faire leifure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to difmantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrie that he left at his back, fell presently to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by peeces: fo casic was it in those times, for the Captaine of a strong Armie, to make himselfe Lord of a great

50 Prouince. We may inftly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other Nations, (which the victorie of Alexander had ouer-runne, with fo haftie a courfe, as gaue him not leifure to take any good view of them) were so cassly held not only by himfelfe, but by the Captaines of his Armie after him. The hot contentions for superioritie betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damajeus; betweene Agypt, and Babylon; Babylon, and Niniue; the Persians, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themfelues to be distributed, fought for, wonne, lost, and againe recoursed, by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appeare the more firange, if wee thall consider, how the seuerall States of Greece (many of which had never posselled to large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their abilitie) did greedily embrace all occasions of libertie : and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, defiring to have them rather friends than feruants, for feare of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries, had alwaies beene subject vnto the rule of Kings, or pettic Lords; whom the Babylomans and Persians long fince hadrooted out, & held them in fuch bodage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from the mall remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: fo that wanting within themselves al soueraign power, or high authoritie, the life and spirit of enery Estate; then lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the Persian Satrapa, or Princes of that Empire, did not when Darius was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captaines, after the death of Alexander, firine to lay hold vpon those Prouinces, which had many ages beene subject vnto them. and scarce foure yeares in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not ( when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases : it is a question, wherin, who is not satisfied, may finde no leffe reason to suspect the Historie, than authoritie to confirme it. For wee seldome reade, that any finall Kingdome, preuailing against a farre greater, bath made fo entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeares, as left vnto the vanquished no 30 hope of recourrie, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath enfued, by the furie of civill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonian held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set downe by Macedianell; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subject vnto the like forme of Gouernement : the fumme whereof is this. Wherefocuer the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of flaues; there is the conquest casie, and soone affured: Where ancient Nobilitie is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is wonne. Examples of this are the Turkifb Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader should preuaile fo farre vpon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for brethren hee 40 vseth not to suffer aliue) were taken or slaine: the whole Empire would quickly be wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great focuer they may feeme, are meere flaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, where in hope of private gaine, should not countervaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwife, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though hee further got the better part of the Countrie, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Roiall bloud, there are in the Kingdome store of great men; who are mightie in their feuerall Countries, and having certaine Roy- 50 alties and Principalities of their owne; are able to raise Warre, in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobilitie, will alwaies stirre vp and inflame them, so that vntill euery one peece were wonne, and enery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobilitie,

brought vnder or destroyed, the victorie were not compleat, nor well affured. It is true, that fuch power of the Nobilitie, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such affiftants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to bee satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they foone returne to their old allegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they have, vnleffe they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needes not to seare any perill, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The grea-

to tell mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of fome frontier Towne, or the wilfull loffe of a battaile; which done, the Traitor hath front his fling, and must either flic to the enemie, whereby he looseth all that he formerly did hold, or elfe, in hope of doing fome further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Malter, who seldome forgiues the Captaine, that hath not ftriuen by desperate valour, against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so joyning themselves vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than fuch, as are subject vncothem, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth 20 leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing

cftate of their Prince; fo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him affiltance, if aduerlitic should make him stand in neede of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turkes Bassas provinciall Governours, that knowes cither from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loffe and vtter ruine of the Turkifb Empire, can loofe any foot of his proper inheritance, and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdome vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other denice painted on his Enfigne, than the picture of

As is the Turkifb Empire, fo was the Persian, voide of libertie in the Subjects, and veterly destitute of other Nobilitie, than such as depended upon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with Darius, the Sonne of Hyllafjes, in oppresfine the Magi: these were men of reputation in Persia; but their reputation consifted only in their Pedigree, and their fafetic in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little effeemed. In what finall account these Persian Princes wereheld, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cosen Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, Their Slanes, and so did stile themselues, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon cuery light occasion of displea-40 fure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to be discerned, in that example of crueltie, practifed by Xerxes vpon his owne brother Massfees, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the Sairapa, or Governours of the Proninces, it is needlesse to cite examples, proning them to have been meere slaues:

it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuches, by whom the King was gouerned. To this want of Nobilitie in Persia, may be added the generall want of libertie, convenient among the people: a matter no leffe availeable, in making easie and fure the conquest of a Nation, then is the cause assigned by Machianel. For as Alope his Affe, did not care to runne from the enemies, because it was not possible, 50 that they should loade him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him

daily to beare; fo the Nations, that endure the worst under their owne Princes, are not areatly fearefull of a forraigne yoke; Nor will be haltie to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, then was that whereunto they had beene long

accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes beare such faithfull affection. to the Kings of England; for that they gouerned more mildly than the French: this enlarged the Venetian jurisdiction in Lumbardie; for the Townes that they wanne, they wanne out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors : and this did cause the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had beene subject vnto the posteritie of Alexanders followers, to serue the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had beene imposed upon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had beene subjects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could 10 not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeede beene absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Ba-Etrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering vpon Spria: against whom antigonus sent part of his Armie; thinking therewith to bring them vnder; or rather to get a rich bootie. The Captaine that hee fent fell vpon the Nabathaans, at fuch time as they were busied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrrhe, Frankinsence, and other such commodities. All, or most of these rich wares, together with fine hundred talents of filter, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon: for their comming was suddaine, and vnexpected. But ere they could recour Syria, 20 the Nabatheans ouer-tooke them, and hading them wearic with long marches, made fuch a flaughter, that of foure thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse, only fiftie horse escaped. To reuenge this loffe, Demetrius was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not refifted by any Armie, but by the naturall defence of a vast Wildernesse, lack of water, and of all things necessarie. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein heeloft not much honor: for they craued it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabatheans, hee viewed the Lake Alphalities, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raifed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandrie of his fonne, Antigonus was well pleased; and appointed men to the worke: but they were flaine by the Ara- 30 bisns, and fo that hope vanished.

These pettic enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the wood admintage against Ptolomie: when the newes of Seleucus his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loffe of those great and wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the lower After thould have beene exposed, to the danger of ill affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrius, with fifteene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against Seleneus. These forces being sent away, Intigonus did nothing and his sonne did leffe. For Seleucus was then in Media; 40 his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessitie of fight; some places they fortified and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without fetting in Garrison more men than he could spare; neither did hee get much; and therefore was faine to fet out the brauerie of his expedition by burning and spoiling the Countrie; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemie, who thenceforth held it as his owne affured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his sonne a peremptorie commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the surice of the first brunt; or esse it would bee vaine to strine, against all difficulties 50 likely to arife, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by length of time was like to become leffe terrible to the Enemie. Demetrius therefore, leaving behinde him fine thousand foote, and a thousand horse,

rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces, could doe little more than nothing, for looke the enterprise, and went back to his Father.

### ð. I X.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of A LEXANDER was destroyed.



laterenowned King.

Hese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with vnesse-Etuall trauaile, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred but meere

defire of Empire had moved them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneffe growing vpon the flow advancement of their feuerall hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occasion might better

ferue to fight againe. Besides that maine point, Of retayning the Provinces which every one held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse: That the sonne of A LEXANDER by ROXANE, should be made King, when he came to full age ; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at libertie. The advancement of yong Alexander to his Fathers Kingdome, feemes to have beene a matter, forceably extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discouered a purpose, to make himselse Lord of all. But this, indeede, more nearly touched Cassander. For in his custodie was the yong Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in fort anfwerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to have put 30 them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and remenge expected; vpon this conclufion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander : who faw the Mucedonians turne their fauourable expectation, towards the fonne of their

All this, either little concerned Antigonis; or tended greatly to his good. The yong Prince must first haue possession of Macedon: whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poore office, of Captaine ouer a theulandmen, it not left in worse case. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder Aridaus; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ftrength. He in the meane time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselse from that ill-fauoured imputation, of feeking to make himfelfe Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of restoring the Greekes to their libertie-This libertie had hitherto beene the subject of much idle discourse : but it neuer tooke effect. Antigonus held scarce any Towns of theirs; Cassander occupied most of the Countrie : which if he should fit free ; he must be a poore Prince ; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the com-

In the meane season, the Countries lying betweene Enphrates and the Greeke seas, 50 together with a great Armie, and monie enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes, as high as ever they had

With much disaduantage doc many men contend, against one that is equal to Zzzz 2

them all in puissance, Cassanders friends had sett him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can fland out alone, when all the reft are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subjects vnto any man; much leffe to the fonne of an Afratique woman, of whom they had long fince refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himfelfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding up his gonernement, which he must have done when the child had come to age, Roxane was a Ladie of fingular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdicens defired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of alexander, the had yfed the fauour (if it were not love) of Perdicens, to the fatisfying of her owne bloudie malice, vpon Statira, the Daughter of King Darius, whom Alexander had likewife married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wines is held no crime. For having by a counterfait letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands. thee did, by affiltance of Perdiceas, murder her and her Sifter, and threw their bodies into a Well, caufing it to be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were shee and her some made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the neare approching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a 20 wearifome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of Cassinder, was not so much detested in outward thew, a sinwardly it was pleasing into all the reft of the Princes. For now they held themselues free Lords, of all that they had worker them; fearing none other change of their clates, than such as might artie by chance of warre; wherein every one perswaded himselse of successive them the territorial worker. Hereuponal of them (except Lysmachus and selencus, that had work enough at home) beganne to row ze themselues: as is now the time were come, for each man to improve his owne stock. Antigonus his Lieutenants were busine in Peloponnessus, and about testespont: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. Hep pretended the libertie of Greeze: yet did the same argument minster write Deslowne, matter of quartell, against both him and Cassinder. Protomic complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put Garrisons into some Towness, which ought, in saire dealing, to be fet at libertie. Vndereolour of rederesting this enormitie, he fernan Armie into Cissia; where he wan foure Towness, and some after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his

After this, putting to Sea with a flrong fleet, heranne along the coast of Asse, winning many places: and in that voinge allured wro bim an Nephew of Antiganus (agood Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his services) whom 49 sinding shortly, as false to himselfe, as he had beene to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greekes at libertic, appeared not so plaine, as he wilhed that it should for their case was no way bettered, by his molelling Antiganus in Asia. Therefore to get the lone of that valiant Nation, He made at the slaft an expedition into Greekes if sleft where having set tree slower little slands, and landed in Pelapomossus, he raised so great an expectation, of finishing the long desired worke, that Crassipasis, the Widow of Aslexander, Polys exhons some, gaue vp into his hands the Townes of Sisson and Conntb.

Ptolomie had conceiued a vaine beleefe, that the Greekes emboldened by his countenance and alfillance, would all of them take heart, and rife vp in armes: where-50 yo with litle labour, their libertie might be gotten; and hee bee acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long fernitude had well-neare extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune; in many likely attempts to

recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pur-

The Lacedamonians, about these times, beganne to fortisse their Towne with walls; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that vpheld it, were too much impaired) that had beene a wall to their Towne and Territoric.

The Athenians were become as humble ferruants as they had been, in times paft, infolent Maßers: creeting as many flatuaes in honor of Demetrius Phalereus, as there were dayes in their yeare. This Demetrius was now their Gouernour; and he gouerned them with much moderation: but in flight of their hearts, as being fit of une tribudy Defallment. By this bafe temper of the principall Cities, it is eafle to gather, how the reft of the Countrie flood affected. Protomic could not get them, to fet their helping hands, to their owne good, and to furnish them with the promifed fupplies, of monic and victualls. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldome; as judging the commoditie, that would arife by an exing them to his patite, a matter of more weight, than the lofte that Culfunder should receive thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once Antigonus tooke the worke in hand. But when he tound fuch difficultie in the bulinefie, he changed his purpose; and retenging his former triendship with Culfunder, he retained Si-

eyon and Corimb in his owne policifion.

Before the comming of Ptolomie into Greece, Cassander had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) he found meanes to allure vnto himselse, the Lieutenants of Antigomus, that were in Peloponness, and about Helessons in making his owne aduantage, of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practife, Hee freed himselse from a greater danger: and made those murders which he had committeed seeme the lefte odious, by teaching his enemiest odo et helike. Old Possipersbon, that had made so great a stirre in the raigne of Aridaus, did after the death of Roxane and her Child, enteragaine vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great Alexander, and meaning to place hom in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this yong Prince was Hereules: hee was begotten on Bar/me, the Daughter of Arshazum a Perlim; but had beene lefte eftermed than the fonce of Barsine, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elfe perhaps, in regard of the fauour which Perdiceat, and after him Olympias, did beare vnto Barsine. At this time, the death of his brother, had moued fuch compallion, and regard of his being Alexanders only liuing child, had procured vnto him fuch good will, that the demand which Polylperchon made in his behalfe, was deemed very juft and honorable. There were indeed em more hearts then hands, that joyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not fufficent flrength of hands, if the heart of him, that leaft ought, had not beene most falle. Calfunder had raifed an Armic, to 40 with fland his entrie into Alexedon: but little trult could he repoie in that Armic, to

whose wishes he perceived to be with tiercules. Therefore he affaired pelyspectum himselfe, with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he preuailed so farre, that the old Vilaine was contented to murder his Pupil, choosing rather with many curses, and sowledishonour, totake the offered Lordship of Pelopoungius, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble same with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, wito both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Anizonus had not all this while beenea-fleepe; though his loffes were hitherto the chiefe witneffes, of his hauing beenea fittret in thefe commotions. He though it it enough for him at the prefent, to retaine his owne; and therefore tooke order for the recourse of those places, which Ptolomie had taken paines to winne. As for the

50 the recourse of thole places, which Plainme had taken painted so white. And the reft, it no way grieued him, to fee Calfander incurre the generall harred of men, by committing those murders, of which the profit was like to redound vnto him, that was the most powerfull: or to fee Polyspershow and Protomic Sweat, in a builte warre against

against Cassander. If they would have continued their quarrells, he could well have affoorded them leifure, and have thought the time well fpent, in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perfwaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtic conceipts, he demeaned himfelfe among his followers; looking bigge vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them, to revolt from him; but it was no great loffe to bee for faken by those that looked with engious eyes, you that fortune, whereon their owne should have depended. Against this envic of his owne men, and the malice of others, Antigonus bufily fought a remedie, fuch as 10

was like to give him a goodly title, to the whole Empire. Cleopatra, Sifter unto the great Alexander, lay for the most part in Sardes; whom he had a great defire to take to wife. This his defire was not without good hope: for howfocuer thee discouered much willingnesse thereufito, yet was shee in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsive meanes; either because his faincie being an old man, was not ouer violent; or rather because his ambition, wherevnto all his affections had reference, could have made finall vse of her, by doing fuch apparent wrong. Shee had beene married vnto Alexander King of Epirm, atter whose death shee came to her brother in Asia; hoping, belike, to finde a new 20 husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himfelfe with prouiding her of an husband. Shee therefore, being a lustie widow, suffered her bloud, so farre to prevaile against her honour, that shee supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Parramours. Alexander hearing of this, turned it to a jest: faying, that shee was his fifrom a month of the allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many feeke to obtaine her, while thee her felfe defired only a proper man, with whom thee might lead a merie 30 life. To this purpose did shee inuite Leonatus vnto her; who made great haste: but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, shee had her choise of all the great Commanders: Antigoniu, Ptolomie. Lylimachus, and Cassander, being all her earnest wooers. All these (Antigoniu excepted) had wines alreadic, Ptolomie had many wines, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kinde. This hindred not his fute: peraduenture it advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra, some hope of mutuall tolleration. To him therefore shee bequeathed her selfe, and was taking her journie from Sardes towards him; when Antigonus his Deputie in that Citie, made her to flay, vntill his Mafters further pleasure should be knowne. Anti- 40 gonus had now a Woolfe by the cares: he neither could well hold her, nor durft let her goe. Shee would not be his wife; he had none honeft pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had beene the way, by which he might have incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by Cassander against Roxane (a Ladie leffe respected than Alexanders owne sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wifest way, to procure her death: for to let any other enion the commoditie of so faire a title to the Kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouernour of Sardes; willing him in any case to docit secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as 50 mischieuous conspirers, against the life of that good Ladie. So was Antigonus freed from blame, at the leaft, in his owne opinion: but the world was leffe foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we neede not aske: for seldome

is that bloudie crime vnreuealed; and neuer fo ill fmothered, as when great perfons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of Philip and A'exander the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due vnto the crueltie, of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyranes, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were foone after cast downe, ouer-whelming themselues or their children, with the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

How DEMETRIVS, the Sonne of ANTIGONVS, gane libertieto Athens, expelling the Garrisons of CASSANDER out of those parts. The immoderate honors decreed by the Athenians to ANTIGONVS and DENETRIVS.

One being left aline, that had any title to the Kingdome; it flood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, thould freely professe themselues Kings in name, as they were alreadie in fubfiance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbeare it : nei-

ther feemed it convenient in the judgement of Antigonus, to crownehis last action with fuch a title, as if he had attained vnto greatneffe by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therefore to vndertake a plaufible enterprife, euen the libertie of Greece: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honor as would not only drowncall bad rewas apparent; trace the inight equal to any name of roialtic, whereof in feeming ports, but make him be thought equal to any name of roialtic, whereof in feeming modellie, hee was not couctous. To this purpofe, hee deliuered a ftrong Armic, 30 with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie faile, and fine thousand talents of liluer, vnto Demetrius his sonne: willing him to beginne at Athems, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to Athens before he was expected: fo that without refistance he entred the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of Ptolomie, Caffanders good friend, had beene arrived. But when it was knowne, both who he was, and what was the cause of his comming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; Demetrius Phalereus forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to Thebes, vnder lafe conduct; only the Garrison in Munychia stroue to make good that piece, which after a while was wonnevpon them by force. During the liege of Munychia, Deme-

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly firaine themselves, to the observance of generall commended rules; in leffer things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Ladie Crasesipolis lay in Patras, and had a great defire to fee Demetrius, hoping, belike, that she might, by his meanes, better her effate, and recouer her Townes of Sycion and Corinth, detained by Ptolomie (to whose Lieutenant, in those places, Demetrius before his de-30 parture out of Greece, offered monie for the furrender of them. Yet the only buffnesse pretended was loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrie of Megara, and taking a companie of his lightest armed, for guard of his perfon, made a long journie to meete with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a

ò. X I.

The great victorie of DEMETRIVS against PTOLOMIE in Cyprus. How An-TIGONVS and DEMETRIVS tooke upon them the file of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

Rom this glorious worke, Antigonus called away Demetrius, vnto a bulinesse of greater difficultie: meaning to imploy his seruice against Ptolomic in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed, to establish a generall Counfaile; that should treat of matters, concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the fame time, An-

tigonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Imbros, committing their libertic entire, into the peoples hands: whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other, to oppresse the Greekes, so would be be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground voon his

A pittifull Tragedic had lately hapned in Cyprus; through the indiferction of Menelaus, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant in that Ille. Nicodes , King of Pa-20 phos, was entred into some practice with Antigonus: yet not so farre that he thought himselse past excuse; by which considence, he was perhaps, the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false hearted King of Paphos at one blow. Menelaus was fent thither: who furrounding Nicoeles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolomies name, to have him yeelded to the death. Nuocles offered to clear himselfe; but Menelaus told him, that die he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie, caused the vnhappie King, to rid himselfe of life and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that shee not only slew her selfe, but perfwaded the wines of her husbands brethren, to doe the like. Also those brethren of Nicocles, vnto whom Ptolomie had intended no ill, being amazed with the 30 fuddamenesse of this calamitie, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consu-. medit, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

What socuer the crime objected was; Nicocles perished as a maninnocent, because he was not suffered to make his answere. Of this sad accident, though Menelaw described the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet is it to bee thought, that much dislike fell also vpon Ptolomie : as men that are grieued, cast an ill assection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power fufficient, against any opposition that Ptolomie was like to make. The Cypriots did litle or nothing against him; either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter 40 indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being surethat they should not themseliues haue the rule of their owne Countrie. Menelaus therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with Demetrius. But hee was beaten, and driven to faue himfelfe within the walls of Salamis; where he was so hardly befieged, that without frong fuccour hee had no likelihood to make good the place, much leffe to retaine possession of the whole lland. His greatest helpe at the present, was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could winne from him, nor good vlage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercinaries: but all their goods were in Agypt, which was enough to 50 keepethem faithfull. Yet could not this their refolution have flood long, against the ods of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and against his terrible

Engines of batterie, if Ptolomie had not hasted to the rescue. Prolomie brought with him, a hundred and fortic Gallies, besides two hundred

great way from his Tent, that none might fee her when thee came. As closely as the bulinesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might ouerthrow all the great preparations of Antigonus; and bring him to any termes of reafon, by taking his deare some prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came to fuddainly upon him, that he had no better thift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leaving them to ranfack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme diffolutenesse in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industrie in matter ofwarre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; 10 excellent in deniling Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, then how to rule his good. For aduerfitie made his valour more active: prosperitie stupised him with an overweening, wherein he thought, that he might doe what he lifted. His fortune was as changeable, as were his qualities : turning often round , like the picture of her wheele, till shee had wound up the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at Megara; he resolved no longer to attend the iffue of a fiege, to affaile Munjohia by force, that so hee might accomplish the libertie of Athens: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refu- 20 fed to enter into the Citic. Munychia was strongly fortified : yet by continuance of the affault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that feoured the walls, preuailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wanne the place in two daies. The walls, and all the defences of that peece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their libertie, with promife to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victorie, gotten by Demetrius with greater skill and industrie. For the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: converting to base flatterie, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors 20 had futed vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto Antigonus and Demetrius, the name of Kings; they confecrated the place, in which Demetrius leaped from his Chariot, when hecentred their Citic, and built there an Altar, calling it of DEMETRIVS the a-lighter; they called them by the Names of the Godstbeir Sauiours, ordayning that every yeare, there should be chosen a Priest of these Gods; and further, that such as were emploied by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but Theori, or Consulters with the Gods; like as were they, whom they fent vnto the Oracle of Iupiter or Apollo.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearfe all their flatteries; these being so groffe. 40 Hereby they not only corrupted the yong Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handfomly take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the Athenians; vnleffe hee would seeme to approue their vanitie, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled, with this their fine handling him, that when their Theodori, or Confulters, came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: orrather, so weake is great power in relisting the affaults of flatterie.

thips of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This fleet made a terrible shew, when it was descried a farre; though more than halfe of it, was whit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, Ptolomae sets with the more dreadfull, Ptolomae sets with the more dreadfull, Ptolomae sets with the more dreadfull, Ptolomae sets with the more dreadfull, Ptolomae sets whether whether with multitudes, & trampled to death in a throng. But this yong Gallant, repaied him, with words of as much brauerie, promising to ten him escape, yon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of Suyon and Carinth.

Demotrus had no more then one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of Ptolomics, better stored, with weapons fit for 10 that service, and very well strinished with Engines in the prowes, to beat vponthe linemie. Neuertheless he stood in great doubt, of threesfoot Gallies; that lay in the Hauen of Salamis, least Meraleus with them should set vponhis back in which case, it was likely that all should goe very ill with him. Against this mischiese, hee bestowed ten of his owne Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe Mendaus irom issuing forth, and setting his borse-men on the shore, to give what affishance they could, he with the rest of his sleet, puts to Sea against Trelomic.

The fight beganneearly in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull fuecefle. The Generalls were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fiee. Each of them prevailed against the fapuadron 20 wherewith he encounted; but the fuecefle of Denetire was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was fuch, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselues with opened flight. As for Ptolonie, he was faine to leave his advantage vpon the enemie in one part of the fight, that he might relice and animate those of his owne which needed him in another. Wherein hee found his loss our great, to be repaired, by contending any longer, against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to faue himselfe, in hope of better event, that might follow fome other time.

There fell out in this battaile, no vnufuall accident; yet was the victorie greater then could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great 30 skill in Sea-fervices, which the Greekes and Phamitians, that were with Demetrius, had, about those which followed Ptolomie: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conflicted no leffe, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reachonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carying the strength of Ptolomic Armie, did not more encourage his owne men and certific his enemes the day before the fight; than breede in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight, they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were sitting, that they should so doe; yet a multitude, preposses with examinely apprehend very slight occasions, to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that Meneluss isluing with his 40 sleet out of Salamis, should charge the enemies in sterne, was veterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to barre vp the mouth of the Hauen; which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in fight, especially of the affailants: whereas on the contraire, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, doe callly gather hopefull spirits, and conceine an opinion of their owneabilitie to doe more than they had thought vpon, out of their not fuffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatfoeuer the caufes of this wictorie were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomic had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the reft
of his fleet was either taken, of funke. Neither did Mendaus any longer firiue againft
the violence of Fortune; but yeelded vpall that hee held in Cyprus, together with
his Armie, confifting of twelue thousand foor, and a thousand and two hundred

horse, and those Gallies in the Hauen of Salamis. The same dejection of Spirit, was sound, in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the Egyptian by Land: none of them reposing any more confidence in Prolomic, but willingly becomming followers of a new Loid, whose Armie they now

It was enerally belowed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the lile of Cyprus; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expechation was great; especially Anigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this moode Ariflodemus found him, a notable flatterer, whom Demetrius had honoured, with the Message of these good newes. Aristodemus had bethought himfelte of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he fent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very fadly that no part of his tidings, might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was knowne where he had beene) came prefently to Antigoniu, who fent Meffenger after Meffenger, to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answere, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be wonne from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and foftly forward, with a great throng at his heeles (that ferued well to fet out his Pageant) vntill he came in fight of Antigonus, who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate. and heare the newes. Then did Ariflodemus, vpon the fuddaine, with a high voice falute Antigonus by the name of King; vttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pompe, as before he had couered it with filence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to Antigonies, and to his sonne Demetrius. Antigonus in requitall of the long suspence, wherein Aristodemus had held him, said that it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his 30 head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and fent the like to his fonne.

When it was once noised abroad, that Antigonus and Demetrius called themselues Kings; it was not long, ere their sellowes were readic to follow the good example. Prolome his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought aman dejected, for the losse of a fleet: therefore they saluted him also King. Lysimachus in Thrace had boldnesse enough, to put the Diadense about his ownen head. Seleutus had, be fore this time, among the Barbarous people, taken yono him as King: but now he vsed the stille indisterently, as well among the Greekes and Macedoniuss, as in dealing with others. Only Casander held himselfe contented, with his ownen name: whereby hows source the might shadow his pride, he no way lesse not the same of his cruelite, against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes, after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill successe, as will appeare, when they shall enter you the Stage; whereon the 6 old Tragidians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, beginne to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes alreadie past.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. VI.

Of the warres betweene the Kings of Ægypt, Asia, Ma-cedon, Thrace, and others: vntill all ALAXA DER'S Princes were consumed.

The Expedition of ANTIGONYS against Egypt, with ill succession.



L the rest of these Kings had taken that name voon them, in imitation of Antigonus himselfe, as befeeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope, to fwallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, hee resolued to lingle out Ptolomie, and make him an example to others: who should hard!y be able to stand, 20 when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose hee prepared an Armie of eighteene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with sourc-score and three Elephants: as likewife a fleet of a hundred and

fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burden. The Land-forces he commanded in person : of the Nauie Demetritis was Admirall.

When all was readie for the journie, the Sea-men adulfed him, to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the fetting of the Pleiades. But his hastic desire, to prevent all preparations for relifiance that Ptolomie should make, rejected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill. Wherefore he departed from Antigonia 30 (a Towne which he had built in Syria, and called after his owne name, that was Soone changed into Selencia, by his mortall Enemic) and came to Gaza; where hee met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to Agypt, the more hast hee made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more then by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie ten daies provision of victualls; and had many Camells loaden with all necessaries for passing the Deserts, ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no resistance. At Mount Cassus, which is neare adjoyning to Wilus, he saw his fleet, riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many thips wanting. It had beene forely beaten with foule weather, wherein fome were loft, others driven back to Gaza, or feattered elf, where into fuch creeks as they 40 could recouer: Demetries himselfe, with the best and strongest vessells, did so long beat it vp against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremitie, he and all his must have perished, bad not the tempest ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared in fight, from whom these over-wearied, thirstie, and Sea-beaten Souldiers received reliefe; After these painefull travailes there followed a Warre no leffe painefull than to little purpole, for Ptolambad to fortified all the paffages ponthe River of Nilm, as he affired himselfe either to end the warrethere, or if his guards should happen to be forst, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the Affailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertaine the Inuader vpon advantage enough. All that Antigonus 70 fought was to come to blowes speedily, Ptolomie on the contrarie to beat Antigonus by the belly. It is true that Ailius gaue him water enough, but wood hee had none to warme it, and while Antigonus affaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the River in

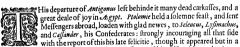
vaine, Ptolomie affaied the faith of his Souldiers with good fuccesse, for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not Antigonus thrust fome affured Regiments, vpon the paffages next the enemic, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, Ptolomie had turned him out of Egypt, ill

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he Some of their indeeds to and individually and their their and their period death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the fame ill fuccess that Perdicess had formerly done, when he invaded £gypt: had he not readily remoued his Armie further off; from the noise of their entertainement, that had alreadic beene wonne from him. To preuent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forst retrait, hee secretly practized the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burden must be elaid of his entrance, and leauing

Agypt.

It is indeede leffe prejudiciall in fuch like cases, that errours, dishonours, and loffes, be laid on Concellours and Captaines, than on Kings, on the Directed than on the Director, for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious. than that of a Vaffall; Charles the fift, as many other Princes have done, laid the loffe and dishonour he received in the invasion of France, by the way of Province, to Antonie de Leua, whither justly or no, I know not; but howsoeuer all the Hi-20 storians of that time agree, that the forrow therof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainely to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a testimonie of lone, than of wisedome, in the giver; for the ill successe alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a falle one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime knowne it that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only beene diffwaded, but held in a kinde by strong hand, from hazarding their owne persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer beene called to a Marshalls Court.

ò. I I. How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by



40 defensive warre. Antigonus on the contrarie flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so litle things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. How soener it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion, for that which he could not cleave a funder by great blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it felfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolved (leating the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates should be forst, either to relieue, 50 or to loose; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of Rhodes was very mightie, being well gouerned, and having long held it selfe in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and thereby a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed ships, by which it not onely beat off all Pyrates and pettic Theeues, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their aliance and confederacie.

In this fo dangerous a time (in which they must eyther refuse all that fought them, and so stand friendlesse and a part, or joyne themselves to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the Leyptian, both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that Antigenus his disposition, greatnes, & neighbourhood was fearfull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent; gaue argument of quarrel to Antigonus, who began to declare himselfe against them by pettic injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more waightie preparation to purfue the warre against them openly and strongly. All things soone after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprife, he imployed his sonne Demetrius against them in their owne Iland, who brought fuch terrour vpon the Citizens, that laying alide all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their affiftance, and feruice against whomsoeuer. Demetrius, who knew from whence this charge came, and that the alteration was perfwaded by feare, and not by loue; raifed his demands to an intollerable height, re- 20 quiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and libertie to lodge in their Port as manie ships of warre as himselfe pleased: these conditions, more properly to be imposed vpon a State alreadic conquered, then on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a confirmined affiftance, reflored vinto the Rhodians their loft courage, and made them resolue to defend their libertie to the last man : this taught them to infranchife all their able bond-men, and wifely rather to make them their fellow Cittizens, than to make themselves sellow siaues with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered, and the Rhodians the fearefull ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long fiege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he fet in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the invention and vie of which, he never shewed himselse a greater Artisan, then in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had fustained all the affaults given them for a whole yeare, after many brave fallies out of the Towne, and the famine which they indured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreme, if Ptolomie had not with many hazards relieued them, Demetrius by mediation of the Gracian Embaffadors, gaue ouer the fiege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiftrates and officers of the Citie.

Hereunto Demetrius was brought by the viual policie of warre, and state: for while, with the flowre of all his fathers forces, he lay before Rhodes, Caffander reco- 49 nered many of those places in Greece, which Demetrius had formerly taken from him; neither did Cassarder make the warre as in former times, by practife and furprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which hee himselfeled as farre as into Attica, and therewith greatly diffressed and indangered Athens it selfe. On the other fide (though with leffe fuccesse) did Polysperchon inuade Peloponnesus. These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, aduised the Athenians and Atolians to dispatch their Embassadours towards Demetrius, and aduised Demetrius rather to abandon the enterprise of Rhodes, then to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by fetting all Greece at libertie.

Demetrius was no fooner out of the Iland, then that the Rhodians crected statues in honour of Ly/machus, and Caffander, but for Ptolomie, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most reliefe, they consulted the Oracle of Iupiter, whether it were not lawfull to call him a God. The Priests which attended in the

Temple

Temple of Hammon, gaue the same faire answere for Ptolomie, which they had formerly done for Alexander his Master, for as Alexander consulted the Oracle with an Armie at his heeles; fo was Ptolomie at this time Lord of the foile: and yet was this a farre more cleanly creation, then that done by the Athenians, who Deified Antigonus and Demetrius, by decree of the people. A madage it was, when so many of Alexanders Captaines could not content themselues with the stile of Kings, but that they would needes be called Gods.

### ò. III.

HOW DEMETRIVS prevailed in Greece, CASSANDER defires peace of ANTIGONYS, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against ANTIGONVS.



EMETRIVS comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into Greece, quickly draue Caffander out of Attica; and pursuing his fortune, chaled him beyond the straits of Thermopyle. Herein his reputation did much auaile him; which was fo great, that fixe thousand of his enemics Souldiers revolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of

his name, partly by force, he recoursed in short space all that Cassander held in those ftraights, and giuing libertie vnto the people, hee bestowed you the Athenians those peeces, which had beene fortified against them, to block them vp. Then went he into Peloponnesw, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for hee fuddainly tooke Argos, Corinth, Sieyon, and the most of the Countrie, bestowing libertie vpon such as needed it. The Towne of Suyon hee translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old feat into an other place; and called it after his ownename Demetrias. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure: At the Ishmian games he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of Greece, as Philip and A-20 lexander had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as Alexander) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, saue himselfe or his Father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behausour hee was fo farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leifure, he deserved none other name then of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as readic as ever to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one decree, that what soeuer King Demetrius should command, ought to bee held facred with the Gods, and just with Men.

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great feare, leaft the warres should fall heavily upon him in Macedon, which to avoide, he 40 knew no better way then to make peace with his enemie betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadours; but had no better answere from Antigonia, then that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in foliciting his friends, both to affift him, and take heede to themselues; neither found hee them slow in apprehending the common Danger, for Lylimachus knew, that if once Calfander had lost Macedon, Demetrius would foone be Master of Thrace. Neither were Ptolomic and Seleucus ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if Antigonus were fuffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in Europe. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they should all together set vpon the common

Hercof Antigonus had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That hee would as easily scatter them, as a flock of Birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceipts hee pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of Antigoria (a name

that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully prouiding to set out some stately game and Pageants, in oftentation of his glorie. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of Lysimachus his victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed vnto Lysimachus part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into Asia, while him felfe with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe side. So Lysimachus passing the Hellesport, beganne to make hot warre vpon the Subjects of Antigonia. getting fome of the Cities in those parts, to joyne with him, by faire meanes; winning others by force, and wasting the Countrie round about.

To represse this vnexpected boldnesse, Antigonus made hastic journies, and came foone enough to recour his losses, but not strong enough to drive Lysimachus 10 home, or compell him to come to battaile. Lyfmachus waited for the confiming of Seleucus; keeping himselfe the whilest from necessitie of fighting. But Bebylon was farre off; and Seleucus his preparations were too great to bee soone in a readinesse. The Winter alfo did hinder his journie: which inforced them on both fides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. I his delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not Antigonus beene so froward, that hee refused to yeeld vnto any peaceable conditions. At length Seleucus drew neare with a mightie Armie of his owne (for hee had gathered frength in that long time of leifure, which Antigonus had given him) and with great 20 aide from Ptolomie, that was joyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, Demetrius was called ouer into Asia by his Fathers letters: which he readily obaied. Before his departure out of Greece, he made peace with Cassander, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leave any part of his Armie for defence of the Countrie; and that his journie might bee without any such blemish of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of Greece should be at libertie. Cassander was glad to bee so rid of an Enemie', that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwife then they did in Asa; seeing the ratification thereof was reserved unto Antigonus. 30 It sufficed, that for the present, enery one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuerlie in Alia.

How Anticonvs was flaine in a great battaile at Ipfus, neare unto Ephefus; wherein his whole effate was loft.



@PELEVCVS, with his Sonne Antiochus, joyning with Lysimachus, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. Ingreatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Civill) they were rather vnanswerable,

than equall to their aduersaries: for Antigonus had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had beene reputed a King indeede, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proofe of his worth in many great feruices of all kinds, and inriched the Art of warre with many inventions, which euen his enemies, & particularly Lyfmachus, did much admire. Seleucus, who had fom- 50 times flattered antigonus, and fearfully stollen away from him to saue his life, with yong Antiochus, a Prince not heard of before this journie; and Lylmachus, that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet io, that as

ancient Captaines under Philip and Alexander, two of them were held worthin enough, to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardic and well exercised: many of them having served vnder Alexander; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twentie yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections; the followers of Seleneus were callly perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas Antigonus his men could difcerne no other necessitie of fighting, than the obtlinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. Antigonus had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand thort of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the ods of fige hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and a hundred and twentie armed Chariots of warre; which helps, though they little had availed the Persians, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensiue, communing much in private with his sonne, whom he commended to the Armie as his Succession of for: whereas in former times he had neuer been fo jocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been eaccultomed to make his sonne, or any other, prinie to his counfaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuised, I hold it needlesse to recount : Diana of Ephelus dwelt neare to the place of battaile, a busie Goddesse in many great fights, and therefore likely to have been ethrust into the fable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleeue that these two so gallant Armies, contayning well neare all the strength of Alexanders whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by fuch worthie Commanders, and whom the iffue thereof did highly concerne. Yet an are few of the particulars recorded : an easie losse in regard of the much varietie, wherewith every storic aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these. Demetrius with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon yong Antiochus; whom when hee had broken, and put to flight, hee was fo transported with the heat of his good successe, that he never gave over his pursute, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victorie. For when Seleucus perceiued this aduantage, he enterposed his Elephants, betweene Demetrius and the Phalanx of Antigenus : and with many troups of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wherefocuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the Antigomians, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilst they 40 were fairely inuited, than to sustaine the furie of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others, and finally, cast them all

into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. Antigonus was then foure score yeares old, very fat and vnweildie, so that hee was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. Hee had about him fome of his most trustie followers, and as many others as hee could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his person, told him, Sir King, yonder companie meanes to charge you; he answered, Well may they; for who defends me? but anon DEMETRIVS will releeve vs. Thus expecting, to the very last, that his some should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, 50 as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

Hisgreat abilitie in matter of Armes, together with his infatiable defire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but vfed infolence towards all a like, as if it had beene fome vertue nearest representing a Kingly Majessie. This was the cause that so many of his followers resulted to bis enemies; a and finally, that a great part of his Armie forsoke him in his last necessities. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeamours of their Vassalls, onely dutie and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall sinde themselves you the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love only that states by adversitie) not only the most friendselse, but even the most contemptible, and despited of all other. This Antigens found true in part, while he lived, in part he left it to be verified ypon his son.

### ). V.

How Debietrivs for faken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Selevevs and Prolobile, beginning a new fortune, and footly entring into new quarrels.

Posses Or Demetrius, at his returne, from the idle pursuit of yong Antiochus, finding all quite loft, was glad to faue himfelfe, with foure thousand horse, and fine thousand foot, by a speedy retrait vnto Ephelia, whence 20 he made great halte towards Athen, as to the place, that for his fake would fuffer any extremitie. But whileft he was in the middelt of his course thither, the Athenian Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embaffadours, not Theori, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his miserie, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamitic more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersitie despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now flood in great neede, and therefore was faine to speake them faire, 30 that sometimes had grofly flattered him. But he shall line to teach them their old language, and speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships he failed to the Isthmus, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrifons were enery where broken vp; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Armie and Fleet, without monie or meanes, wherewith to fuffaine him and his followers, any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part, of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue. For to put himselfe into the field, on the fide of Afia, hee had no power; and to inclose himfelfe in any Towne, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to burie himfelfe and his estate. Hee therefore creeping thorow those bushes, that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of Lysimachus his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoile, that was gotten, to his Souldiers: his owneloffes having beene too great, to be repayed againe by small prizes.

In the meane while, the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to buffe themcleur, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late vidorie had made them Lords: wherein Selences had a notable advantage, by being present and Mafler of the field. For neither Prolomie, nor Cassimates, were at the overthrow given, having onely sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Armic which Selences led: who 50 tooke hold of a part of site less, and all Syrie, being no otherwise duisded from his owne Territorie than by the River of Euphrates. For there had not any order beener taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect to prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made only in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for Selencis, to make the best benefit that he could of the victorie: at which, neuerthelesse others did repine, and though they neither could, nor durst, accuse him of ill dealing, for the present, yet seeing the our-greatmesse of Selencis brought no lesse danger to the reti of the new Kings, than that of Anisomu had done, they confulted you the fame reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was Selencis ignorant of what they had determined from the read it in the Law vinitersal lof Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselices of all unprofitable passion: the state of each to other, and their lones to being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found to farre too light, as Selencis who had to day slaine Anisomus the lather, and driven Demirius the some out of Asia, Sought to morrow, how to match himselse with Stratonica, Demetris his daughter, and so by Demetrius to Serue his turne against Lysimachus.

The storic of this Stratonica, with whom young Antiochus, the sonne of Selencus fell so passionately in loue, and so distempered, as Seleneus his father, to sauchis fonneslife, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him, and how his passion was discouered by his pulse; is generally noted by all Writers. But neyther did this alliance betweene Seleucus and Demetrius; betweene Ptolemie and Lysimachus; between Demetrius and Cassander; between Demetrius and Ptolemie; though for the present it brought one of them again into the ranck of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Christian Kings have done in latter times: namely betweene the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, and other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull. then those of the same later times have beene; as in the stories of Charles the eighth of France, and of Charles the Emperour, of Francis the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan, and others, the Reader may obserue: betweene whom from the yeare of our Lord, One thousand, soure hundred, ninetic and fine, when Charles the eighth undertook the Conquest of Naples, to the yeare one thousand fine hundred fiftic and eight, when Henrie the second died, the Histories of those times tell vs 30 that all the bonds, eyther by the bed or by the booke, eyther by weddings, or Satrate an tree bornes, extrete by the ore on by the booket system by weedings, of sa-cramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did Deme-tium reape this profit, by giving his daughter to his enemie Seleneus, that he recoue-red Cilicia from Plist archive, the brother of Coffender; who had gotten it as his share in the division of Antigonia his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to holde it by his proper forces, fcom him, that entred vpon it as a lawful Heire: neither would Seleucus lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacie he should have done, against the common enemie. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against Selencus as Demetrius, went vnto Caffander; whither Phila, their lifter, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that AQ purpose by Demetrius her husband, that was not firong enough to deale with Caffander, and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperitie, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the farne time he tooke to wife a daughter of Ptolomie (pluralitie of wines being familiar with these Macedonian, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests ) and so was he by two marriages, rather freed from two enemies, then firengthened with two friends: for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise then might serue to advance their owne ambitious desires.

Schemes and Palomic, could both of them have been contented better, that Demetrius, with helpe of their countenance, thould feek his fortune form what further 50 off, than fettle his chate wnder their nofes. Particularly Schemes thought that Chike 1 any very fitty for himfelfe: and Prolomic had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the file of Cyprus. Now whether it were fo, that Schemes would faine have fet his new father in law vpon the neck of Lyfinsahus; or whether he were indeed greedie of the bargaine, he offered to buy of Demetrius for readie monie,

his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but meant to keepe as much Land as hee could, having alreadie found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refulall fo displeased Seleneus, that in angrie termes hee demanded the Citie of Tyre and Sidon, to bee furrendred vnto him; which were the only places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In stead of giving them vp. Demetrius tooke present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly. That were hee ouer-come a thousand times, yet would hee not hire Selencus to become his sonne in law. In this quarrell Seleucus was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had alreadie taken more then well hee knew how to gouerne. But the fire confumed it felfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes. like it is that the weaker should have found friends, out of enuie to the stronger.

### è. V I.

How DEMETRIVS wanne the Citie of Athens, and prevailed in Grecce, but lost in Alia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of



N the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vie the libertie, which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition. wnder the tyrannic of Lachares. I brough which anteration then the frempered Citie was fo weakned, that it feemed ill able to keepe off thempered Citie was fo weakned, that it feemed ill able to keepe off thempered Citie was fo weakned, that it feemed ill able to keepe off vnder the tyrannie of Lachares. Through which alteration their dithe punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage haste-

ned him, whom they had once called their God and Sauiour, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging furic. Hee brought against them all the force that he could wel spare from other emploiments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to give impedi- 200 ment to any businesse, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after fome victories in Peloponnesus, where hee wanne diuers Townesthat had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Countrie of Attica, and cut off all reliefe from the Citic, both by Land and Sca.

Altens was not able to feede the great multitude within it, any long time : for ir stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be flored with victualls; being also destitute of meanes to keepe such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to doe any thing at Sca, against that of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of succour from Ptolomie, 40 who (trusting thereby to winne the love of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fiftie ships with corne, and sent them to releeve the hungrie Citie. But these hundred and fiftie were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which Demetrius had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hafted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so neare, that they might be discried. This brake the heart of the people; among whom the samine was so extreme, that a Father and his Sonne did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped downe betweene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embas-fadours to yeeld up the Towne, and craue pardon, having so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capital offence, to propose any motion of peace. 50 Yet were they faine to abolish this decree : rather because they knew not what else to doe then because they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victoric, did not only forbeare to take away the lines of these vnthankefull men; which they had submitted vnto his

mercie; but out of his liberalitie gaue them foode, and placed in Office among it them fuch as were most acceptable to the people. Nenerthelesse hee was growne wifer then to trust them so farre as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and difpose of them at his pleasure; he was readie to lay hold upon the word, and leaue a fore Garrison within their walls to keepe them honelt perforce. After this be went into Peleponne (us, vanquished the Lacedemonians in two battailes, and was in very faire pollibilitie to take their citie: when the dangerous news called him in all halte, of Lylimachus and Ptolomie, that prevailed fafter upon him elfewhere, than himfelfe did vpon his enemies in Greece. Lyfimachus had wonne many Townes in Alia; Ptolomie had gotten all the Ifle of Cyprus, except the Citic of Salamis, wherin Demetrius had left his Children and Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilest he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his forces, a notable peece of businesse offe-

red it felfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head. Cassander was lately dead in Macedon, and soone after him, Philip his eldest sonne, whose two yonger bretheren, Antipater and Alexander, fought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell The falonicathe Daughter of King Philip, whom Caffander had married, seemed better affected to Alexander, then to her elder sonne; who thereupon grew to enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse 20 of this fact gaue a faire luftre to Alexanders cause : drawing the generalitie of the Macedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queenes death, vpon that wicked parricide Antipater. But Antipater was fo firongly backed by Lyfimachus, whose Daughter he had married; that Alexander could not hope to make his partie good without fome forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius, who how they dealt with him, it will soone appeare, in the following Tragedie, of him and his brother. Their Father Cassander had beene one that shifted well for himfelfe, at fuch time as every man fought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. Hee was cunning in practize, and a good Souldier : one of more open dealing then were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely 20 killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memorie of Alexander, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had an hereditarie quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom shee could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by crueltie, that shee vsed against his friends, both aline and dead, as it made him admenture youn shedding the Royall bloud; wherewith, when once hee had frained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose lines hindred his purpose, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: fuch crueltie being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-farre off the dan-40 gers, that may quietly passeaway : and seekes to avoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it felfe fafe enough, vntill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of Olympias and Roxane it may bee faid, that they had well deserved the bloudie end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill beseemed it Cassander to doe the office of a Hang-man. But Alexanders children had by no law of men deferued to die for the tyranie of their Father. Wherefore, though Cassander died in his bed, yet the divine Iustice brought swords you his wife and children, that well reuenged the crueltie of this bloudie man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

### è. VII.

of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The death of Cassanders, Dentrrus gainfi the Greeks;
Dentrrus gets the Kingdome of Macedon, presudes in warre againfi the Greeks;
Loofeth reputation in his warre againfi Pyrrhus, and in his Cauli Gouernement, and preparets win Afa. How all confire againfi Denetrrus.

Pyrhhus and Lysin Achus invade him, his Armie yeelds
to Pyrhhus, who fibres the Kingdome of Macedon
with Lysin Achus.

YRRHVS, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince Facides, which perished in warre against Castander, was hardly preserved, being a sucking Infant, from the furie of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosteking Infant, from the furre of his Fathers enemies. When his Fonce-rers had conneighed him to Glaucias, King of Illyria; the deadly ha-tred of Cassander would have bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire, Glaucias was so far from betraying Pyrrhus, that heerestored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of fixe yeares, either the indifcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, draughim out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went hee to De- 20 metrius (who maried his fifter) became his Page; followed him a while in his wars; was with him in the great battaile of Ipfus, whence hee fled with him to Ephefus; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with Ptolonie. In A gypt he fo behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of Berenice, Ptolomies principall wife; fo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon fent home, with monio and men, into Epirus; more beholding now to Ptolomie, than to Demetrius. When he had fully recoursed the Kingdome of Epirus, and was setled in it, then fell out that businesse betweene the children of Casander, which drew both him and Demetrius

Antipater, the elder of Cassanders sonnes, was so farre too weake for Pyrrhus, that 30 hee had no defire to attend the comming of Demetrius, but made an hastic agreement, and divided the Kingdome with his yonger brother Alexander; who likewife felt the aide of Pyrrhus fo troublesome, that he was more willing to fend him away, than to call in such another helper. For Pyrrhus had the audacitie to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more of the Countrie, as the reward of his paines: leauing the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessitie enforced the brethren to composition : but their composition would not satisfie Demetrius, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Armie, and finde no worke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that Deme- 40 trius had a purpose to doe as Pyrrhus had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to Alexander a wife course, to remove this overdiligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus Demetrius reported the storie, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wifest, beleeved it not. But the iffue was, that Alexander himselfe was feasted and flaine by Demetrius; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; exculing the fact fo well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughtie man Caffander had been, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time Lysimachus was bulled in warre with a King of the wilde Thracians: for thereby hee was compelled to feeke peace of 50 Demetrius, which to obtaine, he caused the remainder of Macedon to bee given vp; that is, the part belonging to Antipater, his sonne in law. At this ill bargaine Antipater grieuously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; untill his Father in law, to faue the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his

troublefome life. Thus in halte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide moleitation, were flaine the children of Cassanter: of Cassanter that had flaine his owne Masters children, in a wise course of policie, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe you his graue, ere the earth on it was throughly setted.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of Demetrius. But indeede it shewed his infirmitie'; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of civill Gouernement: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King litted. Hee gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxurie his nature. By long reft (as fixe yeares raigne is long to him, that knowes not how to raigne one yeare) he discourred so much of his worst condition, as made both the people wearie of his idleneffe; and the Souldiers, of his vanitie. He was freed from care of matters in A/ia, by hearing that all was loft, though more especially, by hearing that Ptolomie had with great honor, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leifure, of making warre in Greece: where 20 he vanquished the Thelans, and wonne their Citie twice in thort space, but wied his victoric with mercie. Against Lysimachus he would faine haue done somewhat (the victorie with interest and motiviths and ingly at such time as he was taken by the Tina-cians; but Lysimachus was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came; fo as this journey purchased nothing but enmitte. Another expedition he tooke in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse event. Pyrrhus held fomewhat belonging to Macedon; which hee had indeede as honeftly gotten, as Demetrius the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into Thesfalie; but there needed not any handlome pretence of quarrell, feeing Demetrius thought himselfe strong enough to ouer-runne his enemies Countrie, with two 30 great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have knowneraw Nouices in that facultie, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinarie. Pyrrhus was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great Hannibal, placed higher in the ranke of Generalls, than either Demetrius, or any of Alexanders followers. At this time, he miffed that part of the Armic, which Depretries led, and fell ypon the other halfe; which he ouerthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against Pantauchus, Demetrius his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of bodie, challenged this yong Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant be-

42 hauiour of *Pyrrbus* delighted them. For in him they feemed to behold the linely figure of *Alexander* in his best qualitie. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, fome of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely veltures: but (fand they) none, faue *Pyrrbus*, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

The ferumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the Epinet, than by dissike of their owne King; whom they began to dissentene, no somethin regard of his vnprolitable journey into Epinet (for he had wasted much of the Countrie, and brought home his Armie in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intollerable. His apparell seemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not 50 only too sumptious and new Engled, but very vnmanly, and serving chiefly to be a daily witnesse, how much hee contenined them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers liues he was rechesse: and suffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the search was to pay. Hee made a mockerie of justice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subjects, how

CHAP.6. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

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little he effeemed it or them) having by a flow of popularitie invited Petitioners. and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, hee led the poore futers after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the River; pleasing himselfe, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that Pyrrhus gathered audacitie, and inuading Macedon, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. Demetrius lay then fick in his bed: who reconcring health, and taking the field, had fuch great oddes of strength, as made Pyrrhus glad to for fake his winnings and be

At length he beganne to have some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great warre. His intent was to inuade Asia, with a Royall Armie: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, hee first made peace with Pyrrbus; that so hee might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mightie Armie, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thoufand horse: with a Nauie of fine hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had beene seene before; vet so swift and vsefull withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made Seleucus and Ptolomie suspect their owne forces, and labour hard with Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, to joyne against this ambitious sonne of Antigonus; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all. than ever was his Father. It was callly differed, that if Demetrius once prevailed in Asia, there could be no securitie for his friends in Europe; what league socuer were of old concluded. Therefore they refolued to beginne with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of Macedon, that lay next his owne Kingdome. Lysimachus came first, and against him went Demetrius with a great part of his Armie: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Campe, that Pyrrhus had won Berrhea. The matter was not oner great : were it not, that mindes prepared with 20 long discontent, are readie to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in vp-rore: some wept, others raged, few or none did for beare to vtter seditious words, and many defired leaue of Demetrius, to goe to their owne houses, meaning indeede to have gone to Lysimachus.

When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Armie, he thought it the wifeit way, to lead the Macedonians further off from Lysimachus their owne Countrieman, against Pyrrhus that was a stranger: hoping by victorie against the Epirot, to recourr the loue of his followers, in such fort that hee might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hastie as he, to meet with Pyrrbus; not intending to hurt him, but longing 40 to fee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, othersanswered, of his person, his armor, and other tokens whereby he might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creft. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ranne over into Pyrrbus his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get fight of Pyrrhus, they would all salute him King. To trie this, Pyrrhus rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheaded in view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcom. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applause, and every one began to looke 50 out, with defire to fet eye on him. His face was not fo well knowne as his helmet: therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any, that spake for Demetrius; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for

himselfe. So Demetrius threw aside his maskers habit, and attiring himselfe poorly. did fearefully steale away out of his owne Campe : deseruing well this calamitie, whether it were fo, that he would not hearken to the good counsaile of his friends, or whether his behauiour depriued him of fuch friends, as would dare to let him heare the ynpleafant found of necessarie truth.

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entrie, into the Kingdome of Macedon; Lysimachus came vpon him, very vnseasonably, and would needs have halfe: faying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the warre, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaines. The bargaine was quickly made, and the diviion agreed vpon: each of them being rather delirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, vnon better oportunitie.

### d. VIII.

How DEMETRIVS gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill succeeffe, in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon SELEVCVs, and compelled to reeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

He Athenians, were as vnthankefull to Demetrius in this his aduersitie. as they had beene in former times. For they presently for sooke his friendlhip, and called Pyrrhus out of Macedon to be their Patron. Demetrius, when hee went against Lysimachus, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne Antigonus. Therefore it is like, that

he had foone gotten an Armie; though Phila his wife (who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Ladie) did poison her selfe, vpon desperate griefe of his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians, that had well deserved it. Hee beganne to lay siege to their Towne : but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and taking 30 faire words instead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asa, with eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against Lysimachus, for the Prouinces of Lydia

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines, that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies, and treasures. But it was not long, ere Agathoeles, the sonne of Lysimachus, came vpon him, with an Armie fo strong, that it was not for Demetrius his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore, he resolved, to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Provinces of the higher Asia; trufting to finde a 40 Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by Agathocles: who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, driving him to take which waies he could, without following his intended courfe. In many skirmilhes, Demetrius vanquished this troublesome enemie: neuerthelesse, hee could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titularie King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the River Lyens, so many of Demetrius his men were loft, that the rest could no longer make resistance : but were driven to travaile with fuch speede, as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed : the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into 50 Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece : yet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claime to the Countrie; but with vehement and humble letters he befought his fonne in law, to call to minde their alliance, and to pitie him in his great miferie. These letters, at the first wrought wel with Seleucus, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how

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Demetrius

Demetrius had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battaile at Ip-(iu, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Armie.

Many treaties were held betweene them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of Seleveus. Therefore, meere desperation enforced Demetrin, to fight like a mad man; and his furie got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sicknesse tooke and held him fortie dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ranne to the enemie. This not withflanding hee still held out, and once had like to haue taken Selencus in his bed, had not his comming been discourred by fugitiues, that gaue the alarme. Finally, when all his Armie had for faken him, and left him, with a few of his friends, to shift for himselfe: hee was compelled, 10 by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto Seleucus.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and fent him very comfortable meffages. But the approbation of his owne humanitie, by his followers, was fuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting Demetrius to his presence: though otherwise he ysed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guardin a demic-iland, wherein were goodly walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked roially, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his libertie was reserved vnto the comming of yong Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high Countries. In this 20 for the spent three yeares, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and bloud shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then died, leaving to his sonne Antigonus, the same which his father had left vnto himselse; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Covinth; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

### ð. IX.

The death of Prolomie, of Lysimachus, and of Selevcus, that was last of ALEXANDERS Captaines : with other



Bout the same time that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomie King of Ægypt; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wines and Concubines, many children: out of whom he selected Ptolomic Philadelphus, and caused him to raigne together

with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so hee might confirme him 40 in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, Ptolomie Ceraunus (for all of that house affumed the name of Ptolomie) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Selencus, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Alexanders Captaines left; Seleucus and Lysmachus. These two needes would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that braue Companic. The true ground of their quarrell was, their neare equalitie of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the murders which Lysmachus had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poiloning agathetles his eldest sonne: whose wife and children fled vnto Seleucus for aide.

The Macedons, after seuen Moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admi- 50 ration, beganne to hearken so well to Lysimachus, their naturall Countrie-man, that they forfooke Pyrrhus, vpon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gaue him. Lysimachus had raigned

about five yeares alone, when the Citie of Lyfmachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by cuents, to have foreshowed the fall of his house. His owne jealousie, and the instigation of a mother in law, caused him to poison his Sonne Agathoeles, which drew vpon him that warre, wherein (after the loffe of all his fifteene children, that were taken away by diners accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountred by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with Lysimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed Alexander. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within feuen moneths followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death: being treacherously slaine by Ptolomie Ceraunus, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Scuentie and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seventie and foure. Withthem ended the generation of old Captaines, that had seene the daies as it were of another world under the Persian : yet was there left one equal to any of them, in the Art of warre : euen Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now readic to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than Mexander himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by Alexanders Successors, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

## CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of TVLLVS Hostilivs, vnto such time as they were affailed by



Ow Rome was founded by Romulus; fetled in good order by Nama Pompilius; and by many, though fmall, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the raigne of Tullus Hoftilius : it hath beene alreadie noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse, beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italie, to ouer-whelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cafes I have done) briefly to fet downe the growth of this migh-

tie Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not have beene deliucred in the ages, wherein they were feuerally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

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### ò. IX.

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was last of Alexanders Captaines: with other

Bout the fametime that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomie King of Agyr; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. Hee had, by many Wines and Concubines, many children: out of whom he selected Ptolomie Philadelphus, and caused him to raigne together

with himfelfe, two or three yeares before he died, that fo hee might confirme him 40 in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, Prolomic Ceranus (for all of that house affuned the name of Prolomic) was grieuoufly incented. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Selencus, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of Alexanders Captaines left; Selencus and Lyfmachus. These two needes would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that braue Companie. The true ground of their quarrell was, the murders which Lyfmachus had committed you many of his Nobles, together with his poiloning Againetes his eldest fonce; whose wife and children fied vnto Selencus for aide.

The Macedons, after feuen Moneths paule, having spent their first heat of admi- 50 ration, beganne to hearken so well to Lysmachus, their naturall Countrie man, that they for sook of Pyrrhus, youn none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before the they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gaue him. Lysmachus had raigned

about fine yeares alone, when the Citie of Lyfimschia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by cuents, to haue forethewed the fall of his house. His owne icaloufie, and the influgation of a mother in law, cauged him to poison his Sonne Agathedes, which drew upon him that warre, wherein (after the loffe of all his fifteene children, that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perilhed himselfe.

Seleucus was encountred by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battaile concluded the warre, with Lylimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victorie, that he was the last of all the great Heroes which had followed Alexander. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered world. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his daies, and within feuen moneths followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudie death: being treacherously flaine by Ptolomie Ceraunus, whose friend and Patron he had beene. Seuentic and seuen yeare old he was, when hee fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seuentie and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had feene the daies as it were of another world under the Persian: yet was there left one equal to any of them, in the Art of warre seuen Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now readie to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than Mexander himselfe euer did encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a storie more important, than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes, that were held by Alexanders Succeffors, with leffe (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

## CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominion in Italie, from the death of TVLLVS

HOSTILIVS, vnto such time as they were assailed by

Dyes HVS.



Ow Rome was founded by Romulus; fetled in good order by Nama Pompliins; and by many, though fimall, vifetories, it gathered firrength; ynto fuch time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquet of Alba, in the raigne of Tullus telfilius: it hath beene alreadie noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatmefic, beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it felth out of Italic, to ouer-whelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it connenient (as in likecafes I have done) briefly to fet downe the growth of fith is migh-

tie Citie, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not have beene deliuered in the ages, wherein they were seuerally performed, without much interruption of the Historie, that was then occupied in matter more important.

Bbbb 2 After

After the death of Tullus Hostilius ( who when hee had raigned two and thirtie veares, was burnt together with his house by lightning) Ancus Maritus, Grandchild to Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, fucceeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the Citie about; enlarged it with the hill Auentine, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer Tybris, and the Citie of Ostra vpon the Sea, fixteene miles distant from Rome. Finally, having raigned foure and twentie yeares, he died, and by his last will bee left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the sonne of Damaratus a Corinthian, who avoiding Cypselus King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, and dwelt in Tarquing, by the name of which Townshee was afterwards called Tarquinius. From that Citie in Hetruria 10 comming to Rome, and encouraged by fome ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tauaquils prophecie, he grew a fauourite of Ancus Martius; by his Grecian wit humoring the factions of the Roman Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horse-men: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace : for he preuailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this Lucius Tarquinius had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he was slaine by the sonnes of Ancius Martius, to whom he had been left Guardian. But Tanaqual his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, 20 that her Husband was wounded, and licke, but not dangeroully. And withall lignified vnto them, that in the interim of his ficknesse, one Servins Tullius, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of P, Corniculanus and Ocrifia, a well descended, but captine woman) brought vp in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supplie her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recouerie: which gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Substdies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the King- 30 dome in as good fort, as if it had beene a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious : and finding also that the two sonnes of Tarquinius Priscus, Sextus and Aruus, which had beene committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to lire) gaue the milde daughter to Sextus the hot-headed fonne; and the violent, to Aruns, the gentle, in mariage. But whether by intended courfes, or by accident, it happened; the two milde ones being made away, the furious matures were readily 10 yned in marriage: who foone concurring, and calling the Senate together, beganne to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, Servius Tullius hasting to the Senate, 40 (where he thought by authoritie to have bridled insolencie) was throwne downe the staires, and going home fore bruised, was slaine by the way, when he had raigned fortie and foure yeares. Then Tullia his daughter, first proclaiming her husband Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to drinchis Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the fireet had the denomination of wicked fireet. This Tarquine, exercifing crueltic without justice and tyrannic without mercie, vpon the people and Senators; having tired himselfe and them at home, vied the fame rage of treacherie vpon his borders. He tooke Octivalum, Sueffa Pometia, and the Gabij. The iffue of befieging Ardea, a towne eighteene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heate of which warre, his sonne Sextus Tar- 50 quinius violently rauished that chaste Ladie Lucretia, his kinsman Collatines wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamie with her owne bloud; so (having first bequeathed the reuenge unto her father Sp. Lucretius Tricipitimus, her husband Collatine, and Iunius Brutus)

she killed her selse: whereupon (chiefly by Junius Brutus his resolution) Tarquinus Superbus, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and sed to Parsona King of Hetruria for succour, in the five and twentieth years of his raigue, and the two hundred fortie and sourth from the building of their Citie: in which space Rome had scarce gotten full possession of fitteene miles round absorber.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of Collatine, having expelled Tarquine, and freed his countrey from that heavie yoake of bondage, inforced the people by folemne oath, neuerto admit any gouernment by Kings amongst them: whereupon they 10 ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon Brutus and Collatine. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to anuall, and from a fingle gouernour to a double, lest perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motive to vsurpation; and in stead of Kings they called them Confuls, lignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setling of troubled waters, that the people after this innovation of State, scarce daring to affure themselves of their owne securitie, enforced Tarquinius Collatine to religne vp his authoritie, fearing that tyrannie 20 would be hereditarie, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of Tarquin, favoured alreadic of their condition. In his roome was substituted Valerius Publicola, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gratious in the peoples eyes, gaue libertie, in matters of controuerfie, to appeale from the Confuls to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in person, auoyde occasion of suspicion, caufed his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as it it had been a Citadell. Neyther was Bratus any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safetie, as their fauour; for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne fonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; 20 he caused them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

all vingartatily to the Diocks.

Hitherto the Remans, bauing by the viblemisled integritie of Bruins, well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their militarie designements, against Forrainers; sirst, for their libertie; secondly, for inlarging of their possession and lassly, for defending their consederate Protinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome situated as it were in the mid-way between e Lasum and the Tuleans, hauing as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minoritie, cannot but guie occasion of offence to her neighbours syntill by maine opposition, hauing pre-uailed against her borders, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine

the rett.

Their first warre, in the first yeare of confuls, was against porfenna King of Hetruria, who being ouer-perswaded by Tarquines lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him agains in his Kingdome.

In the first conside, the atius Coeles, having long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over Tibris; at length feeling him less too faint to shand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the River-like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hore spirits, and returned fafe to his followes, with the like resolution to give a new charge. Persentance vanto the Citie and sound the visitorie, in a manner, assured by this he had well-nigh won the hill Lantaslus, which is the vericentrance vanto the Citie and sound the vistorie, in a manner, assured by its owner; yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of Casturus Scends (who having by errour slaine Persena his Secretarie, instead of the King himselfe, did in scorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) hee thought it not Bubbb 3 any

any whit prejudiciall, either to his fafetie, or credit, to enter league with them at the worlt hand. And yet the edge of Tarquinius his filecene, was not quite abated, though Aruns his fonne, and Bruns his enemie, in fingle combat, had flaine each other. And here the Reman, although they loft Bruns, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion hee was, for their chastitie, not for beautie, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated \$P\_Lunetius Truspitinus, father to Lucretia and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) Horatius Pubullus.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to ftrue against the streame, and spent the residue of his time; which was about foure- 10 teene yeares, privately at Tusculum. Yet his sonne-in-law, Mamilius Tusculanus, stomaching a fresh at those old repulses, because Porsenna had made peace with the Romans, and denied further fuccour vnto the Tarquines, mustered vp his Latines, and gaue battaile to the Romans, at the Lake Regillum; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill Aulus Posthumins, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracie greater than Consults, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidit the Enemie; and Cofius or Spurius Cafius (mafter of the Horfe-men, an affiftant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might runne with free violence, to recour againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well 20 performed, that a report went currant, of Caster and Pollux, two Gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye witnesses of their valous, and fellow helpers of their victorie; for the Generall confecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroade, reflected vpon themselues at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, vpon infligation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselues wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consulls, they made an vproarein the holy Mount; untill by Menenius Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they 30 might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controuersies, the Confuls authoritie notwithstanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement amongst themselves, they had continuall Warre with the Latines, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the Volsa and Aqui held them longest; who made warre, of themselves, vpon the Romans: whereby they lost the best Citie in their whole jurifdiction, Corioli,

In this conquest, T. Martius got the sirname of Coriolanus: a name honorable then, as derined from a great victorie: although, by reason of the ponertie of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after times, would have beene ashamed of that title. But yet 40 these graces had beene no occasion of disparagement, had hee not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, adulfed to sell corne, which they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people: whereupon, Decius Mus, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, and after judgement, banished him. Coriolanso flying to the Volsai, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces againe, which being committed vnto him, and to Attiss Tullus, he prevailed in field, so farre forth, that hee was come within foure or fine miles of the Citie. Incamping there hee made so sharpe warre, and was at such defiance, with his Countrie, that hee would not relent, by any supplications of Embassadours, vntill his Mother Peturia, and Volumnia his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves bet- 50 ter Subjects to their Countrie, than friends to their sonne and husband, were more auaileable to Rome, then was any force of armes. Hereupon Coriolanus difiniffing his Armie, was after put to death among the Volsei, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunitie: or (as others furmise) living with them untill old age, hee died natuNot long after this, the Veij in Hetruria, prouoked the Romans; againft whom the Fabij, three hundred and fixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imploied, as it had been in a private quarrell. The Fe Fabij, after fome good feruices, lying incamped at Cremera, were circumuented and all flaine: one only of that whole houle, had been left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward forang Fabins Maximus, who vanquilhed Hamibal.

In processe of time, the Romans were also troubled with the Volsi, at the hill Algidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius Minusius their Confull, with his whole Armie, had beene discomstited, had not L. Quintius Cincinstus chosen Distator, and to taken from the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe and the his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the space of fixeen dayes. In the continuance of this Volsian warre it was, that Appius Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of Solans lawesamongh them, procured from Aibens (abrogating in the meane while the Confuls, and all other Magistracies) would have ranisled Virginia, the daughter of T. Virginius, Capatine of a Companie, and lying then in campe at Aigidum. Hercupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill Amentine, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to religne up their authoritie againe, to new Confuls.

20 After this, either new quarrells, or defire to reuenge old loffes, drew the Romans into a new warre, againft the Peientes, and their adherents, ypon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuerlitie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquished the Fidiplis, and the Fidorates, and vitterly subdued the Peientes. In conquering the Faligis, Furius Comillum shewed no less interesting than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the Romaccampe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: Camillus deliuered this Traitor bound wnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him back into the Citic; which forth with yeelded wnto him in reuerence of his putite. The siege of Yeij was ten yeares, and so troublesome, that the Romans were there first 30 enlored to winter abroade vnder beasts skinnes (to which they were the more cafiliy induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vowes neuer to re-

turne without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they confectated their tenths to Apolle Pythius: and the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no less withankefull to Camillus for his service, than before they had beene to Cariolamus; For they banished him the Citie, ypon some occasion of inequalitie in dividing the spoiles: yet herequited their vinkindnesse with a new peece of service, against the furie of the Gaules: who being a populous Gountrie, and very healthfull, the stathers (as sometimes one) lived for long rharthe somes, were enforced to roamea-

onw) lined fo long, that the sonnes, desirtute of meaners, were enforced to roaneabroad, slecking some place, where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation wast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rouers our many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italie, set upon Clussium, a Townein Herruria; where of Rome hauing information (and being carefull of her Consederate Townes) sent Embassadours, examing them to delift from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injurie offered by the Roman Embassadours, connected their forces from Clussium towards Rome; and guining a great ouerthrow to the Romans, by the River Alia, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of Angust (which day was after branded for vuictous characteristics). Then was Rome the true man of missire and desidation. For some leaving the citie.

50 Inckie, and called Allenfis in the Roman Kalendar) they be retend towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of mifeire and defolation. For forme leauning the citie; forme creeping into holes; Priefis hiding their reliques; and euery one fhifting for himfelfe, ere the enemie came; Rome was abandoned, as indefenfible. The Vehal Virgins, at this tumulet, were faifely contained away; the Ancients of the Citie, gallong in the structure of the Citie, gallong in the structure.

thering boldneffe out of desperate stare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did state themselues in Thrones, in their seuerall houses, hourely expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lund, in State. The yonger sort, which A. Manlau their Captaine, tooke yoon them to make

good the Capitoll.

By this, the Gaules were entred the Citie, who feeing all quiet, at first suspected fome ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoile, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, that sate in their Majestie, with a graue resolution: having first reverenced them as Gods, anon they tryed whether they would die like men. When the Citic was throughly rifled, they attempted 10 the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of scuen Moneths. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being discried by the gagling of Geesco. M. Manlius did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the Gaules being wearie, and the Romans hungrie. The bargaine was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound waight in gold, to desit from their fiege. Whilest the gold, was in waighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their waights too heavie: Brennus, their Captaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, faying, that the vanquished must bee patient perforce. But in the midit of this cauilling, came Furius Camillus, with an Armic, from Ardea, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell vpon the Gaules, 20 with such violence, that hee dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to restore the spoiles with advantage, and sorbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further, having rid the Citic of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this hrst, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of M. Torquatus, and of M. Valerius Corninus (each of which in fingle fight, flew a Champion of the Gaules) abated their prefumption, and restored courage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable service, was afterwards accompted a fecond Romulus.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnessly bent to goe to the Vey to inhabite; but Camillus dissipated them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Peij, they changed their gouernement from Confulls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernement of these also, after some yeares, was by civill diffension interrupted : so that one while Confulls ruled : another while there was an Anarchie : Then the Tribunes were reflored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Confular authoritie was established; it being enacted, that one of the Confulls should alwaies bee a Plebeian. This was after the building of the Citie, three hundred fixtic fine yeares. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her 40 Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike Samuites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: fituated betweene Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly inuade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselues subjects to Rome, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or what else what locuer to obtaine protection, which the Romans, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fifh, should deuour the leffe, eafily allowed off; especially aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleafant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The Families of the Papyrij and Fabji were most employed in the managing of 50 this warre, which indured the space of fiftic yeares. And in this scason were the Romanos straimes dangeroully encountred by the Sammies, as when T. Feterius, and 5.9. Position were Consolis, and disconsited by Position at Caudium, with no small ignominie: and when Q. Fabius Gurges lost the field with three thousand men.

But for these losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papprus, and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

The Sammites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Sammites was well broken, ere the Hetririans (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) beganne to stirre. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributare to Rome.

In the continuance of this long warreit was, (though in time of truce betweene the Romans and Samitas) that the Latines beganne to challenge equal freedome in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing Office, to that they required to have 10 one of the Confulls yearely cholen out of them.

This demand, of the Latines, was not vnreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Collonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of Roman premailed, by the vertue of the Confulls.

Munitua Torquatus, and the elder Desius, were then Confulls, whom the Soothfayers aduertifed, that the fide fhould be victorious, which loft the General in fight. Hereupon, Desius the Confull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victoree (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoting himselfie for his Ar-

To Mic, the fonne of this Detiut, being after Confull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrusius warre. But (as Tulke well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decy, that purchased victoric, by rulhing into the mids of the enimies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthic Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of Manhius was no lesser follower, than the valour of Decius. He forbadany one to for sake his place, and fight single with an enemie. For breach of which order, he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the Latines, being challenged, in single sight.

When the Latines, the Aqui, Volfis, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Hetrurians, 30 with some other people, were brought vader obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of Haile, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For Curins
Dentatus, the Roman Confull, wasting all their Countrie with fit e and fword, from
the River Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The laft of the Italians, that made triall of the Roman Armes, were the Tarentines, and their adherents. These had interposed themselues as Mediatours, betweene the Romans and Samites; with a peremptorie denunciation of warre, wnto that partie, which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendred. These threats, which discouered their bad affection to Rome, ended in words; but when the Samulanians were exterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The Romans complained, that certaine ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embassadours with Tarentum, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the Lueans, Messams plants, sprutams, and Appulians, joyning with the Tarentimes, procured the Sammites, and other Subjects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for Pyrrbus, by whose aide (being a Graessam, as the Tarentimes also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of Rome should bee 50 confined, with ome narrow bounds, than all stalie, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-foread.

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How PYRRHVS warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.



YRRHUS, for faken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with Lyimachus, was compelled a while to line in rest: which he abhorred no And the standard of the standa

the power of Lysimachus, that it was no point of wisedome, to make an offensine warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius. held Corinth, at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that Pyrrhus might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that hee might ferue to give some hinderance to Lylimachus.

In this want of imploiment, and couctous defire of finding it, the Tarentine Embaffadours came very fitly to Pyrrbus: and they came with braue offers, as needing none other aide then his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselues under his protection. They had in their companie, some of the Sammites, 20 Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promised, in behalfe of their seucrall Nations, as much as could be defired. This encouraged Pyrrhus, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as Alexander had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is faid, that once he answered Cyneus his chiefe Counsailour, asking what he meant to doe after every of the victories which hee hoped to get : that, having wonne Rome, he would soone be Master of all Italie; that, after Italie he would quickly get the Isle of Sicil; that, out of Sicil hee would passe ouer into Africk, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Countrie; and being strengthned with the force of all these Prouinces, hee would be too hard, for any of those, 30 that were now fo proud and troublefome. But Cyness enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all : Whereunto Pyrrhus (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would line merrily; a thing (as Cyneas then told him) that they prefently might doe, without any trouble, if he could bee contented with his owne.

Neuerthelesse, this Italian expedition seemed vnto Pyrrhus, a matter of such consequence, as was not to bee omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie; of almost thirtie thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers : part of which he sent ouer before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the Tarentines very prompt 40 of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly carelesse to provide for the Warre. Wherefore he was faine to shut up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and refort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strickt muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behooning to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, Lauinus the Roman Conful drew near, and beganne to wast Lucania, a Province confederate with the Tarentines in this

The Lucanians were not readie to defend their owne Countrie; the Sammiles were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselues; the Tarentines were better prepared than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all 50 of these had been accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the Roman fortitude: and therefore it fell outhappily, that Pyrrhus relied more vpon his owne forces, than the iffue of their vaunting promifes. He was now drinen, either to fet forward, with those that himselfe had brought into Italie, and the affiliance of the Tavenines,

wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiencie, which by all meanes he was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him; with which he refolued to affay the valour of the Romans, against whom hee proudly marched.

Lauinus the Consull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battaile, ere all his adherents should be readie to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slackneffe of the Mesapians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger most o concerned, caused Pyrrhus to offer a treatic of peace : requiring to have the quarrel, betweene the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arrive at his Campe; or whether, confidering better at neare distance, the weight of the businesse, which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the fhort answere, that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other : for the Romans fent him this word, that they had neither chofen him their ludge, nor feared him their enemie.

Hereupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the River of Siris: Leuinus intending to fight, before the arrivall of the Samnites; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from 20 paffing that River, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceined by Pyrrhus, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong Corps degarde, vpon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, vntill he saw his best aduantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemic was not only skilfull in the Art of warre, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Armie entred the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time, beganne to passe the River, in sundrie places: which caused the Greekes to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto

This audacitie forced Pyrrbus to battaile; wherewith he thought it best to prefent them, ere their whole Armie hadrecouered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged upon the Romans: who foutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining surious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooved him indeede to doc his best; for he neuer met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine under him : afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vie of his Kings armour, which was torne from 40 his back. This accident had almost lost him the battaile : but he perceining it, disconcred his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and tooke from the Romans their vaine joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on Pyrrhus his fide, as long as only speare and sword were vled. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnusuall forme and terrible aspect, the horses of the Romans (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to fultaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceiuing their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force, and huge bulke, of these strange beasts; gaue way to necessitie, and saued themselues, as well as they 50 could, by hastic fight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their difcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ranne quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to Pyrrhus.

The fame of this victorie was soone spread ouer Italie; and the reputation was no leffe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to bee heard, that a Roman

with him.

Confull, with a felect Armie, should loofe in plaine battaile, not only the field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely wonne by Pyrrhus, for that hee had with him none of his Italian friends, faue the vnwarlike Tarentines. Neither could be well diffemble his content that he tooke, in having the glorie of this action peculiarly his owne, at fuch time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, for comming (as we fay) a day after the faire. Neuerthelesse, he wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore, he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose hee sent vnto them Cyness his Embassadour; 10 demaunding only to have the Tarentines permitted to live at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did Cyneas, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts, labour to effect; but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome. that would take any bribe of him; neither did their defire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the riling of many States in Italie against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of Appius Claudius, an old and blinde Senator, did stirre them up to make good their honour by warre. So they returned answere, that whilest Pyrrhus aboade in Italie, they would come to no agreement

Such was the report, that Cyneas made, at his returne, of the Roman pullfance 20 and vertue; as kindled in Pyrrhus a great delire of confederacie, with that gallant Citic, Hereupon many kinde Offices passed between them: but still when hee vrged his motion of peace, the answere was, He must first depart out of Italie, and then treat of feace.

In the meane season, each part made prouision for warre; the Romans leauving a more mightie armie than the former; and Pyrrhus being strengthned with accesse vnto his forces, of all the East parts of Italie. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boifterous violence of the Elephants, gaue to Pyrrhus a fecond victorie. But this was not altogether fo joyfull, as the former had beene : rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another vi- 20 ctorie would be his vtter vndoing. For hee had loft the flower of his Armie in this battaile, and though he draue the Romans into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor faw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relicued with daily supplies, whilest he should bee driven to spend vpon his old flock. Neither could hee expect, that his Elephants should alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would soone teach the Romans, that were apt Scholers in such learning, how to make them vnseruiceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of Italie: which to doe (feeing the Romans would not helpe him, by offering or accepting anie faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a flight occasion, presented by 40 fortune, that followeth to be related.

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δ. I I I.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How PYRRHVS, being inuited into Sicill, for fooke Italie; wanne the maft of the Ifle, and lost it in Ilbort foac.

PYRRHVS returnes into Italie; where he is beaten by the Romans, and be over back to his owne Kingdome.



Hen Ptolomie Ceraunus had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of Lysimones in Europe, as if they had beene the due reward, wnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of Cassander and Lysimachus were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon any

were then fallen to the ground : neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough, to advance himselfe against Ceraunus. The friends of Lylimachus were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnes of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had flood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in Ceraunus: perswading themselves that his raigne might proue good, though his entrance had beene wicked. These 20 affections of the Macedonians did ferue to defeat Antigonus the fonne of Demetrius, that made an attempt vpon the Kingdome. As for Antiochus, the forme of Selencus. he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neare vnto Europe. Yet hee made great shew of meaning to reuenge his fathers death: but being stronger in monie than in armes, hee was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strone about the Kingdome, Pyrrhus, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their diffention: threatning warre, or promiting his affiltance, to enery one of them. By these meanes he strengthned himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voiage, which hee had then in hand : requesting monic of 30 Antiochus, ships of Antigonus, and souldiers of Ptolomie, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to have them restored at two yeares end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, & quietly enjoy his Kingdom. Thus Ptolomic grew mightie on the fuddaine; and the power that by wic-

ked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he increased.

All Matedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citic of Cassandria, was held by Arfines his slitter; the widow of Lysimachus, who lay therein with her yong children. Her
hee circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the fushion of those
times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wise,
with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for

it was not long, ere he flew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good fuceoffe, which his vilanic found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that hee had neuer heard off. Belgius a Captaine of the Gaules, hauing forced his paffage through many Countries, vnto the confines of Macedon, fent a proud medfage to Ceraumus, commanding him to buy peace with monie, or otherwife, to look for all the miferies of warre. The Gaules were the race of those, that iffued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates, in that great expedition, wherein Bremun tooke and burnt the Citic of Rome. They had divided themselues, at their setting forth, into two Companies, of which the one fell 50 ypon Malies, the other palling through the Countries that lie on the Northerns side, of the Adriatik Sea, made long aboade in Pumonia, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled Ceraumus to doesyntow hose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellowes had taken Rome.

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When their Embaffadours came to Ptolomie, asking what he would give: His answere was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld up their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answere, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; faying, that they would foone confute with deeds, the vanitie of fuch proud words. It may feeme strange, that he, who had given away part of his Armie vnto Pyriha, for very feare; should bee so consident in undertaking more mightic enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the Gaules; but hee scorned the offer; saying, that hee had the children of those, to which under the conduct of Alexander, had subdued all the East. Thus hee iffued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victorie must needes have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in numbers, that few or none escaped their furie. Ptolomie himselfe grienously wounded, fell into their hands, whileft the battaile continued; and they prefently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter aftonishment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled all Macedon with fuch defperation, that 10 the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countrie as loft. Only Softweens, avaliant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a fmall Armie, with which hee many times got the vpper hand, and hindred Belgius from vling the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King, which title he refused, and was content with the name of a Generall. But (as milchiefs doe seldome come alone) the good successed of medical more and fitted with the sum of the Cantes, with an hundred and fitted thouse and fitted with his weake troups made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the Micedonium againe compelled to hide themselues within their walls, lea-30 using all their Countrie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians deliture of a King, and troden downe by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in left ethen fiftie yeares after the death of Alexander, who fought to difcour and flubdue vnknowne Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia, had beeneroo little for a King of Macedon.

Very feafonably had these newes beene carried to Pyrthus in Italie, who fought a fare pretext of reliquishing his warre with the Romanishad not other tidings out of Stad distracted him, and carried him away in purfuse of nearth opes. For after the death of Agashodes, who raigned ouer the whole Iland, the Cashaginians sent an Armie to conquer Stad, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This 40 Armie did fo fast prevaile, that the Statians had no other hope to avoide flaueric, than in submitting themselnes to the rule of Pyrthus whom, being a Gracian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoake of Casthage. To him therefore, the Syraudjust, Leonines, and Agraciantee, principal Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadours, carnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two fuch notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out to valuekily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of scial more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeued (as came after to passe) that his advantage, vpon Macedon, would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into Sicil he transported his Armie, leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as hee sound them, but with a Garrison in their Towne, to hold them in fubication.

As his departure out of Italie, was rather grounded on head-long paffion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, wrill his returne who Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note worthie. The Armie which he caried into that Ifle, confifted of thirtie thou fand foot, and two thou fand fine hundred horfe: with which, some after his defeent in Stall, he fore the Cartheginians, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also wonne the firong Citico (Epsys, and hauing beaten the Atamertines in battaile, hee beganne to change condition, and turne i yrant. For he draue Selfratus (to whom his crueltie was fulped) out of the Iland, and put Themeon of Syrasufe to death, being jealous of his greatness; to which two persons had faithfully served him, and deliuered the great and rich Citico Syrasufe into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined to fast, as hee served himselfer, and falued the disfreputation of his leaving Stall, by an Emballage sen himselfer, and falued the disfreputation of his leaving Stall, by an Emballage sen himselfer, and falued the disfreputation of his leaving Stall, by an Emballage sen himselfer, and falued the disfreputation of his leaving stall, by an Emballage sen himselfer, and falued the later had subject to the passes, who since his leaving Italie, had well neare disposses them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, hee imbarked for Italie; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assassing the Italies seller, by eighteen hundred Mamerimes, that attended him in the straints of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recoured Tarentum, hee sought a third battaile with the Romans, and the Straint, who was victorious ouer him, and fore't him out of Italie, into his the Countries and the Straint St

A Prince he was farre more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Countrie or Kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no lesse homour, than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where sound. But hencuer staid vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after he died in Agos.

## δ. IIII.

How Antigonvs, the sonne of Demetrivs, delivered Macedon from the Gaules. How Pyrrhys wonnethe Kingdome of Macedon from Antigonvs,

He vertue of Softhenes being too weake, to defend the Kingdome of Macedon; and the fortune which had accompanied him againt Belgins, failing him in his attempts againft Brennus: the Macedonians were no leffeglad to fubmit themselues with the government of Antigonus, than they had formerly beene desirous, to free themselues, from the

he entertained their Embaffadors in very louing and fumptnous manner, with a roiall feast; wherein he exposed to their view, such aboundance of massie gold and silner, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with fight of the vesfells, wherein it was ferued. He thought hereby, to make them understand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if neede required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end he likewife did flow vnto them, his Camp and Nauie, but efpecially his Elephants. But all this brauerie ferued only to kindle their greedie appetites; who feeing his ships heavie loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the Gaules : thought all time loft, wherein they fuffered the prefent poffeffors, 10 to found the riches, which they accompted affuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of Spoile and purchase: which tale, caried the Gaules head-long, to Antigonus his camp. where they expected a greater bootie, than the victorie ouer Ceraunus had given to Belgius. Their comming was terrible and fuddaine; yet not fo fuddaine, but that Antigonus had notice of it: who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged fomewhat before their arrivall, and conveighed himfelfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Camp for faken, were not haltie to purfue him, but fell to ranfacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was 20 either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched enery place in vaine, angric at their loft labour, they marched with all speede toward the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest hee was busic in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon Antigonus, they were fo carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoile of what they

found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground. Part of the Armie had left Antigonus, where he lay in couert, and had faued it felfe by getting aboard the fleet:in which number were some well experienced men of warre, who discourring the much advantage offered vnto them, by the desperate 20 prefumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manlie hold vpon the oportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Marriners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great flaughter, driven to cast themselves into the sernice of Antigonus.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible and reliftlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were overthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules, in this place; and to shew how, about these times, 40 three Tribes of them passed over into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armes of the Romans, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall give better occasion, to rehearfe these matters briefly.

Howfoeuer the good fucceffe of Antigonus got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded, to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto Pyrrhus: though as 50 yet, he knew not so much. For Pyrrhus, when his affaires in Italie stood vpon hard termes, had fent vnto Antigonus for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was be fure to get, either a fupply, wherewith to continue his war against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, under colour of

making his word good, in feeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauerie, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into Epirus, to put in practise.

He brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and fine hundred horse: an armie too little to be imploied, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon Macedon; intending to take what spoile he could get, and make Antigonus compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thoufand of Antigonus his Souldiers, revolted vnto Pyrrhus; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such faire beginnings, eafily perfwaded the 13 courage of this daring Prince, to fet vpon Antigonus himfelfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole Kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that Antigonus had no defire to fight, with this hot warriour; but thought it the wifest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Countric. For Pyrrhus ouertooke him in a straight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his firength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The Gaules very brauely fustayned Pyrrbus his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were flaine) after a sharpe fight : wherein it seemes, that Antigonus keeping his Macedonian Phalanx within the ftreight, and not advancing to their succour, tooke away 20 their courage, by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken foone after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence, that had confumed fo many of the Gaules, yeelded themselues and the beasts. All this was done in full view of Antigonus, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort: which emboldened Pyrrhus, to charge them where they lay in their firength. Where the Phalanx could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. Butthe Macedonians had seene so much, that they had no defire to fight against Pyrrhus; who discoursed so well their affections, that hee aduentured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. 30 All forfooke Antigonis, a few horfe-men excepted, that fled a long with him to The falonica; where he had some small forces left, and monie enough to entertaine agreater power, had he knowne where to leanie it. But while it he was thinking, how toullure a sufficient number of the Gaules into his service; whereby hee might repaire his losse: Ptolomie, the sonne of Pyrrhus, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flie from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponne (us, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroade into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all forrow, of his late mif-fortunes in the Roman warre: fo that he fent for his sonne He-40. lenus (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come duer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselues.

How PYRRHUS assailed Sparta without success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.



YRRHVS had now conceived a great hope, that nothing should bee able to withfland him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the Gaules, beaten Anigonus, and wonne the Kingdome of Macedon; There was not in all Greece, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that Alexandra of the ander had wonne, any Leader of fuch name and worth, as descrued to be set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what

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he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of fine and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and source and twentie Elephants; pretending warreagainst Antigonus, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in Pelsponnes, which the same Antigonus held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important. than warre against a Prince alreadie vanquished, and almost veterly dejected. Especially the Lacedemonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For Cleonymus, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himfelfe to Pyrrhus: who readily entertained him, and promifed to restore him to his Kingdome. This promife was made in fecret; neither would Pyrrhus make thew 10 of any displeasure, that he bare vnto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a p'ace of noble discipline. With such colours hee deluded men, euen till he entred vpon Laconia; where prefently he demeaned himfelfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe, and his former dissembling words, with a jeast; That he followed herein the Lacedamonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the Laced amonians, to deale in like fort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in Pyrrhue, which they alwaies practifed as wisdome, till it made them distrufled, for faken, and almost contemptible. Neuerthelesse, they were not wanting to 20 themselves, in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to reserue themselves fresh against the assault: which Pyrrhus had viwisely deferred, vpon assurance of prenailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: fooneafter this (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part hard to approch) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls; at the prefent, only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance feemed most easie. Three daiestogether it was assailed by Pyrrhus, exceeding siercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved 30 the Towne the first day; whereinto the violence of Pyrrhus had forced entrance the fecond day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of fauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though alreadie they had torne in funder the barricadoes. Presently after this, one of Antigonus his Captaines got into Sparta, with a good strength of men; and Areas the King returned out of Crete (where he had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his owne countrie flood, vntill he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a defire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke showed, how great his errour had beene, in forbearing to affault 40 the Towne at his first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that hee saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course, he had no defire to spend his time.

Mizenus bad now raifed an Armie, though not firong enough to meet theenemic in plaine field, yet able to hinderall his purpofes. This made Pyrrhus doubtfull what way to take; being duerfly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprife in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. While she evast thus perplexed, letters came from argo\*, inuiting him thither; with promise, to deliuer that Citic into his hands.

Civill diffension raging then horly in Argos, caused the heads of severall facti- 50 one, to call in Pyrshus and Antigonus, but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous, to rid their hands of such powerfull AL sistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. Antigonus told the Argues, that he came to such them from the tyrannic of Pyrshus; and that hee would

begone if they needed not his helpe. On the other lide, Pyrrhus would needes perfixed e them, that he had none other errand, that no make them fafe from Antigomus, offering in like manner, to depart, if they so delired.

The Argines tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hercunto Antigons readily condeded cended, and gaue Hoilages to assure this word: for he was the weaker, and stood in neede of good-will. But Pyrthus thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none, to his inferious; essentially, meaning deceip. This made them suspects his purpose to be such, as, indeede, it was. Yet he leile regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthie of assurance, by giung such a bond, as hee intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citic (hould be opened by night vnto Pyrrhus, by his Complices within Argar: which was accordingly p-rharmed. So his
Armie, without any tumult, entred the Citic: till the Elephants, with Towers on
their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to paffe the Gate. The taking off, and
fetting on againe, of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both
gue alarme to the Citic, and some lediture to take order for defence, before so many
were entred, as could fully Masserit. Argas was full of ditches, which greatly hinclotded the Gauls: (that had the Funtgarde) being ignorant of the waise, in the darke
night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge
of euery by-passegand setting ypon the enemies on all lides, did put them to great
losse, and more trouble.

Typribus therefore, understanding by the confused noise, and unequal shoutings of his owne men, that they were in diltress, entred the Cities person, to take order for their relices, and assume and among the place. But the darkeness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill breake of day. Then beganne beto make his passage by force, and so larre preusalied, that heggs into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as it they had been combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe; and that hereupon he madercratit.

Indeede, the comming of satigonas to therefere, the diforder and confusion of his owner men; with ditures ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to have retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The turnuls was fuch, that no directions could be heard; but as fore gaue back, so did others thrust forward, and the strigges prefling hard you him, forced Pyrthus to make good his retrait, with his owner sword. The tops of the houses were coursed with women, that shood looking on the sight. Among these was one, that shaw her owne somein dangerous case, fighting with Pyrthus. Wherefore, shee tooke a tile stone, or flate, and threw it so violently downe on the head of Pyrthus, that hee fell to ground aftonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had bis head cut off.

Thus ended the refilesse ambition of Pyrthu, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Distaction to Intigonus; who forthwith possess the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enomie. The bodie of Pyrthus, had honourable funerall, and was given by Antigonus with Helenus his sonie; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the cace of Antigonus, held the Kingdome of Masselon; the positive of Selenus, raigned ouer Asiand Syriz; and the bouse of Ptolomie had quiet to possession of the Cities of Rome, swallowing all vp.oige-sted these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.



# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM
the fetled rule of ALEXANDER'S Successfors
in the East, putill the ROMAN'S, prevailing
ouer all, made Conquest of Asia and
MACEDON.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

CHAP. I. Of the first Punicke Warre.

). I.

A discussion of that probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have refisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to the English.



HAT question handled by LIVIE, Whether the great ALEXANDER could have pressible the Romans, if after his Eafterne conquest; he had bent all his forces against them, hath beene, and is, the subject of much disputes which (as it feemes to me; the arguments on both sides do not so well explane, as doth the experience that Pyrthus bath giuen, of the Roman power, in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in Hannibla) judgement) inseries to Alexander, though to noncelle, could with small strength of men, and little thore of monie, or of other needfull

helps in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their estate, when it was, well setled, and held the best part of *stalie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander have done, that was aboundantly provided of all which is needful.

full to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of emploiment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halke fo well felted. It is eafle to fay, that Alexander had no more, than thirtse thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his fift passage into Asia, he carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base estimates Asias first passage in the carried ouer, not many more) and that the rest of his Armies of Perduces, Assignary Craterus, Eumenes, Ptolomic, Antigonus, and Lysinsabus, with the actions by then performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power; shall easily sinde, that such a reckoning is starte short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horkes, Elephants, Engines of batterie, 10 and the like: of all which, the Macedonian had aboundance; the Roman haining nought, sauce men and armes. As for Sea-forces, he that shall consider after what fort the Roman, in their sint Panick warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Nauigation; sitting you the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not during to lanch their ill-built vesses into the Sea; will easily conceiue, how farre too weake they would have proued in such services.

Now for helpers in warre ; I doe not fee, why all Greece and Macedon, being abfolutely commanded by Alexander, might not well descrue to be laid in ballance, against those parts of Italie, which the Romans held in ill-assured subjection. Toomit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthic, indeede, than 20 valiant, could have affoorded vnto the Macedonian : let vs only conjecture, how the States of Sicilland Carthage, nearest neighbours, to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have stood affected. The Sicilians were, for the most part, Gracians, neither is it to bee doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselues vnto him, that ruled all Greece belides them. In what termes they commonly flood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that Alexanders comming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of Pyrrhus, by offering to become his subjects. As for the Carthaginians; if Agathocles, the Tyrant of Syracule, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne belieged Citic, could, by adventuring to faile into Affrek, 30 put their Dominion, yea and Carthage it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall wee thinke that they would have been able to withfland Alexander? But, why doe I question their abilitie, feeing that they fent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as Babylon, ere the warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans must, without other succour, than perhaps of some sew Italian friends ( of which yet there were none, that for sooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would have made reliftance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match, it is uncasie to finde in discourse of humanereason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is a- 40 gainst cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for who focuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemie goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to bee cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the Roman, or the Macedonian, were in those daies the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not only Philip and Alexander, but also Alexanders Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all forts of watre; before any, that Kome either had, or in long time after did fend forth. Concerning 50 fortune; who can give a rule that shall alwaies hold? Alexander was victorious in enery battaile that he fought: and the Romans in the iffue of cuery warre. But forasmuch as Linie hath judged this a matter worthie of consideration; I thinke it a great part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander came not into Italie: where in

three yeares after his death, the two Roman Confulls, together with all the power of that State, were furprized by the Sammites, andenforced to yeeld up their armes. We may therefore permit Limit to admitte his owne Romans, and to compare with Alexander, those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceipt should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding fuch a controuerfie, me thinks it were not amiffe, for an Englishman, to giue fuch a fentence betweene the \*\*Odacedomans\* and Romans\*, as the Romans\* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betweene the \*\*Ardeates and Arbitmi\*, that Links Deca. 1.5, through about a pecce of land; saying, that it belonged with oneither of them, but yun-

to the Romans themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the Macedonian, or the Roman, were the best Warriour? I will answere: The Englishmen. For it will soon cappeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or vinnansic people; the enemic being farre superiour vinto vs in numbers, and all needfull prouisions, years well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In what fort Philip wanne his Dominion in Greece, what manner of men the Perfams and Indians were; whom Aexander vanquilhed; as likewife of what force the Macedoma Phalans was, and how well appointed, againft fuch arms as it commonly encountred; any man, that bath taken paines to reade the foregoing floric of them, doth fufficiently underitand. Yet was this Phalans neuer, or very feldome, able to fland, againft the Roman Armies; which were embattailed in for excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation befides them haue vfed, either before or fince. The Romans weapons likewife, both offenitive and defenfive, were of greater vfe, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the serie instruments of Gunne-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which Romans had to doe; we finde, that they, which did outer-match her in numbers, wereas farre outer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom shee had little adaquating of their in multitude. This also (as Plutarch well observed; has a part of her happinesse; that they was neuer outer-laied, with well observed; has a part of her happinesse; the was neuer outer-laied, with

two great warres at once.

Hereby it came to paffe, that having at first increased her strength, by accession of the Sadines, having wonne the State of Alba, against which shee adventured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, you the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her selfe Princesse of Latinus: shee did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all Italie. The Carthaginians had well neare oppressed her: but their Souldiers were Mercinaries fo that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The Atolians, and with

40 them all, or the most of Greece, affished her against Philip the Macedonian; hee being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same Atolians. The warres against Antichus, and other Affisiques, were such as gaue to Rome small cause of boash, though much of joy; for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. Sieil, Spaine, and all Greece, fell into her hands by vining her aide, to protect them against the Cartheigh into and Macedonian of

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the Roman valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many samous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their 50 valour hath appeared, comparable to the English. If my judgement seeme ouer-

partiall; our warres in France may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore tits well knowne; that Roome (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as thing Cessar, and that no Rooma armie, was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same Cessar. Likewise, it

is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the Roman courage, in good performance of the Heluetian warre, when it first entred into Gaule; was neuertheleffe vtterly difficartened, when Cefar led it against the Germans, So that we may justly impute, all that was extraordinarie in the valour of Cafars men, to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deedes done by these best of Roman Souldiers, in their principall feruice; the things performed in the same Countrie, by our common English Souldier, leavied in halte, from following the Cart, or fitting on the shop-stall : fo shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeue Cefar, in relating the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the English. In Cafars time, France was inhabited by the Gaules, a flout people, but inferiour to the French, by whom they were subdued ; euen when the Romans gaue them affiftance. The Countrie of Gaule was rent in Junder (as Cefar witneffeth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by pettic Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such fort as might make it appliable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the pettie States, yea in euery Citie, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. Arionistus, with his Germans, had ouer-runne the Countrie, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from meere 20 flauerie: yea, so often had the Germans prevailed in warre vpon the Gaules, that the Gaules ( who had sometimes beene the better Souldiers ) did hold themselves no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had France beene so prepared vnto our English Kings, Rome it selfe, by this time, and long ere this time, would have beene ours. But when King Edward the third beganne his warre vpon France, hee found the whole Countrie setled in obedience to one mightic King; a King whose reputation abroade, was no lesse, than his puissance at home; under whose Ensigne, the King of Bohemia, did serve in person; at whose call, the Genowayes, and other Neighbour The Dol- States, were readie to take armes: finally, a King vnto whom one a Prince gaue aphin of Vien- way his Dominion, for loue; b another fold away a goodly Citic and Territoric 30 nois.

The King for monic. The Countrie lying so open to the Roman, and being so well senced aof Majorca. gainst the English; it is note-worthic, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the English purchases, with the Roman conquest ) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. Cefer himselfe doth witnesse, that the Gaules complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardinesse was ouer-mastered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the Roman Towers, and Engines of batteric, raised and planted against their walls, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the Roman; than that the Caribes, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worfe, 40 by small numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to have regard, of the great difficultie that was found, in drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their affailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to paffe, that they were neuer able to make vse of oportunitie: but sometimes compelled to flay for their fellowes; and sometimes driven, to give or take battaile, vpon extreme disaduantages, for feare, least their Companies should fall a-sunder; as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they were readie to breake, and returne every one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little leffe than all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the Romans, the honour of many gallant victories. What 50 fuch helpe? or what other worldly help, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our English Kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in seats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all pronision, exceedingly beyond vs?

Let vsheare, what a French writer faith, of the inequalitie that was betweene the Idm de Serres. French and English, when their King John was readile to give the on-let, upon the Rlack Prince, at the battaile of Poitiers. IOHN had all advantages over EDWARD, I PAN quoit both of number, force, flew, Countrie, and conceit (the which is commonly a confideration tout Vanantage of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horse-men (estee-par del in Edomed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme, bre. I force, le And what could he wish more?

I thinke, it would trouble a Roman antiquarie, to finde the like example in their it provides months Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Armic noncomof eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint through the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint through the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, better appoint the surrounded with fortic thousand, but the surrounded with fortic thousand, but the surrounded with ted, and no leffe expert warriours. This I am fure of; that neither Syphan the Nu- officered dismonmidian, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as Linie rightly tearmes them, nor de ante foi those cowardly Kings Perseus and Gentius, are worthic patternes. All that have will fire ense read of Cresie and Agincourt, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alleage the bat- fines la meltaile of Poitiers, for lack of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proofe leave detail for whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of France, than euer did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ftrongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Croffe-bow: my answere is readic; that in all these respects, it is also (being

and drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vie. The Gunne, and the Croffe-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse, or sicknesse, or a fore finger, makes the long Bow vnferuiccable. More particularly, I fay, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blanck : and so shall hee perceine, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection; for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most, can be deliuered, before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more frongly than the Croffe-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie 20 arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the English wanne so many great battailes, having no ad-

nantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to

passed a bridge, in face of the enemie, vieth these words; The English comes with a tole; de Serres, conquering brauerie, as he, that was accustomed to gaine enery where, without any stay : hee forceth our garde, placed upon the bridge, to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where hee tells, how the Britons, being inuaded by Charles the eight, King of France, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in English Cassacks; hoping that the very fight of the English red Croffe, would be enough to terrifie the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting De Serres, and Paulus Amylius; report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I vndertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the English, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of Romans, which was affisted with all aduantages that could be defired. If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as Casar had done? my answere may bee (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the Lacide, of whom the old Poet Ennine gaue this note ; Belli potentes funt mage quans fapienti potentes ; They were more warlike than po-

50 worke like a Conquerour : faue only King Henrie the fift, the course of whose victories, it pleafed God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more casily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaule, before the time of Cafar? why not after the Macedonian warre? why not after the third Punick, or after the Numantian? At all these times they had good lei-Ddddd

litique. Who so notes their proceedings, may finde, that none of them went to

the French Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at Cresant, where they

fure : and then especially had they both leifure, and fit oportunitie, when visiter the conduct of Marin, they had newly vanquished the Cimbri, and Teutones, by whom the Countrie of Gaule had beene pitcoully walted. Surely, the words of Tullie were true; that with other Nations, the Romans fought for Dominion; with the Gaules, for preferuation of their owne fafetie.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gaule, vntill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other fide, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnleffe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men fomewhat inferiour) every way equal to our felues; a Nation, anciently & strongly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard, 10 enemie to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backs; where comonly we felt, alwaies we feared, a stronger inuation by land, than we could make vpon France, transporting our forces over Sea.

It is viuall, with men, that have pleased themselves, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgment, if any take vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Hand, hath given more noble proofe of it felfe; than under so worthie a Leader, that Roman Armie could doe, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Cefor a Monarch; fo hereafter, by Gods bleffing, who hath concerted our greatest hindrance, into our 20 greatest helpe, the enemie that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that auoiding vs, hee had rather encountred as great a puissance, as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a fide comparisons, we returne to the rehearfail of deeds done: wherein we shall finde, how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italie, to firiue with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Punick warre.

Q. II.
The estate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

He Citic of Carthage had flood aboue fixe hundred yeares, when first 30 it beganne to contend with Rome, for the mastric of Szeal, It forewent Rome one hundred and fittie yeares in antiquitie of foundation : but in the honor of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion in Africa

it felfe, from the west part of Cyrene, to the streights of Hercules, about one thousand and fine hundred miles in length, wherein flood three hundred Cities. It had (ubp élechail Spaine, euen to the Pyrenean Mountaines, together with all the Ilands in the Mediterran Sea, to the west of Sieil; and of Sieil the better part. It flourished about fenen hundred and thirtie yeare, before the destruction therof by Scipio: who belides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers referred, carried thence source hun- 40 dred & seuentie thousand weight of filter, which make of our monie (if our pounds differ not) fourteene hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie, tanne the same fortune, which many other great ones have done both before and fince. The ruine of the goodliest peeces of the world, fore-shewes the diffolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rome caused it to be rebuilt: and by Gracebus it was called Iunonia: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by Genseries the Vandal, by Belofarius under Instinian, by the Persians, by the Agyptians, and by the Mahometans. It is now nothing. The feat thereof was exceeding firong : and, while the Cartha- 50 gini ins commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the maine by a neck of land; which passage had two mile and more of breath (Appin faith three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it selfe, was about twentie mile in

compaffe;

compasse; if not that of Strabe, affirming the circuit to have beene twice as great. It had three walls, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food. Ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, and Granaries for all their prouender. They had also

lodging in these firects, betweene these out-walls for foure thousand horse-men and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vied now by a The Tarket, at this those of China) neuer pettered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle day, doe also take the of Byr/a; to which Seruius gives two and twentie furlongs in compaffe, that make one halfe of the poor of Byrja; to which serum gues two and twentier throngs in company, that make mans come, that late two mile and a halfe. This was the same peece of ground, which Dido obtained of bours the earth; yea, the Libyans, when shee got leaue to buy only so much land of them, as shee could they take tribute both the Libyans, when thee got reducto buy only to inder hand of circuit, as a free condition of the bodies, and of copaffe with an Oxe hide. On the west side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of the soules of the solid so

of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastened to the ground, on which films their Vallals, by of a transling poole; for a certain cannet of an artificial continent, and left but feuentic bereauing them of the Citie flood, firetched it felletowards the welt continent, and left but feuentic bereauing them of foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this flanding Sea was built a most fumptions which sales the state of the sea to the sea t Ar (enall, having their ships and gallies riding under it.

The forme of their Common-weale refembled that of Sparta ; for they had titu- ligion. The Inflitake laric Kings, and the Ariffocraticall power of Senators. But (as Regian well obser- were wont to cate up ueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councells, with their horfemen,

ueth) the people in later times viurped too great authorite in their Confidents, footmen, and dogs,
This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hi-what they pleased, of red Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more the other three parts forceable causes of their ruine, were their auarice and their crueltie. <sup>a</sup> Their auarice remaining. The hulwas shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one man of Fingland, are b halfeofthefruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not youngentle the free for all the and mercifull perfons, but you those who could belt yrannize ouer the people, to good; for of them augment their treasures. Their crueltic appeared, in putting them to death without have the bodies of mercie, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendred them odi- our victorious armies ous to their vaffalls, whom it made readic, vpon all occasions, to revolt from them: been compounded.
And it is the freems, the other did breake the spirits of their Generalls, by presenting, in the heat of their & not the slaue, that 20 actions abroade, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that fense of shame described to the feare of the shame described to the fense of the shame described to the fense of the shame described to the fense of the shame described to the fense of the shame described to the fense of the shame described to the shame des

many good Comanders of the Carthaginian forces, after some great losse received, ued by cowardise. have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the How free the English have desperately cast themselves, with at that remained vinder their charge, into the venemental beenes, throat of destruction; holding it necessaries, either to repaire their softes quickly, or in times, not long to ruine all together: and few of them have dared, to manage their owne best pro- fince past, Fortefine to ruine all together: and few of them hauc dared, to manage ruer owne bett pro- line part, particule jets, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for fear leaft the manner of their proceeding should be milinterperted! the ing the Carthaginian rule, tries lawes, But I may to crucifie, not only the vinhappie Captaine, but euen him, who fe bad countaile had by, that they are proference usent. The faults, where with, in generall, they of Carthage are taxed, more free now than cure of the countail particular than the by Roman Historians, I finde to be these; lust, crueltie, auarice, crast, vnfaithfulnesse, line & Gentric more on and perjure. Whether the Romans themseliues were free from the same crimes, let excline brauerie, the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league between Carthago and vaine expense of andvaine expense of

Rome, was very ancient: having beene made, the yeare following the expulsion of our Grandes, hash Rome, was very ancient: having beene made, the yeare following the expansion of taught them to raife Tarquine. In that league, the Carthagimans had the superioritie, as imposing vpon the their Rents, since by Romans, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the Romans should not so Inclosures, and dif-Romans, the more interconductors. For two sage recurrent the Romans from the to mediate and all members and all much as haue trade, in 6me part of Africk, nor fuffer any lip of theirs, to paffe be much as haue trade, in 6me part of Africk, nor fuffer any lip of their stop affe to much as haue trade, in 6me part of Africk, nor fuffer any of the Court Bayond the headland, or cape, then called the faire Promontories, valefle it were by force on the same part of the faire Promontories, valefle it were by force on the fair of the faire Promontories, valefle it were by force on the fair of the oftempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in Italie was forbidden to the Car- Leet, the Vrincipalioftempelt: whereas on the other fide, no Flauen in Hatte was for bluden to the Carte of the Gentie of the July and Lease of the Gentie of the July and Lease of the Gentie of the Gentie of the July and Lease of the Gentie of the Gentie of the Gentie of the July and Lease of the Gentie of the Gent \* Livie to fay, that the Romans granted it, at the Carthaginians intreatie) was more dissolued, the Te-50 strict than the former: prohibiting the Romans, to have trade in any part of Africa, nants, howing paied

or in the Iland of Sardinia. By these two treaties it may appeare, that the Carthaginians had an intent, not only now no service at all, to keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge and (perchance) as of the flate of Africk; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all Italie, " I linie Dec. 1, 1, 7.

beganne.

that Iland should be destitute of Italian succours. Hereupon wee finde good cause. of the joy that was in Carthage, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie & fine pound, lent from thence to Rome, when the Sammites were ouerthrowne. But the little flate of Rome, prevailed faster in Italie, than the great power of Carthage did in Sicill. For that mightie Armie, of three hundred thouland men, which chanibal conducted out of Africk into Sicill, wanne only two Cities therein; many green fleets were denoured by tempests; and howsoener the Carthaginians premailed at one time, the Sicilians, either by their owne valour, or by affillance of their good friends out of Greece, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, and take reuenge vpon these Inuadours. But neuer were the people of Carthage in better hope, of getting all Steill, than when the death of Agathocles the Tyrant, had left the whole Hand in combustion; the estate of Greece being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the Carthaginians were busic, in making their aduantage, of this good oportunitie; Pyrrhus, inuited by the Taventines, and their fellowes, came into Italie, where hee made flarpe warre vpon the Romans. These newes were unpleasing to the Carthaginians, who, being a subtile Nation, casily foresaw, that the same busic disposition, which had brought this Prince, out of Greece into Italie, would as casily transport him over into Sicill, as soone as he could finish his Roman warre. To preuent this danger, they sent Mago Em- 20

baffadour to Rome; who declared in their name, that they were forie to heare, what

miladuenture had befallen the Romans, their good friends, in this warre with Pyr-

rhus; and that the people of Carthage were very willing to affift the state of Rome,

by sending an Armie into Italie; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the

whereby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all Sietl, whilest

It was, indeede, the maine defire of the Carthaginians, to hold Pyrrhus fo hardly to his worke in Italie, that they might, at good leifure, pursue their businessein Sieill: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the Romans were too high minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, least it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. 30 Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene Rome and Carthage renucd, with covenants added, concerning the present businesses, That if either of the two Cities made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be, with reseruation of libertie, to affift the other, in case that Pyrrhus should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, vling all meanes to found his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon enery new occasion changeth his owne purpoles) yet Pyrrhus found leisure to make a step into Sicill: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor fauer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of Carthage, leaning them at his departure thence, as farre from any end, as when they first 40

So many disafters, in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking, had beene so firongly purfued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the Carthaginians to beleeue, that an higher prouidence relisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inveterate; that with vinwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an haruest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had beene the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practife, recouered in few yeares, all their old possessions: making peace with syrause, the chiefe Citie of the lland, that so they might the better enable themselues to deale with 50

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of Campanian Souldiers, that had scrued under Agathocles, being entertained within Meffana as friends, and finding themfelues too frong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, flew those that had trusted them; which done they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wines, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercinaries called themselues Mamertines. Good Souldiers they were ; and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage vnto their stournesse. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the ltronger, they ouerranne the Countrie round about them.

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In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend Messena against the Cities of Sicill Confederate; to wit, against the Syracusians, and others, but to they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to thefe Mamertines, the Syracufians wanne fall vpon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of Mellena, they also with a powerfull Armie belieged the Citie. It happened ill, that about the fame time, a contention beganne, betweene the Syracufan Souldiers, then lying at Megara, and the Citizens of Syracufe, and Gouernours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded fo farre that the Armie elected two Governours, among themselves; to wit, Artemiderus, and Hieren, that was afterward King, Hieron, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrarie to the policie of that State, to approve any election made 20 by the Souldiers, yet for the great elemencie hee vsed at his first entrance, was by generall confent, established and made Gouernour. This Office, he rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his prefent preferment.

In briefe, there was fomewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtayning, and fafe keeping, of the place he fought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eafily moued to fedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, hee tooke to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the 30 Syracusians. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege Messana, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one lide of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would have affaulted it in two feuerall parts, he marched away under the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in peeces by the affreged: So returning home, and leauying an Armic of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted againe towards Mellana, and was by the Mamertines (growne proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of Myleum, where hee obtained a most fignall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captine into Syraeuse, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the 40 Mamertines, finding themselues vtterly inseebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the Carthaginians, others to crave assistance of the Romans: to each of whom, the feuerall factions, dispatched Embassadours for the same purpose.

The Carthaginians were soone readic, to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a . Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of Messana, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclineable to the Romans, had brought their Companions to fo good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of dores, and the Townereser-

These newes did much offend the people of Carthage; who crucified their Cap-50 taine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and fent a Fleet and Armie to beliege Mef-(ana, as a Townethat rebelled, having once beene theirs. Hieron, the new-made King of Syracuse (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately receiued) added his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom hee entred into a league, for exterminating the Mamertines out of Sicil. So the Mamertines on all fides were Ddddd 2

closed up within Messar: the Carthaginians lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armic on the one side of the Towne, while It thereon with his Syracusians, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came Appins Claudius, the Roman Confull, with an Armiete the fireights of Sud: which paffing by night with notable audacitie, hee put himselfe into the Towne, and fending Meifingers to the Carthaginars, and to Misro, required them to depart; fignifying vnto them, that the Mamerines were now become confederate with the people of Rome, and that therefore hee was come to give them protection, cuen by force of warre, if reason would not prevaile.

This meffage was vtterly neglected; And 60 beganne the warre betweene Rome 10 and Carthage; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the justice of the quarrell, when some actions of the Romans, lately foregoing this, have beene

first considered.

# ò. III.

The beginning of the first Punick warre. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.



Hen Pyrhus beganne his warres in Halie, the Citie of Rhegium, being the well alfected to Rome, and not only fearing to be taken by the Epirot, but much more diffuriffing the Caribagnians, as likely to feize vponit in that buffer time, fought aide from the Romans, and obtained from them a Legion, confliting of foure thoufand Souldiers, where the

conduct of Design Campania, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and afflured for the prefent. But after a while, this Robard Garrifon, confidering at good lessing, the Robard Garrifon, confidering at good lessing, the Robard Garrifon, and no otherwise dissided than by a narrow Sen, which concern to from India) and rather weighing the greaterfle of the bootic, than the 30 orders from the Robard Garrifon, and the weighing the greaterfle of the bootic, than the 30 orders from the Robard Garrifon of the Robard Garrifon of the Robard Garrifon of the Robard Garrifon of the Robard Garrifon of R

When complaint was made to the Senate & people of Rome, of this outrage, they finding their honour thereby greatly fainted (for no Nation in the world made a more flater profession of justice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatness) refolued, after a while, to take revenge upon the oftenders. And that they performed flortly after, when they had guenched the fires, kindled instain, by prime. For, now this flanding that those Romanin sheetom (as men for 40 the folkenssis of their fast, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstitute resolution: yet in the end, the affailants forced from 13 and those which estaged the prefens furing, were brought bound to Rome, where after the viball torments by whipping inflicted, according to the ensome of the Countrie, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of Rongium were againe restored to their former liberties and clittes.

This execution of justice being newly performed, and the fame thereof founding honourably through all quarters of Italie - mellengers came to Theme, from a readinesse to the the purishment upon the Mancrimes, that were in a readinesse to insist the kike purishment upon the Mancrimes, for the like offence, 50 An impudent request it was, which they made: who basing both guien example of that vilanie, to the Remmo Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good; intreat the Judges to giuethem that affishance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow the cuese.

The Romans could not fuddenly refolue, whether the way of boneflie, or of profit, were to be followed; they enemore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They confidered, how contrarie the course of fuccouring the Mamertines was, to their former counfells, and actions: sleeing for the fame of ence they had lately put to torment, and to the fword, their owne Souldiers, and retored the opperfied to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the defeription of the

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red the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the Carthaginum Dominion, and that they were alreadic Lords of the best parts of Assistance as of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of Spain, and some part of Spain while that Syraes set therein seated (a Citic in beautie and riches,

10 little, at that time, inferiour to Carlbage, and farre fuperiour to Rome it feite) might become theirs; the fafetie of their owne effact faske for thele Mamerimes: who, if they (driuen to despaire by the Roman Jibould deliuer vp. Messen, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the Carlbagnians, then would nothing fland betweene Carlbage, and the Lordhip of all Sidil; for Systade it felte could not, for want of fuccour, my long time fublish; if once the Carlbagnians, that were Matters of the Sea, did failten you that passage from the maine Land. It was further confidered; that the oportunitie of Messen was such, as would not only debare; all fuccours out of the continent, from arrivall in Stall; but would ferue as a bridge, where who he Carlbagnians might have entrance into Italie, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatned from a farre: did so preualle, aboue all regard of honestie, that the Manwirmss
were admitted into Consideracie with the Romans, and Ap. Clandius the Considiu,
presently dispatch away for Messamin into which he entred, and wnder-tooke the
protection of it, as is shewed before. The besingers were little troubled with his
arrivall sand less moued, with his requiring them, to dessist from their attempt. For
they did farre exceede him in number of men; the whole I land was readic to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this Appin himselse well winderstood: an
against all this, he thought the sifts metall of his Roman Souldier, a sufficient remeso die. Therefore, he resoluted to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know,
that his comming was to send them away from the Towne, not to be besinged by

them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemie lay encamped in fuch fort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in ditreffle. Hieron was now exposed to the fame danger, whereinto he had welfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before conly he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him Ap. Claudius (filted forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected fallie, to surprise memory arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith hee presented him.

40 The Syraenian wanted not courage to fight; but furely, hee wanted good aduice: elle would be not haue hazarded all his power againft an enemie, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene easile, and as much as was requisite, to divined his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his raigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to saue him lelle within his Trenches: by which lost, he learned a point of wisedome, that shood him and his Kingdome in good stead, all the dates of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the Syraensam so bussies, in helping those of Carthege, against the officerities.

Had Maffant beene trken by the Carthaginians, Syrande it felfe much thrue fought 50 helpe from Rome, againfit those friends which it now to diligently affilted. Heron had (in referce of those frow on ightic Cities) but a finall flock, which is behoused him to gouerne well: fuch another losse would have made him almost benkrupet. The tertwe he quietly brake vp his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them shand to their adurence speat that had hope to be egainers by the bargaine. The next

day, Claudius perceining the Sicilian Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritic of his fouldiers, give charge vpon the Carthaginians: wherin he fped fo well, that the enemie for looke both field and campe, leaving all the Countrie open to the Romans; who having spoiled all round, without relillance, intended to lay fiege vnto the great Citie of Syracufe,

These prosperous beginnings, how socuer they animated the Romans, and filled them with hopes, of attayning to greater matters, than at first they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour, in the Citic of Carthage, that had wel enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had beene prepared against the Mamertines alone, without any suspition of warre

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the Romans entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honestie (for question leffe the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their fhame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnesse, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yeeld themselues, and all that they had, into the Romans hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the Samnites, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde. how the messengers of those folke, wherof one part had alreadic admitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled to make any fuch furrendrie, in the publike name of all 20 their Companie.

If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawfull furrendrie of themselves and their possessions, were become subject vnto Rome, by what better title could the Romans affilt the Mamertines, against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have aided the Campanes, against the Samnites, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves consessed) by none at all. But let it bee supposed, that some point serving to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesseit is, that no companie, of Pirates, Theeues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or fuch other malefactours, can by any good fuccesse of their vilanie, obtaine the prinilege of civill socicties, to make league or truce, yea, or to require faire warre : but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith, with one of thefe; it were a Position of ill consequence : This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can give protection to fuch as these, as long as any other is vling the fword of vengeance against them, without becomming accessarie to their ctimes. Wherefore, we may effecte this action of the Romans, To farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwife, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they justly deserted to be warred upon themselves, by the people of Sierl; yea, although Mesfana had beene taken, and the Mamertines all flaine, creany newes of this Confede-40 racie had beene brought vnto the beliegers. The great Alexander was so farre perswaded herein; that he did put to sword all the Branchiada (a people in Sogdiane) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Companie of Atlesians, who to gratifie King Xerxes, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towns and Countrie, which these of their posteritic enjoyed. Neuerthelesse, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives ins acquisitum, a kinde of right by prescription, vnto that which was at first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose vilanies they doe not exercife. But that the fame generation of Theeues, which by a dete-50 flable factor at purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a law full companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to chablish him, valesse by

fome alliance with the ancient inheritors, hee can better the violence of his claime; as did our King Housiethe first, by his marriage with Maude, that was daughter of Malcolme, King of the Scats, by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Frontide; Wherefore I conclude, that the Romans had no better ground (if they had fo good) of juflice, in this quarrell, than had the Gothes, Hunnes, Vandalls, and other Nations, of the warresthatthey made you the Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felfe, in the the wattes that on you but he was burnt to ground.

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† I.

The qualitie of the Hand: and the first Inhabitants thereof.

He defence of the Mamertines, or the possession of Messana, being now no longer, fince the first Victories of Appius Claudius, the objects of the Reman hopes; but the Dominion of all Still, being the prize, for which Rome and Carthage, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vinto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a

briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present

That Sicil was sometimes a Peninsula, or Demie-Isle, adjoyned to Italie, as a part of Brutium in Calabria, neare vnto Rhegium, and afterward by violence of tempest se-20 uered from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this division happened, there is no memoriall remayning, in any ancient writer. Strabo, Plinie, and Dionyfius, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; Si- Plin.L.2.6.91. lius, and Cassedorus, doe thinke it to have beene done by the rage and violence of Sillis. the tide, and furges of the Sea. Either of the leopinions may be true; for fo was Fubera fenered from Baotia: Atalante and Macris, from Eubara; Sillishere in England, from the Cape of Cornewall; and Britaine it felfe (as may feeme by Verstegans arguments) from the opposite continent of Gaule. But for Sicil, they which lend their cares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to Neptune (as Eustathius witnesseth) who with his three forked Mace, in fauour of Iocastus, the sonne of Lolus, divided it 40 from the maine land, and fo made it an Iland, which before was but a Demie-Ifle; that by that meanes, hee might the more fafely inhabite, and possesse the same. Diodorus Siculus, moued by the authoritie of Hefiodus, ascribeth the labour of fun- orion 14.6.14. dring it from Italie, to Orion: who, that he might be compared to Hercules (cutting Died 1.6 through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the Sicilian fireights, as Hercules did Onia, de Fast. 4.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as Eustathius and Strabo, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Iland, Pomponius Mela, faith, it is like that Capitall letter of 50 the Greeks, which they call Delta, namely, that it bath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was confecrated to Ceres and Proferpina, all old writers with one confent affirme. To Ceresit was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of sctting and sowing of Corne to Proserpina, not so much, for that thee was from hence violently taken by Pluto, as because (which Plu-

Strab.L6.

tarch and Diodorus doe report for truth) that Pluto, as soone as shee, vncouering her felfe, first shewed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonic written by Cicero, in his fecond Oration against Verres, where he faith, that Marcus Cato did call it the Granarie, and Storehouse of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar fort. The same Cicero doth adde in that place; that it was not only the flore-house of the people of Rome : but also that it was accounted for a well furnished treasurie. For without any cost or charge of ours (faith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparrell, and corne. Strabe reporteth almost the same thing of it. What socuer Sicilie doth yeeld (laith Solinus) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next vnto those things that are of best estimation : were it not, that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extreamely ouer-growne with faffron. Diodorus Siculus faith, that in the fields, neare vnto Leontium, and in divers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it felfe, without any labour, or looking to, of the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, that there were in it sixe Colonies, and fixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authours.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as warre; there be many other things, which have made it very renowned, as the 20 birth of Ceres; the rauilhing of Proferpina; the Giant Enceladus; the mount Etna, Scylla and Charibdis, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble Mathematician Archimedes; the famous Geometrician Euclides; the painfull

Historian Diodorus; and Empedacles the deepe Philosopher.

That Sicil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants Lestriogones, and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and vncinill; all histories and fables doe joyntly with one consentauerre. Yet Thucydides faith, that these sauage people dwelt only in one part of the Iland. Afterward the Sicani, a people of Spaine, possessed it. That these Sicani were not bred in the Isle (although some doe so thinke,) Thueydides and Diodorses doc confrantly auouch.

Of these it was named Sicania. These Sicani were inuaded by the Siculi; who, inhabiting that part of Latium, whereon Rome was afterward built, were driven by the Pelafgi from their owne feates, and finding no place vpon the continent, which they were able to master and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeares before the Greekes fent any Colonies thither : and (faith Philiftus) eightic yeares before the fall of Troy. These Siculi gaue the name of Sicilia, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the Sicani, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie Zande, afterward called Mellena; and after that, Catana, Leontium, and Syraculeit felfe, beating from thence the Etolians, who long before had fet vpa Towne in that place. 40 As for the name of Syracufe, it was not knowne, till fuch time as Archias of Corinth (long after) wonne that part of the lland from the Siculi; Neither did the Siculi at their first arrivall dispossesse the Atolians thereof, but some hundred yeares after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named. with Nea, Hybla, Trinacia, and divers others.

After these Siculi came another Nation out of Italie, called Morgetes; who were thence driven by the Oenstrians. These sate downe in that part of Sicil, where they afterward raised the Cities of Morgentum, and Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were divided, and by a civill warre greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voiage, and the death of Mines, King of Creet. Thueydides, 50 an Historian of viquestionable sinceritie, reports of Minos, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such businesse, perhaps, drew him into Sicil. But the common report is that he came thither in pursuit of Dadalus. The tale goes thus: Dadalus fleeing the reuenge of Minos, came into Sicil to Cocalus, King of the Sicani,

and during his aboade there, he built a place of great strength, neare vnto Megara, for Cocalus, to lay vp his treasure in ; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set up in the Temple of Venew Ergent; which he did with fogreat arte, as those that beheld it, thought it ra-

ther to be living, than counterfait.

Now Minos, hearing that Cocsius had entertained Dadalus, prepares to inuade the Territorie of Cocalus; but when he was arrived, Cocalus doubting his owne strength, promifeth to deliuer Dedalus. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kills 12 Mines by treason, and perswades the Cretans, Mines his followers, to inhabite a part of Sicil; the better (as it feemes) to ftrengthen himfelfe against the Siculi. Hereunto the Cretans (their King being dead) gave their confent, and builded for themselves the Citie of Minoz, after the name of their King Minos. After, they likewife built the Towne of Engyum, now called Gange: and these were the first Cities, built by the Greeks in Sicil, about two ages before the warre of Troy; for the grand-children of Minos ferued with the Greeks at the fiege thereof.

But after fuch time as the Cretans understood, that their King had by treason beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade Cocalus: and landing neare vnto Camicus, they belieged the same five yeares, but in vainc. In the 20 end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of Italie; and having no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honor they had loft, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or Hyrium, betweene the two famous Ports of Brundujum, and Tarentum. Of these Cretans came

those Nations, afterward called Japyges, and Messapij.

After the taking of Troj, Egeftwand Elymus, brought with them certaine troups into Sicil, and feated themselves among the Sicani; where they built the Cities of Ægesta and Elyma.

It is faid, that Aneas visited these places in his passage into Italie: and that some of the Troianes, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of Sicil: 20 whereof there want not good Authours, that make Inew himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the Phanicians seised vpon the Promontories of Paininus, and Lilybeam, and vpon certaine small Isles adjoyning to the maine Land: which they fortified, to secure the trades, that they had with the Sicilians; like as the Portugals have done in the East India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambia, and other places. But the Phanicians staied not there; for after they had once affured their descents, they built the goodly Citic of Panormus, now called Palerma.

These we finde, were the Nations, that inhabited the Isle of Sicil, before the warre of Troy, and ere the Greeks in any numbers began to thraggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes 40 one and the same beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were faid to bee mightie and Giantlike men; and that, as Phanicia, Egypt, Lybia, and Greece, had Hercules, Orestes, Anteus, Typhon, and the like; as Denmarke had Starchaterus, remembred by Saxo Grammaticus; as Scythia, Britanie, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of Sano G. in Dice. Sicil had her Lestrigones and Cyclopes. This discourse I could also reject for fained factor? and fabulous; did not Moses make vs know, that the Zamzummins, Emins, Anakims, and og of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Defarts of Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding firength and ftature, and of the races of Giants : and were it not, that Tertullian, St. Augustine, Nt- force

ture, and otthe races of Giants: and were it not, that to main, 3.5 conforming see feet.

20 cephorus, Procepius, Ifdore, Plinis, Diadere, Heradatus, Solimas, Piatrob, and many on the section, there Authoris, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vessuins, in his second Naniga have as there Authoris, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vessuins, in his second Naniga have been seen to be see tion into dmerica, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those we oblige of parts. Againe, whereas the felfe-fame is written of all Nations, that is written of acide Gaile. any one; astouching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on a- platace.

comes and roots, their poore cottages, the concring of their bodies, with the skins of beatls, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first pacfages oner great Riuers, and armes of the Sea, yoon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, and then with faile; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandic; of Lawes, and of Policie; it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lined in the same newneste of time, which we call oldtime, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hat by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the stebsees, who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and deforthed in the Arts of the steps who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and deform of the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps when the steps were the steps were the steps when

But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth firanger and more incredible things, than the Inflancie. For we have now greater Giants, for vice and injuffice, than the World had in those dates, for bodily firength; for cottages and house of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of flone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; informach as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are false from two dishes, to wooh undred, from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the covering of our bodies with the 20 skinnes of beafts, not only to silke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digression, Time will also take revenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; Quan long also peptris, longioring, auxit, longssimus labrait; Long time brought forth, longer time interacledit, and attine, longer than the versely shall courtbergy it.

## t. II.

# The plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

When the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Siell; it happened, that one Theodes, a Greeke, being driven vpon that coast by an Easterly winde; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought shoulous, being delivered only by Poets; gaue information to the sitenium of this his discoverie, and proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But Theodes was salitie regarded by the siteniums, as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore hee tooke the same course, that Columbus afterwards did. Hee ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the noble Atheniums (who thought themselfues to bee well enough alreadie) to their owner profit; but went to the Chelcisians, that were needie and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxus, and a Colonie planted of Eukocam.

Syrande, as the reft of the Greeks were wifer than our westerne Princes of Europe: for they and no Pope, that should forbid them 5 to occupie the voide places of the World.

Litelian to Commit bollowed the Eubanus, and landed in Sint, neare vinto that Citie, alled afterward \* Syrande: of which, that part only was then compassed with a well all that he

Greefop product. For, the furnism is both frong, and of an excellent prospect, from energy entrance, by Land, or So. The forward associated and the production of the producti

wall, which the £tolians called Homothermon; the Greeks, Nafos; the Latines, In-After such time falls. He with his Countrie; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the Gitte of the Iland, that of Ācradina, Tycha, and Neapolis. So as well by the commoditie of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Hauen of that part of goodly Citic, Europe, as by the fertilitie of the soils; Stranfe grew up in great haste; to be one of became the trep oddlett Townes of the World. In short time the Greeke did possession the Beat of a wins soil if as and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Roiall residence in The second, Hins, the classification of the Strange and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Roiall residence in The second, Hins, the classification is the second of the second to the second of the se

Some seuen yeares after the arrivall of Archias; the Chalcidians, encouraged by the fluccesses of the Cornthians, did assay the fluccesses of the Cornthians, did assay the Citie of Leontium, built The South, and possess the Siculi. In briefe, the Greekes winne from the Siculi, and their sum, the class. Associates, the Cities of Catama, and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that and yonge; The first built and they called Megara.

About five and fortic yeares after Archine had taken Syracufe; Antiphemus and Anticianth Entimus, the one from Rhodes, the other from Creete, brought an Armie into Stail, eight yrbas; and built Gel4; whole Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned Citie of Agrigentum, gouerned according to the Lawes genThe teach and Influence of the Dortans.

The syraunfass also, in the seuentieth yeare after their plantation, did set up the being suine at Citie of Acra, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth yeare Casimesa, in the Planes Levins, at adjoyning; and againe, in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in ments conquered by they built Camerins; and Soone after that, Enns, in the very Center of the redit ruder lland. So did the Cameni, about the same time, recoure from the Siculi the Citie of the conduct of Zandel, which they had sounded in the streight between e Sicil and Italic. They Marcelland.

Not long after this, Doriam the Lacedamonian built Heraelia; which the Phonicisms, and Carthaginisms, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, foone after in-20 uaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Sclinus also was built by a Colonie of Megara: and Zande was taken by the Meffenians; who having lost their owne Countrie, gave the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Iland.

# †. I I.

# Of the gouernement and affaires of Sicil, before DIONYSIVS

THe most part of the Cities in *Still*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* beganne to vsurpe the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyrannic therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a deteflable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of braffe, wherein to enclode men, and foortch them to death: praifing the deuice with this commendation; That the noise of one to mented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a ducreward to the Inuentour; by causing the first trial to be made vpon himselfe. Her raigned one and thirtie yeares, slith Eugleius; others giue him but fixeene: How Soener it were, one Telemachus; in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by Zene, Eccee cuen

Paulan 1.6.

euen whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same Zeno, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracie.

After the death of Philaris, the Citizens recouered their libertie, and enjoyed it long, till There viurped the gouernement of the Common-weale; at which time allop Panetius made himelife Lord of Leontium; and Cleander, of Gela: but Cleander, having ruled feuen yeares, was flaine by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his brother Hippearates facceeded in his roome, and greatly afflicted the people of Nanot, of Zanele or Meffens, and of Leontium; whom with divers other of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the Syraussians, and, in the end, got from them, by composition, the Citic of 10 Camerins. But when he had raigned seven yeares, he was slaine in a battaile against

At this time did the Syracusians change their forme of Gonernement, from Popular to Aristonatives, a preparation towards a Principalitie, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the death of hipporatiss, Gelom (descended from the Ebodium, which together with the Cretons had long before, among other of the Greekes, seated themselves in Sicily that had commanded the forces of Hipporates, in the former warre, with notable success, became Lord of Gels. Hele, after his Malters death, breaking the trust committed wnto him by Hipporates over his children, and being in possible since the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracuse, to between the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the success of Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and sinceded the most famous, that ever governed the Syracusians. This change happed in the second years of the threefore and twelfith O-Tibers, who had also varied that of Agrigatium.

Now this Gelon, the Gonne of Dinoments, had three brethren; Hiero, Polynelus, and Thrifybulus to the first of which heegaue vp the Citic of Gela, when hee had obtaymed the Principalitie of Syrsus(2.— For, after that time, all his thoughts trausialed in the strengthning, beautifying, and amplifying of Syrsus(2.— He defaced Comerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syrsus(hins) who built it; and brought the Citizens to Syrsus(2.— The Acquainst that had moused a warre against him, he our-came; the richer for the brought to Syrsus(2.) and the people he fold for flaues. In like manner dealt he with orher places ypon like occation. Not long after this, There, a Prince of the Agrigentines, having difpossible Teriflus, of his Citie timera; the Carthaginum were drawne into the quarrell by Anaxilus, Lord of Melfons, Father in-law to Teriflus: and Gelon also was folicited by his Father-in-law, There, Colon was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginum, and other Ajrican, led by Amilear, were overthrowne between the carthaginum, and other Ajrican, led by Amilear, were overthrowne between the strength of the most of their bodies in Scill.

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedemonians fent for fuccour, when Korkes with his huge Armic palt the Helefpont. Hee, for their reliefe having armed chrite thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuerthelesse to fend them into Greece, because they refused bim the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or by Land. So hevsed to their Embassadours only this saying, That their Spring was withered; accompting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the flower of the Greeke Nations.

The Carthoginian, after this great loffe received, leaving the invalion of their owne Countrie, fent to Galon by their Embaffadors, to defire peace who graunts it them on the fec onditions; That from thenceforth they should not facrifice their children to Saturne; That they should pay him two thousand talents of filters and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the Carthogenium, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto Demanta; Galon's wife, a crowney, valued at an

hundred talents of gold, with other prefents. Whereby we fee, that fome Nations, and fome Natures, are much the better for being well beaton. The warres ended; and Stid! in peace; Gelow beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subjects, heleft the World, and left for his Succeflour his brother fineo. Philistine and Pinne report, That, when his bodie was burnt, according to the cultome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and fuffered himfelie to be burnt with him.

To Gelon, Hiero his brother succeeded; a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so su-10 spicious of his brethren Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the connersation which hee had with Simonides, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Divers quarrells he had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as with other Cities : all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes had incited to inuade Sicil, fearing the fuccours which Gelon had prepared, to aide the Gracians, against him. Hee also ouerthew in battaile, Thrasydeus the sonne of Theron, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end hee loft the loue of the Syracustans; and after he had raigned eleuen yeares, he left the Kingdome to his brother Thrafy bulus, who 20 became a most vnjust and bloudie Tyrant. Thrasybulus enjoyed his Principalitie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force of mercinarie Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of Syracule by the Citizens; to whom, being belieged in Acradina, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the Hand. From thence he sailed into Greece, where he died a private man. among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracufums recoursed against heir former libertie, as all the reft of the Cities did, after which they had neuer fought, had the Succeffours of Gelon inherited his vertue, as they did the Principalitie of Syracufum. For mall changes of Eflates, the prefervation ought to answere the acquilition. Where a 30 liberall, valiant, and adulfed Prince, hath obtayned any new Signiotie, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himself from being a private man, to the dignitie of a Prince; it behough the Succeffour to maintaine it by the fame way and arte, by which it was soften.

To conclude, *Stracuse* (though not without blowes, erestine could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and louers of *Gelan*) was now againe become Mistresse of he selfe, and held her selfe free, well neare threescore yeares, to the time of *Diotysius*; though shee were in the meane while greatly indangered, by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tyndario*.

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they deuised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Ofracisme. They called this their new deuised judgement of exile, Petalismus, wherein enery one wrote vpon an Oliue leafe (as at Athers they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee would have expelled the Citie. Hee that had most suffrages against him, was banished for fine yeares. Hereby, in a short time, it came to passe, that those of judgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able either supprest, or thrust out of the Citie. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet foldit, with-drew themselues as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more securitie, wherein to maintaine themselues. And good reason they had so to doe; 50 feeing there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not long. For their necessitie taught them to abolish it, and restore agains the wifer fort to the Gouernement; from which, the Nobilitie having practifed to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by Ducetius, King of the Sicilians, Eccce 2

that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had alreadic taken Enna., and some other of the Gracian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Armie of the Agregentines) the Syraculans fent forces against him, commanded by an vnworthie Citizen of theirs, called Bolcon. This their Captaine made nothing fo much hafte to finde Ducetius, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Armie he led as foone as Ducetius prefented him battaile. So, for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians perished.

But making better choice among those, whom they had banished, they levie other troups : by whom, in conclusion, Ducetius being beaten, submitteth himfelfe, and is constrained to leave the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere hee returned againe, and built the Citie Collatina on the Sea-fide.

Ducetius being dead; all the Greeke Cities did in a fort acknowledge Syracufe: Trinacia excepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift Olympiad,

they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being opprest by them, seeke aide from the Athenians, about the fixt yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre. In this fuite they prevailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Orator; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succourthem, under the leading of Laches, and Charwades. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with fome supplies brought 20 by Sophodes, Pythodorus, Eurymedon, and other Athenian Captaines, they inuaded the Territories of the Syracustans, and their Partisans; wanne and lost divers places; tooke Meffana; and, in the feuenth yeare of the Peloponnefian Warre, loft it againe. They also, at the same time, attempted Himera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which inuaded each others Territorie with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all bands, and yet could fee none iffue of the warre; the Leontines, without the aduise of the Athenians, came to an accord with the Syraculians, and were admitted into their focietie, with equall freedome. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatned themselves in Sicil, by the division and civill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by 20 the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to bee gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cufrome of popular Estates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they banished Pythodorus, and Sophoeles, and laied an heavie fine vpon Enrymedon. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable Warre, that ever was made by the Greekes in Sicil: which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines, and Syracufians, in fauour of the Cities of Egesta, Leontium, and Catana. They of Selinus had opprest the Egestans; and they of Syracuse, the Leontines, and the Catanians: which was the ground of the warre. For, the Athenians undertooke the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedamon was fent 40 to the Syracustans. The Lacedamonians dealt plainely, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to helpe a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their fuccour, being in diffresse. The Athenians scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were fo great, as discouered their intent to bee none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleeve their owne cies; which prefented vnto them a Fleet, and Armie, farre greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the Citie of Athens had ingaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessitie of finishing it in a short so space of time. For the Lacedamonians (as hath alreadie beene shewed in due place) flood at that time in such broken terms of peace with Athens, as differed nor much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessarie, either to spareno cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it; which was likely to be hindred by wars

at home, if their proceedings were flack abroad. And furely, had not the defire of the Athenians beene ouer-paffionate, the arguments of Nicias had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserve their forces for a more needfull vie. But yong confailes preuailed, against the authoritie of ancient men, that were more regardfull of fafetic than of honour.

CHAP. 1. S.4. † . 3. of the Historie of the World.

Of this bulinesse, mention hath beene alreadic made, in that which wee haue written of the Peloponnessan warre. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of Greece, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of Sicil

10 was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though Alcibiades had prevailed against Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great voiage; yet Nicias, together with Alcibiades, and Lamachus, was appoin-

ted to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the Segestans, and to reestablish the Leantines, cast out of their places by the Syracusians; as also, by force of armes, to subject the Syracustans, and all their adherents, in Sicil, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were fent off, with an hundred and thirtie Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirtie ships of burden, which 20 transported their victualls, engines, and other munitions for the warre : and these

were Athenians, Mantimeans, Rhodians, and Candians : there were, belides these, fixe Thuryd.1.6.1.,

thousand Megarians light armed, with thirtie horse-men.

With these troups and fleets they arrive at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to give them entrie; but fell them victualls for their monie. From thence they fent to the Ezestans, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing, for their fakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answeres, that these Egestans were poore, and that they had abused the Athenian Embassadors with falle shewes of gold, having in all but thirtic talents. The Athenians surther were discouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and 20 allied vnto the Leontines, refused to trust them within their walls. Hereupon Nicias aduiseth to depart towards the Selinuntines, and to force them, or perswade them, to an agreement with the Egestans; as likewise to see what disbursements the Egeflans could make; and foto returne againe into Greece, and not to wast Athens in a needlesse warre. Alcibiades, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of Sicil to confederacie, against the Syracusans and Selinantines, whereby to force them vnto restitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. Lamachus, hee perswades them to affaile Syracuse it selfe, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they furprize Catana: and there they take new counfaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied Nicias to those of Egefta, who 40 received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred & twentie talents more there were of the spoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Sommer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the Athenians prepare to affaile Syracufe. But Alcibiades having beene accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the Athenians, to make his answere : and the Armie was left to the conduct of Nicias and Lamachus. These Commanders obtaine a landing place, very neare vnto Syracuse, by this deuise.

They imploy to Syracufe an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise vnto the Syracusians, that hee would deliver into their hands all the Athenians, within Catana. Hereupon the Syracusians draw thitherward with their 50 best forces. But in the meane while, the Athenians, setting faile from Catana, arrive at Syracufe, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselucs against the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, and the Syracufans had the loffe: but the Athenians. wanting horse, could not pursue their victoric to any great effect. They then retire themselues, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at Cstana, for the winter-leason. Eccee 2

From thence they made an attempt vpon Meffana, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vaine. For Alcibiades had discovered such as were Traitors within the Citieto the Meffenians. This he now did, in despish of his owne Citizens the Athenians; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lucedemonians, and to them hee gaue mischienous counsaile against his Countrie. While this Winter yet lasted, the Syracasians send Embassadours to Lucedemon, and Corinth, for aide: as likewise the Athenian Captaines in Stil, send to Athens, for supplies. Which both the one and the other Obesained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the Peloponne an warre) the Athenian in Sical, faile from the Port of Catana, to Megan, for faken of the Inhabitants; from whence for raging the Countrie, they obtaine some similar victories ouer the straight grandfans; and at their returne to Catana, they receive a supply of two bundred men at armes, but without horse, which they hoped to sumiss in the land, from the Segeslans, and other their adherents; they were also strengthned with a companie of Archers, and with three hundred relatins in monie

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neare Spracuse, vpon the barks of the great Port, repelling the Spracuses, that fallied to impeach their intrenchments. 20 They also received from their Confederates foure hundred horle-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men a tarmes. Spracuse was now in effect blockt vp, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the Athenians receive diverslosses, mong which it was not the least, that Lamachus, one of their best Commanders, was flaine.

In the meane while, Gylippus, and Python, with the Lacedemonian, and Corinthian forces arrive, and take land at Himera. The Citizens of Himera, and of Gela, together with the Selmantine, toyone with them, to that with thefeand his owne troups, Gylippus aduentured to march ouer-land towards Synaul... The Synaulians fend a part of their forces to meet him, and conduct him. The Athenians prepare to encounter then, expecting his arrivall neare wint the Citic, you a place of advantage. At the first encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the Synaulian horse-men could not come to fight in those streights but soone after, Gylippus charging them againe, brake them, and constrained Nicius to fortishe himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon Nicius made the state of his assarcis to horself which is competited to the Athenians; shewing, that, without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be led by together with the small Armic remaining. The selections are received, the Athenians appoint two other Generalls, Surywedon, and Demossheres, to joyne with Nicias: the one they dispatch prefently with some supply; the other they send after him in the Sprine following.

they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, Gilppus at Syrsause, fights with the Atherium, both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successes, but in conclution, he tooke from them their Fort, neare with Syrsause, at the Promountie, called Plymmyrium; wherein the Atherium lost their treasure, and a great part of all their providions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the Atherium is themselves, in since, were (in effect) belieged within Atheru, by the Lucedemoniums, yet were they most obthinate in prosecuting the warre in Sicil, and dispatched away Demossiblenes with new faccours. Demossiblenes, in his way towards Sicil, encountred with Polymhes the Continuism, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil, the one to succour Action; the other, Gystopus. The losse between them was in effected to succour Sicil, and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either Gystopus and Ariston had alfailed the Atherium in the great Port of Syrause, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Atherium. On the neck of this, Demossible.

ness arrived with three-score and thirteene Gallies, charged with foot-men; and (blaming the slouth of Nielss) he inuaded the Syssansiss, the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste, than he had good speeds, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon Demossibeness and Earsymedon, determine to rise up from before Syssansis, and returne to the succour of Athers: but Nielss disputed to the contraire, pretending that hee had good intelligence within Syssansis, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

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20 piss, to the Syraesslans; When any people doe finde themselues vanquished in that manner of sight, and with thas evapons, in which they per wade themselues that they exceede all others, they not only loofe their reputation, but their courage. The Althonium, besides the Gallies sunck and wrackt, had seucenteene taken, and possest by the enemie and with great labour and losse they defended the reft from being fired, having drawne them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, vnaduisedly: for its as contraire to a Sce-warre, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, asit is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one substituting, by being at large; the other, by

close imbattailing. The Syracufians, having now weakned the Athenian fleet, resolue to imprison 30 them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Veffels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies breakethrough the Syracusian fleet; which lay but single, because they were forst to range themselues ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themselues strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Cal-lies together, and laied behinde them againe certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were funke; or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellowes, broken, the Athenians might yet finde 40 themselues, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those sthenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the Syracusans had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certaine number of loofe ones, to stop their course and furic. For where the way of any vesfell, vling oare or failes, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the relistance oppoling.

On the other fide, the Albenians knew that they were verely lost, except with an inuincible resolution, they could make their way, and brake down ethis great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other; which they resolute to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundrough ethics). But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Arbenian sleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt by the ships without, and assaged other loss of Gallies of the Syransjans, which were purposely lest at large in the Sea,

they were either taken or funke. Three great disaduantages the Athenians had : the first, that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no roome to turne themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the fecond, that having ouer-peftered their Gallies with Souldiers, who yfed offenfine armes of darts and flings, they had not place youn the decks to firetch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paffage, by which they might faue themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no leffe terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as furnined, were beaten back to the Land, 10 with loffe of threefcore of their Gallies, broken, funke, or abandoned. The Syracu-Jians did also loose twentie of theirs, with Python, Commander of the Covinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, faued themselues by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsell. Demosthenes perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the Syracusians were triumphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to fet vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens. This was no ill counfaile. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have beene victorious) that have neglected the speedie 20 profecution of a beaten enemie; so might we produce many examples of those, who, having flept fecurely in the bosome of good successe, have beene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue therby loft againe all the honour, and advantage, formerly gotten. But Nicias opposeth the advice of Demostheres: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolue to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, Gylippus, and other the Lacedamonian and Corinthian Captaines, with Hermocrates, exhort the Syracustans to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the paffages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenisas 20 might make retrait. But many were wearie, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in fome of our Commanders at Cadez, loft vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. Hermocrates, the Syracufian, finding it a loft labour. to perswade his Countrimen to any hastie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, hee should draw them willingly out. He fent two or three horse-men out of Syracuse by night, willing them to finde Wicias, and (after they had affured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haltily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alleaging that the Syraenfians had lodged their Ar- 40 mie, which could not long flay there, vpon the paffages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings Niesas casily beleeved, and put off his journie to the third day. For men, newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wife; and to them, enery thiftle in the field, appeares, by night,

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purfited with the lamentable out cries of those that were sick and hurt : whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest marchaway, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the River of Anapus, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being 50 euery day charged in their marches, and by the Syracusian horse-men, beaten in from forraging, and provision of foode, they grow weake and heartleffe. The Syracustans also possesse the Mountaine Lepas, by which they were to passe towards Comeri-31, and thereby force them to fall back againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take

what way they could: being vnable to proceede in their journie intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to escape from the enemie that purfued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keepe all in order, Nicias vnder-tooke the leading of the Vantgard; and Demosthenes conducted the Reare. At the River Erineus, Nicias takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving Demostheres to make the retrait: who being incompassed, and ouerprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worfe

12 than he suspected. For he was afterward, with Nicias, murdered in prison. The Armie of Demolthenes being diffolued, they purfue Nicias with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riner Asimarus, rendred himselfe to Gylippus, vpon honest conditions. Gylippus sought to preserue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta; Nicias, as a noble enemie to the Lacedamonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they received at P, lus by the Athenians, had faued the lives of the vanquished; Demosthenes, as one that had done to Lacedamon the greatest hurt. Hermocrates also, the Commander of the Syracusan Armie, diffwaded the rest, by all the arte be had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victorie. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (co-20 wardife and crueltie, being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these braue

Captaines to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to bee sterued in lothsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This, was the successe of the Siesian warre: which tooke end at the river Afinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleventh Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; the Egeflans (for whose defence, against the Selinantines, this late warre had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syracusians, sought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselues, and their Citie, as their Vassalls. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicil, yet considering the prosperitie of the Syracusians, 30 and their late victories ouer the Athenians, they staied a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse, or accept, the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were streightly allied to the Syracusians, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolue vpon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Selinuntines, they send Embaffadours to Syracufo: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selimantines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracusians approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no fuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the Syracufians, 40 with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer to trouble them, by interpoling as Arbitrators, in a busines, that themselues could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haue it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace crave aide of Syracufe; and the Syracusas as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Armie of three hundred thousand men is let out from Carthage, vnder the conduct of Hannibal, Nephew to that Amilcar, who (as you have heard before) was overthrowne with the great Carthaginian Armie at Himera by Gelon. Hannibal was exceeding greedie of this imploiment, that he might take reuenge, as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of 50 them having beene flaine by the Himerans; the other by those of Selinus. Both

these Cities, Hannibal, in this warre, wonne by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where Amilear was flaine, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of Hermocrates,

Itermocrates, who had lately beene Generall of the Syracujan forces, against the Athemians. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meere vertue, at such time, as he was
adding the Lacedamonians, in their warre against Athens, wherein hee did great seruice. All the honester fort within Syracuje were sorie for the injurie done vnto him,
and sought to have him repealed. Hermocrates himselfe, returning into Sieh, gathered an Armie of sixe thousand; with which he beganne to repaire schime, and by
many noble actions laboured to winne the lowe of his Citizens. But the saction that
opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore, he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of
Syracuse, with some strength of mens whereby his friends, within the Towne, might to
have the better meanestor sise against the adverse partie. This hed did that present
yethe multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict hee was slaine.

But his sonne in-law, Dionysus, shall make them with Hermocratea slive againe.

### t. IIII.

of DIONY SIVS the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuf.

The Syracufums had enjoyed their libertie about threefcore yeares, from the death of Thrafybulus, to the death of tiermberates: at which time Dinnyfus was raifed vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their crueltie towards strangers, as of their ingratitude, towards their owne bett Citizens. For before the time of Dinnyfus, they had made it their passime, to reward the vertue of their wortheit Commanders with death, or differace: which custome they must now bee taught to amend.

Dionylius obtayned the Principalitie of Syracufe, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuseit selfe. For, being made Pretor, and commanding their Armies against the Carthagi- 30 mians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then beganne he to follow the example of Pififratus, that made himfelfe Lord of Athens; obtaying a band of fixehundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of Syracuse, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the pay of the Souldiers; alleaging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to affire them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards at his denotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among 40 the Syracsssians, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to raigne ouer their betters : wherefore, gladly did hee helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their libertie, the barres that held it under safe custodie. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they faw, the people would not fee : and some that were needic, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to huntafter the tyrannie; being but fine and twentic yeares of age when he obtayned it : belike, it was his desire to raigne long. His first worke, of making himselfeabsolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was 50 much good prouision, and under it the Gallies were mored. This hecobtained by allowance of the people; and bauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare: The Armie; the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needic fort within Syracuse, that could not

thriue by honeft courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for his establishing the faction, raigning at that present; were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the citaded into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what hee had alreadie. Hee strengthned himselfe by diuers marriages; taking sint to wife the daughter of Hermoerates; and after het, two at once; the once A poring, Dorie, by whom he had Dimps shis Successor; the other, Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, and silter to Dimps, honourable men in Strates, which have voto him many children, that serued to sortise him with new alliances.

12 Yetiv was not long, ere fome of the Syracufians (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, euen in the noueltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. He had shamefully been beaten by the Carthagains at Gola: which, as it vexed the Steilan men at armes, making them suspects that it was hi: purpose to let the Carthagains wasleall, that hee might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it in shamed them with a delire to free themselies from his tyrannie. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to Syracuse, where they sound friends to help ethem: there they forced his Palace, ransacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wise, that for the griefe thereof sheep possessioned her selfe. But he followed their heeles a pace; and siring a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedie riddance of them. For he spead onne of his knowne, no, not of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst

into his chamber, vnftript and fearched. He was the greatest R obber of the people, that euer raigned in any State; and withall, the most vnrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citic, called the \*liand\*, from the rest s like as the \*spaniard\* did the \*citaded of \*snrverpe\*: therein he lodged

trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter

his treasures, and his Guards. He then beganne to make warre vpon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay 20 before Herbesse, an in-land Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie hee recourred his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, hee againe recoursed the masterie ouer the Syraсиsians. And when a multitude of them were bussed in gathering in their Haruest. he disarmed all the Townes-men remayning: and new strengthned the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, with threefcore thousand labourers, hee finished in three weekes; being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many 40 fwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corflets, and all other sutable armes. Which done, he fent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly enfeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the Greeke Townes, which they held in Sieil, he would make warre vpon them : and, not flaying for answere, hee tooke the spoile of all the Phanician Ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King Philip the second, did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with four crore thou fand foot and three thou fand horse, and sends his brother Leptines to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and fine hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for Carthage yeelded vnto him; fauing Panormus, Segesta or Egesta, Ancyra, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wonne Motya 50 by affault, and put all therein to the fword; but before Egeff a hee loft a great part of his Armie, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while Himileo arrives; but, cre he tooke land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with Leptines, fiftic ships of warre, and fine thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recouered againe Motyavpon his first descent. From thence marching towards Mef-

Jena, he tooke Lypara, and (loone after) Mellena, and raled it to the ground. Now beganne Dionylius greatly to doubt his citate. Hee therefore fortified all the places hee could, in the Territorie of the Leantines, by which hee supposed that Himileo would paffe toward Syracufe, and he himfelfe tooke the field againe, with four and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himileo had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer land, and fending Mago with the other by Sea: he fent Leptines, his brother, to encounter Mago. But Leptines was vtterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twentie thousand of his men were flaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lott. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authours tellvs; That one Citie should becable to fur- 10 nish fine hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did Syracase arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twentie thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Leganto was the most notable, we heare of no fuch number loft; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer hapned in our age, nor before vs. When Charles the fift went to beliege Algier, hee had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie faile of ships, and threefcore and fine Gallies : for the furnishing of which fleet, he fought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the reft of Italie. But in old times it was the menner to carrie into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, 20 of all that could be are armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our daies it is not fo; neither, indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, Dienyfus postes away to Syracuse, to strengthen it : Himileo followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aide from the Lacedamonians, under the conduct of Pharacidas, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens: who, in his absence, take twentie of the Carthaginian Gallies, and linke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne fuccesse prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands; they confult how to recouer their libertie. And this they had done, had not Pharacidas the Lacedemonian relifted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the 30 plague was fo increased, and so violent, among the Carthaginians; as it is said, that about an hundred thousand of them died thereof. Hee therefore, with the power that he could gather together, fets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing flaine great numbers of them, forceth Himileo to desire peace. This peace Dionysius fold him for a great fumme of monie; on condition, that he should steale away with his Caribaginians only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purfued, and left many of his Carthaginisms behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell under the swords of their enemies; only the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended themselues, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many (nch examples of perificious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliner vnto memorie the like practifies, when they meete with their tratches: T but which happed vnto Manflew let Piles, was very futable to this treacherie, wherewith Diamylin purfined Himileo. I was prefent, when De Piles related the injurie done vnto him. He had rendered St. John a Angelee, to the French tein the charles the ninth, who befieged him therein. Heer endred it, youn promife made by the faith of a King, that he flould be fuffered to depart in fafetie, with all his followers. Yet in prefence of the King himielfe, of the Duke of Anion his brother Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marfalls of Fizueze, he was fet you and broken in his march, fooiled of all that he had; 50 and forced to faue his life by flight, leaving the most of his Souldiers dead you the place: the Kings hand and faith, warranting him to march away with enfignes difficial, and with all his goods and providions, no whit auxiling him. I needes not therefore feeme ftrange, that an Heathen T yram flould thus break his faith, fince

Kings, profeffing Christianitie, are bold to doethe like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie Messien. Mago, who staied in Siel, to hold up the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by Dionysius; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supply of four fectore thousand soulders is sent from Carthage to Mago; but they take egges for their monie, and make peace with Dionysius, leaving the Siellians in Tauromenium, to shift for themselves: whom Dionysius, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Cirie to his mercinarie Souldiers.

He then palt into Italie, obtained diuers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourfeore thouland crownes, to furnish him with threefeore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for afflir sance of their future observance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe with othern the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them viterly, with the more case. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, fallishe the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victuals so is, his Armie, at such time as he seemed readie to depart out of Italie, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like quantitie, at his comming home to

His refolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, hee would then make their refusall the cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of soot to endure a siege any long time against him. For to ruine them hee had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of saith. For when, in the beginning of his raigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him, for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villainous words.

\*\*Outlemader the Great forgame many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errours. And certainely, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to represend Princes; and to none essentially in publicue.

It is faid, that Henrie the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed againft the Duke of Biron, for his oner-hold and biring taunts, that hee vfed againft him before Aminn, than for his conspiracie with the Spanird, or Saugyan: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords againft him. The contemptuous words that St. John Parret vsed of our late Queene Elizabeth, were his ruine; and not the counter than the statement of the Romilh Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To bee short, bee made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe cleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. He yield his victorie without mercie; specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other warres hee made with the Carthaginians, after the taking, and rafing of this Citie, and those with variable fuceesse. For as in one encounter the flue Mage, with tenthousand Africans: so the sonne of Mage beare him, and flue 50 his brother Leptines, with sourcene thousand of his Souldiers. After which hee bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperitie and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

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When he had raigned eight and thirtie yeares, he died: forme fay, in his bedde, peaceably s which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man hee was, and a faithlefte; a great Poet, but a foolish one. Hee entertained Plate a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, hee gaue order to haue him slaine, or fold for a slaue. For hee could endure no man, that statered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore filled his cruelite, The hate. of ensil men; and his lawlesse slained of vermine, which posion all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better, than the worthest and valianted mendoe: And I wonder not at it; sor it is a world; and as our Saniour Christ hath told vs, 10

To this Dionyfius, his sonne of the same name succeeded; and inherited both his Kingdome, and his Vices. To winne the loue of the People, hee pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Fatherlockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted with his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had saltened with himselfe the peoples affections, hee call off the Sheep skinne, and put on that of the Wolfe. For, being jealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, hee caused them all to bee slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For Dionyshu his Father (as but beene said) at the day which Brother-in-law of his hog greatly enriched.

By Doris he had this Dienysius, who succeeded vnto him: and by Aristomache he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called Sophrosyne, he gaue in marriage to his eldet Sonne, and her halfe-brother. Dienysius; the yonger, called Areta, he bestowed on his Brother Theorista: after whose death, Dien

tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This Dion, a just, and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that hee was wholly given over to sensualitie, prevailed so much with Plato, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicil, to instruct 30 the yong King. And having perfuaded the King to entertaynehim, he wrought fo well with him, as Dionysius beganne to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrifons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For Philistus the Historian, and other his Paralites, that hated Dions seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour; and caused him soone after to bee banished out of Sicil, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas Dion had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrells betweene him and the Carthaginians, of whom Dionyfius flood in great feare, or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gal- 40 lies at his owne charge, during the warre against them : his enemies found meanes, by finister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told Dionyfius, that all the great commendations, given of Plate, had tended to none other end, than to foften his minde, and to make him neglect his owneaffaires,by the studie of Philosophie; whilest Dion, in the meane time, having furnished fiftie Gallies, under colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliver to the Syracufians their former libertie, or to make himfelfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serve the King with 6 great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For 50 they that had served the King for none other end, than to raise and entich themselves, and had alreadic becrie raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer, that Dion had made, if the King had had the grace to con-

ceiue it aright. But these couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that Dian had, were bold to sille his Lowe and Liben distre, Pride and Presumption; and heartmed the yong King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoiles they themselues shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when Charles the sist had the repulse at Assier in Africa, Ferdinando Cortes, one of the brauest men that euer \$5 nine brought borth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the sliege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conquest of Whesier in the west sinding persuaded the Emperour, that Cortes sought to value himselfe about him; and to so have it said, That what the Emperour could not, Cortes had effected, and was

therefore more worthie of the Empire, than he that had it.

When Dien was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to fend him the reuenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moucables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in flort time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that Dien would have beene well pleased to liue well, as he did, at Athens. But after some time, Dienssius made Port also of this Noble-mans goods; and thereby reged him to take another course; seuento seek the restitution of his Countrieto libertie. The vertues of Dien, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much love in Greece. This love made him suspected and ob hated of the Tyrant: but it shood him in good seed, when hee fought to raise men, with whose helpe he might returne into sical. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for hee carried the matter closely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicil; marched to Syracuse; entred the Citie without resistance; armed the multitude; and wonne all, saue the Citadell.

Dionysius was then absent in Italies, but hee quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to Syraus(\_\_: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forecable attempts to recover the Towne, 30 he was faine to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custodie of Apollowates, his eldes to me. Yet ere he went, his Minion Philisus, comming with a strength of men to assist thin, was beaten, taken, and put to death by tornent. But Dion, forther ecoucrie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthie men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assistantled, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retireth himselfe to the Leontines, who receive him with great joy. Soone after his departure from Syrauss(\_, new troups enter the Castle: they sallie out, assistantle, spoile, and burne a great part of the Citie. Dion is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, Dionssis has souldiers were retired; and the Townstmen, thinking themselves secure, shut the Gates against Dion. But the next.

40 night, they of the Caitle failic againe, with greater furie than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and fet fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremities Dion comes the fectond time to their fuccour; the loue of his Countrie furmounting all the injuries that he had received. He fets vpon the Garrison of the Caitle, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire, euery-where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the fword, that had well-neare burnt to ashes, and depopulated Syncusse, he recovered the Cassile, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent Applierates, after Dionysium his Father, into takie. But their maliec, of whom he had best deferred, and whom he had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For he was, soone after this 50 his victorie, murdered by Calippus; who, after he had, with ill successe, a while governed Syrausse, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murde-

Ten yeares after the death of Dion, Dionyfiu, with the affiftance of his friends in Italie, recours his efface, and returnes to Synause, driving Nyfaus thence, whom he

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found Governour therein. The better fort of the Citizens, fearing, more than ever, his crueltie, flee to Ietets, a Syrauffan borne, and then ruling the Leontines. Ite-testenters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their affiliance, not only to prevaile against Dionyfius; but by the hatted of the Syrauffans towards Dionyfius, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syrauffans, being deferuingly affilied on all filoses, send to the Corinhians for succour. Itests also sends thicker, and dissuades the Corinhians, as well as hee can, from intermeding in the businesses. That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Carinhis to land any Armie in Stell. But the Corinhians, being by this treason of Iestes, so more in raged than dissuaded, sent Timoleon with nineteene Gallies, to deliver Syrausses and, with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driven Dionyssius into the Castle, wherein hee besieved him.

Teetes, being himfelfe a Tyrant in Leonium, rather fought how to enlarge his power, than, how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Regiun, he fent to per fwade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) ehablished in Steil. The Carshaginian Gallies were also in the fame Port of Rhegium; whose Captaines adulfed Timoleon, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him; if 20 he would not be perswaded. Timoleon, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carshaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vinto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vied to him in private; that hee might, by

publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Cerinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtayned by a few faire wordes, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to Timoleons desire. But while the Orations were delivering, Timoleon, fauoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the presse; and having set faile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recoursed the Port of Tauromenium, 20 where he was joyfully received by Andromachus the Governour. From thence he marched towards Adranum, where furprifing leetes his Armie, hee flue a part thereof, and put the rest to runne. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranit ans joyned with him; and so did Mamereus, the Tyrant of Catana. Dionyfius also sent to Timoleon, offering to surrender the Castle of Syracufe into his hands: as thinking it better to yeeld vp himselfe, and the places which he could not desend, unto the Corinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now Timoleon, who within fiftic daies, after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of Syracuse, and sent Dionysius to Corinth, to live there a private man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practises, of icetes. For 49 he besieged the Corinthians, within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of Timoleon.

The Corinthians fend vnto Timeleon a fupply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are shaid in Italie by foule weather. Itees is strengthned with threeGore thousand Africans, brought vnto him by Mago (all which hee lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the Carthaganians had dominion within the walls of that Circ. With this great Armic, Leetes assaulted the Casse. Timeleon sends them victualls, and succour, in small boats, by night, from Catans. Mago and Ietes doe therefore resolve to besinge Catans; but they were no sone on their way towards so it, with part of their forces, than Leon, Captaine of the Carinthians, sallied our of the Casse, and tooke that part of Syrausse, called Areadona, which he fortissed.

In the meane while, the two thousand Cerinthians arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marcheth towards Syracuse. Mago abandoneth tetes.

Iteits, being frighted out of Sieil (which he might eafily haue conquered) with an idle rumeur of treafon. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation againft his cowardrace, did for much more affright him, that for leare of tarther punishment, he hanged him selfe. Timoleon enters the Citie, and beats downe the Caltle (which he called the neit of Tryants) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the frangers were fled, in selfect deslote; is to as their horses did feede on the graffle, growing in the market-place. Therefore, he writes to Corinth, for people to re-inhabitet. Tenthousand are sent out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Iland.

10 But a new florme articleth. Afterabal, and Amilear, Carthaginians, artive about Lilphaum, with three core and ten thouland Souldiers, transported (with all their prouisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth

thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a River.

A tempeth of raine, haile, and lightning, with boifterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the Carthagnians, they are vterly broken, ten thousand flaine; fine thousand taken; with all their carriages and proussions: among which there were found a thousand corslets, gilt and grauen. After this, he gaue an ouerthrow to I- Platia visition, etcit; and, following his victoric, tooke him, with his sonne Eupelemus, and the Generall of his borfc, prisoner; whom he caussed all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great crueltie) he suffered seets his wines and daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon Iectes, who (after the mutder of Dion) had caussed Artet, Dions wish, and a yong child of his, with Arts Romanbe.

Dinns fifter, to be call into the Sea.

He againe preuailed againt? Mamerem, Tyrant of Catana, and wonne Catana it
felic. O'Mamerem fled to Hippen, Tyrant of Moffens: but Timeleon, purfuing him,
wonne the towne 3 deliutering Hippen to his Citizens, who tormented him to death.
The fame end had Mamerem, and all other, the Tyransis in Siel.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians; on condition, That they should not passe the Riner of Lyeur. After this, he lived in great honour among the Syracousium, till his death; and was solemnely buried by them, in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funeralls, being for ever ordayned to beekept holy among them.

After fuch time, as Timoleon had delivered Strasufe, from the tyrannie of Diony-Jim, and brought peace to the whole lland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertic in peace, about twentie yearse. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in Infectics and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But, it was imposfible, that a Nation, which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to gouerne them; (hould any long time fubfift.

Twentic yeares, after the death of Timoleon, there started up an Agathoules among them, a man of base birth, and of base condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to Capraine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a Prator; hee sinally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syranssians. Many fortunes her anne, and under-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valuant man he was, and did notable scruice, as well for those by whom he was imploied, as also for the Syraussians, and against them. For in their warres against those of Emma, and the Campinnes, he did them menorable scruice; and on the contrarte, as memorable service and on the contrarte, as memorable service.

50 recofiums. For being entertained by the people of Murgantin, and made Generall of their forces, he facks Leontium; and beliegeth Syranife io streightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aide, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the Carthaginium. Amilea was fent by the Carthaginium, to relieve Syranife. With him Agathostes wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between e himselfe and

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the Syracufians; binding himfelie by promife and oath, to remaine a friend and feruant to the flate of Carthage, for ever after. Amiliar entertayned the builneffe, and compounded the quarrelis betweene Agathodes, and the Syracufians. Agathodes is chosen Prator; he entertaines flue thousand Africans, and diuers old Souldiers of the Manganines, where colour of a purpose to befine Herbits. With these, and with the fallifiance of the poor and discontented Syracufians (the Citie being also duided into many factions) he affailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and gives libertie to his Souldiers, to robbe, to raufil, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous apperties, and firewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their furie had no further subject to

Agathoeles, in an affembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly cosumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that he affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magiltrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratic, by which it had been gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to have the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) per-20 force. For as he knew, that he had left noneliuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had beene partaker with them, in . their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King : againe and againe, faluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King Richard the third a peece of his patterne; but, the one was of base; the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertic from a Common-weale; the other fought only to succeede in a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end; theo- 30 ther, after he had obtayned the Crowne, fought, by making of good lawes, to recouer the loue of his reople.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by Iustine; more largely and particularly by Diodorus Siculus: the fumme whereof is this. The fame Amilear that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him flue thousand men, to helpe in the maffacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of Amilear, to settle Agathocles in his tyrannie, and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to paffe, that hee should reduce all Sieil into such termes, as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But, when the Cities, confe- 40 derate with the Carthaginians, sent their Embassadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (so much taunted by the Romans, as no better than meere fallhood) fhewed it felfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadours were sent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put Agathoeles in minde of his couenants; Amilear was recalled home into Africk, and a new Captaine appointed to succeede in his charge, with such forces, as might compell Agethocles to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates, from fuffering fuch injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it seucrely punished. Amiliar was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being given, 50 but not calculated; and so reserved, vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that Amilear had some notice of it. In managing his businesse with Agathocles, it is likely that he had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made such a composition with the Syracusan, as

gaue him not only meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the cu-Itome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practises; thinking to deale fubrilly, and finely, they fpinne their threads to small, that they are broken with the very winde. Amilear faw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices; which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into fo much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which fome of his fore-10 goers had taught him; and, for feare of fuch a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what fort he thought best. This desperation of Amilear ferued to informe Agathoeles of the Carthaginians intent. He faw they would not be deluded with words, and therfore resolued to get the start of them in action. He diffembled no longer; but, in flead of spoile and robberie, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of Sicil his owne, ere the Carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to have encountred an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and give them sharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was fo Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their

20 bulinesse vindone, and returne into Africk. The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, cuen whilest it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But Amilear, the sonne of Gifco, gathering together the remainders of this ship-wrack, was bold to passe ouer into Sicil, and landed not farre from Gela; where Agathocles was soone readie to examine the cause of their comming. Many skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the Syracufian had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby he lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerse chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vp-held by great 20 circumspection. The warre was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse; within which Agathoeles was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be judged to have loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new tyrannie, were (for the most part) fuch, as had beene either mercinarie Souldiers, infranchifed flaues, or base and needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernement, and Executioners of the murders, and spoile, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obferued, and (withall) fo fearfull, that they durft not flirre. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine 40 was likely to grow upon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessitie, Agathocles aduentured vpon a strange course, which the eneut commended, as wife. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessells that rode in the Hauen; and committing the government of the Citie to his brother Antander, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of

victuallers, and to keepe the belieged from iffuing forth.

Now, at fuch time as \*\*gathoeles\* was readie to depart\*, aduertifement came, that many fhips of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing neare 50 vnto \*\*syrsaufe\*. To intercept thefe, the \*\*Carthoginian\* hoise faile, and launch forth into the deepe. They were not farregone, when they might behold \*\*sqathoeles\*, iffuing forth of the Port\*, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled back into the

Citie, but made all speede towards Africk; and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as day would give them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten into Syracule; which was the more plentifully relieued by their comming, for that Agathocles had unburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceived; first, that by pursuing two sects at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that Agathoeles returned not againe, but was gone to feeke his fortune elsewhere; he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not have leisure to doe mischiefe in

The Carthaginian Nauie (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) followed Agathocles directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after fixedayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; fo that (belike) they rowed hard; and wearied themselues, in seeking their owne missortune. For he fought with them, and beat them; and, having funke, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with strange tidings of his voiage.

When Agathocles had landed his men in Africk, then did he discouer vnto them his project; letting them understand, That there was no better way to divert the Carthaginians, not only from Syracuse, but from all the Ile of Sicil, than by bringing the warre to their owne dores. For here (faid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceive that there 20 is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified; their people vntrained, and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercinarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked. as one alreadie Master of all the riches in Africk; and with many braue wordes encouraged his men fo well, that they were contented to fet fire on all their ships (referuing one or two, to vie as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, faue only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; 30 which after they had throughly facked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that Amilear is broken, and his whole Armic destroyed in Sicil. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they seare, and know not what. They suspect Amilears faith, who had suffered Agathoeles to land in Africk : they suspect their principall Citizens at home of a meaning to betray Carthage, vnto the enemic; they raise a great Armie, and know not vnto whose charge they may safely com-

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citic, Hanno, and Bomil- 40 car; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generalls of the Armie kuied; which farre exceeded the forces of Agathocles. But it seldome happens, that diffension betweene Commanders produceth any fortunate euent. Necessitie draue Agathoeles to fight: and the courage of his men, resolued to deale with the whole multitude of the Cartheginians, made casie the victoric against the one halfe of them. For Bomilear would not firre : but fuffered Hanno to be cut in peeces.

The reputation of this victorie, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian Societie, to take part with Agathocles: who pursuing his victorie, winnes many Townes, and fends word to Spracufe of his good successe. The Carthaginians 50 also fend into Sicil, willing Amilear, their Generall, to succour the state of Africk, which was in danger to be loft, whileft he was trauailing in the conquest of Sicil. Amilear fends them flue thousand men : all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw Agathodes back into Sicil, than to be drawne

home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad iffue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the Syraculians : and having brought his matters to fome good order, he conceived a fudden hope of taking Syracuse by surprise. It was a pretie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as Tullie relates it. Amilear had a dreame, which told him that he should suppe the next day within Syracuse. His fancie begot this dreame, and he believed it. He made more hafte, than good speede, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that he had no great cheare

to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome prefent) to Agathocles. This good successed things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that Agathoeles was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe King of Africk. He had allured ophellas, King of the Cyrenians, to take his part, by promifes to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he faid) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to have diverted the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might raigne quietly. Ophellas came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertayned. But the traiterous Sicilian, taking an advantage, did murder this his affiftant: 20 and afterwards, by good wordes, and great promifes, drew all the Cyremian Armie to follow him in his warres. Thus his villainie found good successe; and he so preuailed in Africk, that he got leifure to make a flep into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had imbraced a delire of recourring their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long beene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. Thefe had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of Azathooles abated their high fpirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to obedience. Out of Sicil he returned into Africk, where his affaires flood in very bad termes. Archaguthus, his fonne, had loft a bat-20 taile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lack of pay. But Agathoeles pacified the tumult, by the accultomed promises of great bootic and spoile. It had now beene time for him, to offer peace to the Carthaginians; which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) have given to him, both monic enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil: For their Citie had beene distressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of Bomilcar, who failed not much of making him felfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. Agatheeles had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of Carthage it selfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loffe of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange enents following it. The Cartha-40 ginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old facrifices of children to Saturne: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with Gelon. And now they made choice of some, the goodlieft of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the faid Idoll, in way of thankefulneffe for their victoric. The fire, with which these vnhappie men were consumed, caught hold vpon the lodgings nearest vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult, as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Paullon of Agathocles. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them belowing, that the noise in the adverse Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to invade it. 50 But the Carthaginians had a safe retraite. Agathocles, by a second errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeede the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the carbhaginians, in the last battaile) he beganne to affaile them, and was fo flourly refished, that he lost, in this blinde fight,

aboue foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neare hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had knowne how to gouerne his Ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely abourd his ships, with his yonger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into Sieil; thinking it the best course, to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessells wherein to transport his Armie. His elder sonne, Archagathus, perceiued his drift, arrested him, and put him under custodie : but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loofe, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His 10 flight being noised through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but even such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of Azathocles was extremely base; I neede not vse wordes to proue: That his scare was truly, as all feare is faid to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason offered, the sequele doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse companie, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuerthelesse a reasonable composition from the Carthaginians: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, Agathodes himselse, having lost his Armie, did neuerthelesse, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace 20 with Carthage vpon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable crucities, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his feares, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich. or the death of those whom he held suspected; but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He deuised new engines of torment; wherein striuing to exceede the Bull of Phalaris, he made a frame of braffe, that should serue to scortch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miserie. So devillish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his brutishaffections. In these mischiefes he was so outragious, that he neither spared 30 Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the flaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserue his estate : it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countrie, tooke armes against him, and draue him into fuch feare, that he was faine to feeke the lone at Carthage, which, by ruling well, he might have had in Sicil. He freely delivered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phanicians in Sicil, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him, honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and filuer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebells, and setled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in Stell, he made a voiage into Italie. There he 40 fubdued the Brutians, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoile the Temples of their Gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be Gods, that had continually given deafe eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by soule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grieuous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rot- 50 ted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only Theogenia (a wife that he had taken out of Agypt) and her small children : his Nephew, the sonne of Archagathus, before mentioned, and a yonger sonne of his owne, beganne to contend about the

Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them lated wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grandstates Kingdome without asking any leaue. These tidings wounded the heart of As sthode with searcand sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom beek new that no lauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only heenow held deare, which were, Theogens, and her children. Therefore hee adusted her and them to flie before they were surprised for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he cuen compelled them (weepings to leauch im deslotate in 6 wretched a casely to imbarke themselves halfily, and make speede into Egypt. After their departure, whether he threw himsels into the lire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none less that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as balely, and on as much want, as he first begannett.

After the death of \*\*Agathodes\* it was, that the \*\*Mamerimes\* his Souldiers traiteroully occupied \*\*Assignata\*, and infefted a great part of the Iland. Then alfo did the \*\*Carthazinians\* beginne to renew their attemps of conquering all \*\*Sicil.\*\* What the Nephew of \*\*Agathodes\* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished.

20 Forthe \*\*Sicilians\* were driven to fend for \*\*Pyrrhus\* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of \*\*Agathodes\*. But \*\*Pyrrhus\* was soone wearie of the Countrie (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champaine field, wherein \*\*Rome and \*\*Carthage\* should fight for superiorite. In which businesses, how these two great Cities did speede, the order of our florie will declare.

# δ. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman warrein Sicil. How HIERON, King of Syracufe, for fooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.



Kingdome.

Hen Appiu Claudiu, following the advantage of his victoric gotten at Melfans, brought the warre vnt othe Gates of Spraufe, and befieged that great Citie; Hieron found it high time for him to fecke peace: who wing that the Carthaginian had neither any reafon to be offended with him, for helping himfelf by what meanes be could, when they

were not in case to giue him affishance; and foresseeing withall, that when once hee
40 had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit still, without sear of molestation, whilest Rome and Carthage were sighting for the masterie,
In this good moode, the new Roman Consults, SM. Valerius, and C. Ostacilius, sound
him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vie of their
present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred)
Talents.

These Confullshad brought a great Armie into Sieil; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer Hero to their side. If the Syraensem held them bussed (which I finde not, otherwise than by circumslances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him, and by their performing none other peece of service) all the 50 whole time of their abode in the sland; then was his departure from the friendship of Carthage, no less to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdometor runneinto manifest pentl of subversion, for their fakes, that should have received all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straying

themselues to give him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good proofe of the firength of Syracuse, in the daies of seathocles: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare our a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both Rome and Syracuse should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeede, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had beene, when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason, to trie the vttermost hazard of warre against the Carthaginians, who sought no other thing than to bring it into flaueric: not fo against the Romans, who thought it sufficient, it they could with- 10 draw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by Agathoeles, or by Hiero. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, fo long as he might preserve his owne tyranie: the latter, as a justand good Prince, had no greater defire than to winne the loue of his people, by feeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitic within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enjoyed a long and happie raigne; liuing deare to his owne Subjects, beloued of the Romans, and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made unwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more carnest businesse with the Romans, made vnable to compasse it. 20

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Seafight in generall,

I ERON, having fided himfelfe with the Romans, aided them with victuaills, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming vpon his affiliance, recall some part of their forces. The Carthaginians finde it fiftance, recall tome part or their forces. The control high time to beflire them; they fend to the Ligarian, and to the trough they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arrived, der conduct of they made the Citie of Agrigentum, the feat of the warre, against the Romans, filling

it with all manner of munition.

Phylips. It WILLIAM IMBRICO I MUNICO.

The compaigned was en miles about the walls and it had forestime in it eight hundred thoulind hinbitiants. This Citicity reason of the feet filter of the folia, and the neighbourhood of carries, grew in a hort figure, from final beginnings, to great plote and riches. The plende and proposed to folia, and the neighbourhood of carries, grew in a hort figure, from final beginnings, to great plote and riches. The plende and carries, the product, as if they make to lost first product, as if they make to lost forest the possible that the product, as if they make to lost forest first places. Lucius Pollhumius, and Fish ponds; the vines wherever and the area of the first possible that they are failth early as the product, and first ponds; the vines wherever at the possible that they are failth early the product of the first product, and the first product of the first product, the product of the first product, and the first places. After a while, the time manifest of duest solution; a work the first fore first places are shall been feened in the office the water of first places. The first product is the product of the first product of the product of the first product of the firs The compaffe was ten miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it. The Roman Confulls, having made

tweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe; and another on the out-fide thereof: that neither the Carthaginians might force any quarter fuddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrie without, breake vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the belieged also from the receiping any reliefe of victualls, and munitions, whilelt the Syraculian Supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged fend for fuccour to Carthage; after they had beene in this fort pent up fine moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of Hanne; who arrives with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agricentum. Hanno puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbesus, a Citie wherein the Ro-

mans had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no leffe streightly affieged by Hanno, than the Citie was by the Romans: infomuch, as if Hieron had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this diffresse was not enough to make them rise; Hanno determined to give them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclia, he makes approch vnto the Roman campe. The Romans resolue to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the Numidian horse-men to charge their Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne, as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romans purfued the Numidians, Hanno gives vpon them, and having flaughtered many, beats the restinto

their Trenches.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths. but lay strongly incamped, waiting vntill some oportunitie should inuite them. But Annibal, that was belieged in Agrigentum, as well by fignes as meffengers, made Hanno know, how ill the extremitie which he indured, was able to brooke fuch dilatorie courses. Hanno thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consulls to fight. But, his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans, he loft the day; and with fuch as escaped, he recoursed Heraclea. Annibal perceiving this, and remayning hopeleffe of fuccour, refolued to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without reliffance. The Confulls purfue him in the morning, but in vaine: fure they were, that he could not carrie the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pittifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purpose henceforth rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, only to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts: 40 but now they determine, to make themselves Lords of all Sicil; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good fuccesse, to saile ouer into Africke. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and of private men, to cover the greatest things, but not to enjoy the leaft; the defire of that which we neither have nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what we have alreadic. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the

To profecute this Warre, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Octacilius, two new Confuls, are fent into Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many inland Townes gaue themselues vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians 50 keeping still the Lordship on the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets as also to equal themselves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in shipwrights-craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of fine bankes, to the shore.

Now had the Romans a patterne, and by it they beganne to fet vp an hundred Quinqueremes, which were Gallies, rowed by fine on enery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke; and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange falhion. They placed vponthe Sea-fands many feates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the fand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, 10 C. Cornelius, one of the new Confulls (for they changed enery yeare) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to Messena with seuenteene Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needes row alongst the coast to Lipara, hoping to doe some peece of service. Hannibal, a Carthaginian, was at the same time Gouernour in Panormus; who being advertised of this new Sea-mans arrivall, sent forth one Boodes, a Senatour of Carthage, with twentie Gallies, to entertaine him. Boodes, falling vpon the Confull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When Hannibal received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies and their Confull; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than Cornelius had beene. For he, 20 fancying to himselfe to surprise the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; fought them out with a fleet of fiftie faile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and, leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the Romans under Cornelius had lost but seuenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not eafily beaten by fiftie.

The Romans, being advertised of Cornelius his overthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, Duilius, Duilius, considering that the Roman vessells were heavie and slow, the African Gallies hauing the speede of them, denised a certaine engine in the prow of his Gallies, where 30 by they might fasten or grapple themselues with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies fides together. This done, the waightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the Africans loft it. For neither did their swiftnesse seruethem, nor their Marriners craft; the Vessells, wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heanier Gallies were likely to crush and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they, by reason of their breadth, more steadie; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vie their hands. The example may be given betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a London-barge.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Veffells to fight in : he must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loofe or at large, and grapling. The Gunnes of a flow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by fuch an ignorant brauerie was Peter Stroffe loft at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquesse of Santa Cruz. In like fort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admirall of England, been loft in the yeare 1588. if he had not beene better aduised, than a great many nealignant fooles were, that 50 found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Armic aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessells, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of England. For twentie men vpon the de-

fences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwife, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twentic of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not beene worthie to have held his head. Here to speake in generall of Seafight (for particulars are fitter for private hands, than for the Preffe) I fay, That a fleet of twentie ships, all good failers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred faile keepe themselves neare together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie thips, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back vpon their next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable, or loft. Force them they may casily, because the twentie ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and flaying, they may give them the other : and fo the twentie ships batter them in peeces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troupe. haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vie but one and the fame beaten fide. If the fleet of an hundred faile give themselves any distance, then shall the leffer fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-failing their fellowes keepe the winde; and if yoon a Lecthore, the thips next the winde be constrained to fall back into their owne foundron 20 then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it selfe. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speede, it hath

beene well enough conceined in old time; as by that Oration of Hermocrates, in Thueydides, which he made to the Syracufians, when the Athenians invaded them, it Thueyd. L. 6. may eafily be observed. Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatife, for the Lord HENRIE. Prince of Wales; a fubject, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared methe labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the loffe of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclypfe of the Sunne, wee shall

finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall wordes and forrowes; I will

20 therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. Cura leves loguentur, in-

But it is now time to returne to the beaten Carthaginians; who by looling their advantage of swift boats, and boording the Romans, have loft fiftie faile of their Gallies: as on the other fide, their enemies, by commanding the Seas, have gotten libertie to faile about the West part of Sicil; where they raised the siege laied unto Segesta, by the Carthaginians, and wonne the Towne of Macella, with fome other places.

# ð. V I I.

Diversenterfeats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to inuade Africk : and obtaine a great victorie at Sea.



He victorie of Duilius, asit was honoured at Rome, with the first Nauall triumph, that was euer scene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the Romans a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea: whereby they hoped, not only to get Sicil, but all the other Iles betweene Italie and Africk, beginning with Sardinia, whither foone after

they fent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrarie side, Amilear the Carthaginian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune : and being aduertifed, that some quarrell

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was growne betweene the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being fuch as caused them to incampe a part, hee sent forth Hanno to set you them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in Sicil, Hannibal, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto Carthage, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtayned the trusto f a new fleet, wherewith hee arrived at Sardinia: the conqueit of which Iland, the Romans had entertayned for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the Romans, croffing the Seas from Sicil. arrived in the Port where Hannibal with his new fleet anchored. They fet voon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himfelfe hardly escaping their danger. But it little auailed him to have escaped from the Romans. His good friends, the Carthaginians, were foill pleafed with this his fecond vnfortunate voiage, that they hanged him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath been faid of old) Non est bis in bello peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice.

After this, it was long creany thing of importance was done by the Confulls, till give credit to \* Panormus was belieged : where, when the Romans had fought in vaine to draw Antiquities, the Carthaginians into the field; being vinable to force that great Citie, because of a diligent write the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and tooke certaine

a diligent with the Holling Children between they acquire the special content of the Children Colonic of the Phantems; Kangams, mousemers among was first, and long before the time which Thurd des sets downe, sounded by the Messana. The yeare following, Childrens, and Daniascenes. To proue which, he tells vs of two inscriptions upon marble, in the Hebrew Character, tound at Panormus in the time of William the fe- C. Atilius the Conful, who comcond, King of Sicil, that were then beheld of all the Citizens, and other strangers; manded the Roman fleet, discowhich being translated into Latine, say as followeth. Thunte I sat fills Abrabe,

or regnante in I domea, at fin Valle Damascena, Esau fillo 1 sat; somen Hebrasom utered a Companie of the Carmanus, quibro aduntit suat multi Damasteni, asta Phoenices, profesti in home triangularum thaginian Gallies, ranging the Instituta, see perpetuas loconerum in hoc anganstimo loco, quem Pano muno nominane mont. In the other marble table are found these wordes. Non est alius Deus preter coast : and , not staying for his voum Deum ; non eff alus votess , preter eundem Deum, Se. Huius Turris Prefectus whole number , purfued them eas and near the control of the cont down for more of the poly. Left There have previous notice of the hand, and this interface, with ten of his. But he was well no on, that has taking was found into its in the Calille and, in the years one thoughout the notion for the halfe he made, for the halfe done. Now whether these interiptions were truly as and lost at the calille and an accient, ash, the men believe they were, I leave even man to his owns faith, But which they are for a salt in the property of the call in the calille and the call in that the Citi was of aged times, it appeares by Thurydides, who affirmeth, when which transported him: wherethe Greekes past first Sieil, that then the hamilians inhabited Panarious: which in himselfe escaped with great cerained is the they did in the first Paule warre; to wis, the Carthaghians, who hadour. But cree all was done, were Photicson, from whom the Roman A. Applies, and C. Candins, commanding this Armely to keen. And when Marcellan belieged Syzarde, it first him in aide the reft of Atilius his fleet was this remier to the Ro- gotten vp : who renewing the main. For Creers against Verres, names it among the free Cities of Sicil. After Syracuse definited, it became the first Citie and Regall feat, as well of the Gaths fight, recoursed from the Carand States in that Hand, as of the Emperous of conflations; so the Normans, that it is a double number of Frence, and dragouses; which honour tholds to this day, and is much frequently the conflation with which rooms about the conflation with which rooms about the conflation with the c

remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to trie at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The Romans make a fleet of three hundred \*\* The Onin. and thirtie Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three hundred and fiftie, \*\* Triremes.

quirems are Quadriremes, and Quinqueremes.

The Romans resolute to transport the warreinto Africk, the Carthaginians, to arhath five men rest them on the coast of siel. The numbers, with which each of them filled their to draw it the fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that cuer fought on the waters. By Polyhim his hid foure to an estimation, there were in the Roman Gallies an hundred and fortie thousand men: Oare; and the and in those of Carthage, an hundred and fiftie thousand : reckoning one hundred Treatment and the control of the con the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks. and than more ranks of Ozare's one ouer another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been fo, they me'ft then have had fine decks, each ouer other; which bath feldome been feen in fhips of a thousand Tonnes; meither could the third, fourth, and fift rankes, have reached vnto the water with their Oares,

and the third fquadron, the Bale: the point thereof ( wherein were the two Confulls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemie; and the middle space lying emitte. Their Veffells of carriage were towed by the third (quadron, After all came verthe fourth, in forme of a Crescent; very well manned, but exceeding thinne : so that the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the Carthaginian fleet I cannot conceive by the relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and firetched in a great length, much like to that which the French call Combat en haif; a long front of horse, and thinne: which forme, lince the Piltoil to preuailed ouer the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-firetched from: their Battalions were more folide. For Amilear, Admirall of the Carthaginians, had thus ordered them, of purpole, (his Gallies having the speede of the Romans ) that. when the first fleet of the Romans hasted to breake through the first Gallies, they should all turne taile, and the Romans pursuing them (as after a victorie) diforger themselves, and, for cagernesse of taking the Runne-awaies, leave their other three fquadrons farre behinde them. For fo mult it needes fall out, feeing that the third foundron towed their horse-boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According to Amilears direction it focceed d. For when the Romans had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the Cartinginian first fleet, which ran 20 away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speede politible, not so much as iooking behinde them for the fecond fquadron. Hereby the Romans were drawne neare vnto the bodie of the Carthaginian fleet, led by Amilear, and by him (at the first) received great losse, till their lecond squadron came vp. which tore of Analogy to betake him to his Oares. Hanno also, who commanded the right wing of the Carthaginian fleet, inuaded the Roman Reareward, and premailed against them. But Amiliar being beaten off, Marcus Atilius fell back to their fuccour, and put the Cartheginians to their heeles; as not able to fultaine both squadrons. The Reare being relieued, the Confulls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed their victualiers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the Africans: 20 but the Confulls, joyning their fquadrons to it, put the Carthaginians on that part a fo to running. This victorie tell to the Romans, partly by the hardineffe of their Souldiers; but principally, for hat Amilear, being first beaten, could never after joyne himfelfe to any of his other fquadrons, that remained as yet in faire likelihood of prevailing, fo long as they fought upon even termes, and but fquadron to fquadron. But similear, forfaking the light, thereby left a full fourth part of the Roman fleet vningaged, and readie to give fuccour to any of the other parts that were oppicit. So as in conclusion, the Romans got the honour of the day; for the loft but foure and twentie of theirs; wheras the Africans loft thirtie that were funke.

and threefcore and three that were taken. Now, if Amilear who had more Gallies than the Romens, had also divided his fleet into foure fquadrons, (befides those that he ranged in the front, to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, while hee himfelfe fought with one foundron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had beene at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the fecond squadron, being free, came to the refene of the first, by which Amilear was opprest; and Amilear, being opprest and fcattered, the Confulls had good leifure to relieue both their third and fourth fquadron, and got the victorie.

Charle the fift, among other his Precepts to Philip the second his sonne, where he adulfeth him concerning Warre against the Twkes, tells him, that in all bartailes 50 between them and the Christians, he should never faile to charge the Janisars in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reft. For (faith he) the Innifars, who are alwaies referred intire, in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the Turke reposit his greatest confidence; come vp in a groffe body, when all the troups, on both fides, are difbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the Ggggg 3

victorie before them without relistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the Romans also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their Triarii in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious aduantage it hath cuer beene found, to keepe fome one or two good troups to looke on, when all elfe are difbanded and ingaged.

# d. VIII.

The Romans preuaile in Africk. ATILIVS the Confull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is veterly beaten, and made prisoner.

Ow the Romans, according to their former refolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, fet faile for Africa, and arrived at the Promontorie of Hercules , a great Head-land , somewhat to the East of the Port of Carthage, and some sortie leagues from Heraeles in Sicil, where Amilear himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (lea-

uing the entrance into Carthage) they coasted the East-side of the Promontorie, till they came to Clypea, a Towne, about fiftie English mile from it. There they dif- 20 imbarked, and prepared to beliege Clypen; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on Africa fide; without which all invalions are foolish. By this time were the Africans also arrived at their owne Carthage; fearing that the Roman fleet and armie had directed themselves thither: but being aduertised, that they had taken Clypea, they made prouisions of all forts, both by Scaand Land, for their defence. The Romans fend to Rome for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Confulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the feet, into Italie. According to this direction, Manlius the Confull is sent home to Rome; whither he carried with him twentie thou- 30 fand African captines, with all the Roman fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fifteene thousand foot, and fine hundred horse, that were left with Atilius.

With these forces, Regulus casily wanne some Townes and Places, that were vnwalled, and laid fiege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came vnto Adis. Yet I hold it worthie of relation, that neare vnto the Riuer of Bagrada, This Citie he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twentie foot long, which he flue. wastaken from not without loffe of many Souldiers, being driven to vseagainst it such engines of the Turkes by warre, as served properly for the assaulting of Townes. At Adis he met with the the faitherith, warre, as termed property for the anathring of 1 owns. At the time the men in the year Carthagaina Armie, where of the Captaines were Hanne and Baffar, together with 155°, and was Amilear, who had brought ouer out of Stall fine thousand foot, and fine hundred 40 one of the horse, to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him which he game out of Africa, by warie protraction of time, than to undergoe the hazard of a maine in charge, to fight. They were carefull to hold themselues free, from necessitie of comming to condhissonne blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of Alisout of his hands. Into keepe fafe; tending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the to wit, this Tuais, the Key of flege of Adu, they incampe neare vnto him, and ftroughy (asthey thinke) on the Africa: Flagh- top of an hill: but thereby they loofe the feruices, both of their Elephants, and of ing, the key of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs Regulus discouers, and makes vse of and Calin, the it. He affailes them in their strength, which they defend a-while; but in fine the Key of Spaine. Romans prevaile, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. 50 But two of these Philips Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceede to \* Tunis , a Citie loft, that hee within fixteene miles of Carthage, which they affault and take.

them againe; the third, our English were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene Elizabeth, to wring out of his hands: where we flaid not to pick any lock, but brake open the dores, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the losse of this battaile at Adis, and more especially by the losse of Tunis, the Carthaginians were greatly difmaied. The Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the West, infult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territorie, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of Carthage. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. Atilius findes his owne advantage, and affures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out : yet he feared least it might defend it selfe, untill his time of Office, that was neare expired, should be quite runne out, whereby the new Confulls were like to reape the honor of obtayning it. Ambition there-10 fore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the Carthaginians. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthie and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and disdaineful), that they resolved, either to defend their libertie, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troupe of Greekes, whom they had formerly fent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named Xantippus, a Spartan: who being informed of what had passed, and of the ouerthrow which the Carthaginians received neare vnto Adis, gaue it out publiquely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ranne, till it came to the Senate; Xantippus 20 is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the African forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, confisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces, wher with the Carthaginians fought for all that they had , Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wines, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbred; the one confifting of an hundred and fortie thousand, and the other of an hundred and fiftie thouland: were it not commonly found, that they which vie the scruice of mercinarie Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne dores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the Ro-30 mans; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The Romans wondred, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soone abated. Their chiefe care was, how to refist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the Velites, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forlorne hope; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had been eaccustomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the lesse subject vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed vnto 40 the violence of horse, wherein the enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by Xantippus, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his borse-men, and some light-armed foot, of the Carthaginian Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the Velites were so vnable to make relistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the Roman battaile was helpfull. For when the beafts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons neuerthelesse persisted in their order, without opening. But the Carthaginian horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their aduantage in number, driven those of Atilius out of the field, 50 beganne to charge the Roman battalions in flanke, and put them in great diffresse; who being forced to turne face enery way, could neither passe forward, nor yet retire; but had much a-doe to make good the ground whereon they flood. In the meane while, such of the Romans, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and

left them at their backs, fell vpon the Carthaginian Armie, that met them in very

good array. It was no euen match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemie voon equall termes. Here was therefore a great flaughter with little fight; the Romans haltily recoiling to the body of their Armie, which being furrounded with the enemie, and spent with trauaile, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troups, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the Carthaginians obtayined a full victorie; destroying the whole Roman Armie, saue two thousand, and taking flue hundred prisoners, together with Atilius the Confull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercinaries, which were flaine, when the fight began. by two thouland of the Romans, that wheeling about, to avoide the Elephants, bare 10 downe all before them, and made way even to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the Romans know, that they were no leffe her vaffalls, than were the Carthaginians: how infolent soeuer they had beene in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which shee neuer gaue nor fold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were well-commed, when they came to Carrhage, we may cally conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no leffe than this of Xantippus : all of them confirming that fentence of Evarpi- 20 DES, Mens vna fapiens, plurium vincit manus; Many mens hands equall not one

After this great seruice done to the Carthaginians, Xantippus returned into Grecce; whether for that he was more enuied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is voknowne.

The death of Atilius Regulus the Confull, was very memorable. He was fent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne, if the bulinesse were not effected. When hee came to Rome, and plainely faw that his Countrie should loose by the bargaine: so far was he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnessly 30 perswaded to have the prisoners in Africk lest to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to Carthage : where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his conflancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the Carthaginians seeme to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue, the naturall care, to perferue himfelfe and others, by yeelding to fuch an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of fome small advantage. What societ the Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is, that his faithfull observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange 40 of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vaine glorious frowardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of state. For the exchange was made foone after his death; wherein the Romans had the worfe bargaine, by fo much as Regulus himselfe was worth. As for the authoritic of all Historians, that magnific him in this point; we are to confider that they hued onder the Roman Empire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he fuffered with extreme torments, could not be more grieuous to him, than it was dishonourable to Carthage. Neither doe I thinke that the Carthaginians could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by rectimination : saying, That the Romans described to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinarie practise 50 to vse others in the like fort. Crueltie doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customarie. It was the Reman faillion, to whipa'most to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whem they tooke, yea although they were such, as had alwaies made faire warres with them. Wherefore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall infolence in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselues.

The confideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the Carthaginians feare was changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the likeresolution in those, to whom all reafonable grace hath beene denied. In fuch cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approning the true rules, from which our passions

In the yeare 1378, the Genowaies wonne so fast upon the Venetians, as they not only draue their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of Venice it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of Venice, that they offered vnto the Genowaies (their flate referued) what socuer they would demand. But Peter Doria, blowne vp with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; saue the yeelding of their Citic and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the Venetians, being filled with disdaine, thrust out to Sea with all their remayning power, and affaile Doria with fuch desperate surie, that they breake his fleet; kill Doria himselse; take nineteene of his Gallies, four escore boats of Padoa, and foure thousand prisoners; recouer Chiozza, and all the placestaken 20 from them; and following their victorie, enter the Port of Genea, enforcing the Genowaies, basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disaduantage, being beaten; which being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1380. when having taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell revenge vpon the Gantois. be refused mercieto the rest; who in all humilitie, submitting themselues to his obedience, offered their Citic, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnadu: fedly refused, and was resoluted to extinguish them vtterly; they issue out of their Citic with fine thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperateresolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter Bruges (pell-mell) 30 with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe under an heave of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saued himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

# ). IX.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against ATILIVS: How the Romans having lost their fleet by tempest, resolue to forfake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations divided by the Sea.

Y the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had beene lost in Africk, returned to the obedience of Carthage. Only Clypea flands out; before which the Carthaginans fit downe, and affairiet, but in vaine: For the Romans, hearing of the lofte of Lillius with their forces in Africk, and withall, that Clypea was belieged, make readic a

groffe Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and liftie Gallies, commanded by M. Emilius, and Ser. Fuluius, their Confulls. At the Promontorie of Mercurie, two hundred Carthaginian Gallies, fet out of purpose, vpon the bruit of 50 their comming, encounter them : but greatly to their coft. For the Romans tooke by force an hundred and fourteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to Clypea; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had beene befieged and this done, they made amaine toward Sicil, in hope to recouer all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this hastie voyage they despise the aduice of the

Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some There is no violent flormes; which ever hapned betweene the riling of Orion, and of the \* Dogflarre. Now although the Pilots of the Roman Fleet had thus fore-warned Would, which them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coaft of certaine times Sicil had no good Ports, wherein to faue themselues vpon such an accident: yet this

ceraine intens 5446 Bad Do good Ports, waterun to laute unemitiues y pon lutci an accident; yet time of outragious washer beidestein accidental florms. We have yet on our costa Michaelmas flaw, that feld me or neare and feas feared them no leffe, than did the Africans; failes: in the wift finding, in the months of angul and and that they were able to conquer the Elements September, those undo or civile winds, which the spanisher call the Agret 1, or Northwands, as every feasfell; and the finding the mellium. So refulling to flay within fome Port, the first production by white the spanisher substitute and the first positions as the water admitted the would need so you out to start yet the forest the start of the first positions. therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take harbour as they were aduifed, they would needes put out to ther tote mey that Manigatein mote parts, take harsons as very were adulted, they would needes purson to ultil tote months take end. Chair lut me tit being all Sca; thinking it a matter much helping their repu-abilied, in passing the Seas towards Agine, in the Winter quarter, compare to the countails of A.Dona, as heave quarter, compare to the countails of A.Dona, as heave to the country of the countails of the country o quarter, contrarie to the commance of A. Doria, as 116 was in like vnfeafonable times to continue his fiege before fleet 3 to take a few worthleffe Townes vpon the Meta in Localite, lost an hundred and fortie thips by tem-port, and fifteene Ga'lies, with all in effect in them of men, victuailes, hories, and munition: a loile no leffe Ouertake them, and neare vnto Camerina, ouerturne men, victualities, nories, and multitudi is about to con-great, than his re rait, both from before the one and the and thrush headlong on the rocks, all but four escore

of three hundred and fortie ships: so as their former great victorie was denoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recoursed Rome.

The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Veffells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land- 20 forces lince the overthrow of Atilius. They fend Afdrubal into Sicil with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortic Elephants, imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at Lilybaum; where hee beginnes to vexe the Partisans of Rome. But aduerlitic doth not discourage the Romans: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twentie ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to Panormus, or Palerma, the chiefe Citie of the Africans in Sicil, and furround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to Rome.

Very desirous the Romans were to bee doing in Africk: to which purpose they imploied C. Serullius, and C. Semprenius, their Confulls. But these wrought no 30 wonders. Some spoile they made upon the coasts of Africa: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to have perished, neare vnto the leffer Syrtes, where they were faine to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off; then, having with much a doe doubled the Cape of Lilybaum, in their paffage from Panormus towards Italie, they lost an hundred and fiftie of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the God of the warres fauoured them no more, than the God of the waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enricht them with vpon the Land, Neptune robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loft, besides what they loft in fight, foure hundred and fixe ships and gallies, with all the munition and 40 Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Nauigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into Sieil, vnder L. C. scilius, and C. Furius, their Confulls. These they transported in some threescore ordinarie passage boats, by the straights of Messana, that are not about a mile and an halfe broad from land to land. In like fort, the overthrow which Atilium receited in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholerick against the Carthaginians, than before; fo that for two yeares after they kept the high and woodie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champian Countries. But this late resolution of for saking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for 50 them to succour those places which they held in Sieal, without a Nauie, much leffe to maintaine the warre in Africa. For whereas the Romans were to fend forces from Messana to Egesta, to Lilybaum, and to other places in the extreme West parts of Siail, making fometimes a march of aboue an hundred and fortic English mile by land,

which could not be performed with an Armie, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteene daies; the Carthaginians would passe it with their Gallies iti eight and fortie houres.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by wat ter, betweene Canutus, and Edmond Ironside. For Canutus, when he had entred the Thames with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile against London, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the Welt, landed in Dorfet-flire, fo drawing Edmond and his Armie thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, and entred the Sewerne, making Edmond to march after him, to the fuccour of Worcefter-

10 fire, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had Edmond there, he failed back againe to London: by meanes whereof he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least helpe, which the Xetherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their libertie, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Armie from place to place, vnwcaried, and entire, with all the Munition and Artilleric belonging vnto it in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have beene able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeare 1500, carried his Armie by Sea, with fortic Canons, to Breda: 20 making countenance either to beliege Boifledue, or Gertreuiden-Berg; which the enemie (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as soone as the winde ferued, he fuddenly fet faile, and arriving in the mouth of the Menze, turned up the Rhine, and thence to Ysel, and satedowne before Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could march overland round about Holland, about fourescore mile, and ouer many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Againe, when the Spanish Armie had ouer-come this wearisome march, and were

now farre from home, the Prince Maurice, making countenance to faile vp the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and sailing downe the streame, he was set downe before Hulft in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. 30 So this Towne healfo tooke, before the Spanish armic could returne. Lastly, the Spanish armie was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Halft, fet faile againe, and prefented himfelfe before Nymegen in Gelders, a Citie of notable importance, and mastred it.

And to fay the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemie, that is mafter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spaine than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second, had fully resolued to hinder Sir John Norris in the yeare 1,89. from presenting Don Antonio, King of Portugale, before the gates of Lysborne; and that he would have kept off the En-40 glifb, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mightie Armada, by the fleet of Queene Elizabeth, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not beene hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to relift our eleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue beene bestowed? If about Lysborne; then would it have beene easie vnto the English, to take, ranfack, and burne the Towne of Groine, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations, of the Earle of Altemira, the Marqueile of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haftie leavie of eight thousand, under the Earle of Andrada, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sr. Iohn Norris, and his Affociates: 50 confidering, that the English charged these, at Puente de Burgos, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the

further end, routed them; tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and purfued them ouerall the Countrie, which they fired. If a roiall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus

beginne the warre in Galicia; I thinke it would have made the Spaniaris to quit the guard of Portugale, and make hafte to the defence of their St. Ingo, whose Temple was not farre from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir John Norris his maine intent was, to bring Don Antonio, with an Armic, into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed : could they have hindred his landing in Portugale? Did not he land at Penicha, and march ouer the Countrie to Lysborne, lixe daies journie ? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promifes failed) paffe along by the River of Lysborne to Cascaliz, and there, having wonne the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But thefe, though no more than an handfull, yet were they Englishmen. Let 10 vsconsider of the matter it selfe; what an other Nation might doe, even against England, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This queftion, Whether an inuading Armie may be refifted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is alreadic handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations vpon Casars Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only vpon supposition; in absence of our flipping: and comparatively; as, that it is a more fate and cafie course, to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer an enemie to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keepe our enemie from treading vpon our ground : wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him 20 wish, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumflances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positive, Whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemic from laname; I hold that it is vnable fo to doe; and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a first victorie to an enemie, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall Monlue, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guienne, they of the Protestant religion, after the battaile of Moncounter, entred that Countrie, and gathered great fireigth and reliefe thence; for if the King (faith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, j euse bien garde a Monsseur l'Admiral, de saire boire ses Cheuaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne. Monsieur de Langer, on the contrarie side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemie, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held, against the Emperour Charles, when he inuaded Prouence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countrie as France is, strengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invalions vpon firme land, that the fegreat Captaines spake: who seentran-40 ces cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countrie, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countrie: except enery Creeke, Port, or fandie Bay, had a powerfull Armie, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot; and that those twelve thousand be laied in the three best landing places within that Countie, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nesse, and fixe thousand at Foulkflon, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these 50 troups (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall fee the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I fay, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemie, setting faile from the Isle of Wight, in the

first watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the Neffe, and thrult their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margat (twentie and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the Aeffe. Nay, how shall they at Foulkflon bee able to doe it, who are nearer by more than halte the way? feeing that the enemie, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred thot of great Artillerie and quickly put the first three thoufand, that were intrenched at the Nelle, to runne; or elfe give them fo much to doe, that they shall be glad to fend for helpe to Foulkfon; and perhaps to Margat : wherby those places will be left bage. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelve thousand Kensilh Souldiers arrive at the Nelle, ere the enemie can be readie to disimbarque his Armie, so that he shall finde it vnsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withfland him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his owne game; and (hauing libertie to goe which way he lift) under couert of the night, let faile towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at Margat, the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainely, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may bee faid of Weymouth, Purbeck, Foole, and of ail landing places on the South coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily 30 out-runne the Souldiers that coast them. Les Armees ne volent poynt en poste; Armies neither flie, nor runne post, faith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the Lisard, yet by the next morning they may recouer Portland, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in fixe daies. Againe, when those troups, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to runne from place to place, in vaine, after a fleet of thips; they will at length fit downe in the mid-way, and leave all at adventure. But fay it were otherwife; That the inuading enemie will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Armie of ours readie to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders 20 and Captaines, shall be drawne together (as they were at Tilburie in the yeare 1588) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of London: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have

landed in England.

The lle of Tercerolatah taught vs by experience, what to thinke in fuch a cafe. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and Brengthned by art: it being enery where hard of accelle; having no good harbour wherein to fisheter a Naue of firends; and yon enery coue or watering place a Fort creded, to forbid the approch of an enemies boat. Yet when Emanuel de Sylus, and Monstern 1582. de Chettes, that held it to the vice of Don Antonio, with flue of fixe thoughaft men, thought to have kept the Mangaesse of Santa Crus, from setting soot on ground thering the Marquesse have distincted by the Mangaesse of Santa Crus, from setting soot on ground thering was ware of it, and arrived at the Port des Mosses, farre distant from thence, where hee wanne a Fort, and landed, ere Anossew de Chattes, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Stroße, flaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners mur-

expect at that Marquelle his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were flow in carrying reliefe to Port des Moles. Whether our English would bee perfeaded to 50 mzke funch diligent halke from Marga to the Azele, and back againe, it may bee doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Texera; whereof the French-man had not measured the one halfe, when they iound themselves presented by the more nimble ships of Spaine.

dered in cold bloud, had instructed de Chattes and his followers, what they might

This may fuffice to proue, that a firong Armie, in agood fleet, which neither foot, nor horfe, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it lift, in England, Hhhhhh

France, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindered, encountred, and shuffled together, by a flect of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at Fayal, in the yeare 1507. is alleaged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may bee defended against a strong fleet. I landed those English in Fayal, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this inflance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited. with omission of my name; I may, by a civill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that theenterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that votage, who admised me not to vidertake it; 10 and I hearkned unto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they defired me, to referve the title of fuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficultie: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coall, than to inuade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more case than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea euen there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetic. For I thought it to belong vnto the honor of our Prince & Nation, that a few Ilanders should not thinke 20 any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by Q. Elizabath: and further, I was vnwilling, that some Low-Countrie Captaines, and others, not of mine owne squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men affured, Comanders of mine owne fquadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harney, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Skot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henrie Thinne , Sir Charles Morgan , Sir Walter Chute , Marcellus Throckmorton, Captaine Laurence Kemis, Captaine William Morgan, and others, fuch as well vnder- 30 flood themselues and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the seepnesse of the Cliffes, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made fine or fixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the rest for vs, and wonne the place of them without any great loffe. This I could have done with leffe danger, fo that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example; but the reasons before alleaged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, than to be here laid downe) made me rather follow the way of braueric, and 40 take the shorter course; having it still in mine owne power to fall off, when I should thinke it meet. It is easily faid, that the Enemie was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie fuch a small peece of seruice, by feeking to proue him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember, that the same enemic troubled vs more in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop vs in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to bee past, when weehad wonne good footing, would needes 50 foll ow vs to the Towne, were driven by him, to for fake the pace of a man of warre, and betake themselues to an hastic trot.

For end of this digreftion, I hope that this question shall near come to triall; his Majesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no lesse distance, than any Nation vnder heaven can doe, to be bearen

vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere, by a forraigne chemie; yet to entertaine those that shall assail evs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they cate of our Kentifb Capons, I take to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Majestie, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment youn the shore.

). X.

How the Romans attempt agains to get the masser of the Seas. The victories of Carcillv's the Roman Consolal at Panormus. The logge of Libbaum. How a Robaim Gallicentred Libbaum as legislar, in despite of the Roman specific that it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passer of good ships. The Romans, by reason of greenous losses received, voweler CLAVDIV's and INNIV's their Consolals, abandon the Seas.

W

Hen, without a strong Nauie, the Romans sound it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had alreadic gotten in Susl, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa, or elsewhere, they resoluted once againe, not with standing their late misaduentures, to strengthen their fleet and thins of warre. So causing fittie new Gallies to be built, and

the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions or Souldiers) to the new Confulls, C. Atilius, and L. Manlius. On the other lide. ifdrubal perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they received by Xantippus in Africa, were leffe daring than they had beene in the beginning of the warre; and withall, that one of the Confulls was returned into Italie, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that Cacilius, with only the other halfe, remained at Pa-20 normus : he removed with the Carthaginian forces from Lilybaum towards it, hoping to prouoke Cacilius to fight. But the Confull was better aduised. For when Asturbal had made his approches somewhat neare the Towne, Cacilius caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citle; betweene which and his trench he left ground fufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till such time as the African Elephants were thrust vpon them, From those bealts he commanded them to retire, by flow degrees, till they had drawne on the Elephants to the brinck of the new trench, which they could by no meanes paffe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they 40 were fo gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vtterly disordered them. Cacilius, espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that flood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heels, making a great flaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants. The report of this victorie being brought to Rome, the whole state, filled with

The report of this victoric being brought to Rome, the whole flate, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred faile, which they fen into Stad, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteene yeares. With this fleet and armie the Romans resolute to attempt Lisbaum, the only place of importance which 50 the Carthoginian held in Stad; and all (indeed) faue Dropanum, that was near ead joyning. They set downe before it, and possess from the theory of the places of saduantage neare wnto it, especially of such as command the bauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground six towers of defence, & by forecable engines weaken so many other parts of the citic, as the defendants begin to despaire.

High had he with the set of the citic, as the defendants begin to despaire.

- 1

Yet Himileo, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious fallies, and giveth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reucaled by an Acham, called Alexon, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saued Agrigentum. Himileo vieth the helpe of Alexon, to affure the hired Souldiers; and imploieth Hanmibal to appeare the troups of the Gaules, which did waver, and had fent their agents to the enemie. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vn-10 able to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to liue in the Roman campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good whereby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their reliefe, hauing Hamibal, the sonne of Amilear, for their Conductor: who, in despight of all relistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the belieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by Himileo with hope of great reward) resolute to set vpon the Romans in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the fiege, or (at leaft) to take from them, or fet on fire. their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans being more in number, 20 and having the advantage of the ground, hold ftill their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of Carthage defire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at Libhaum; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian vndertakes the seruce; and having received his dispatch, falles with one Gallie to £gusta, a little stand neare Libhaum. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channell, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port.

could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke night, nor dreading to 30 be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he fet faile, and fhipping his Oares (fits Gallie being exceeding quick of fleerage, and himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recouered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in defpight of all the purfuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durft come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayses: and y.t., where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other waspons of fire, to kill a-faire-off, the aduenture which this Rhodian made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious nam of warre will not feare to passe by the 40 best appointed Fort of Europe, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouths against him, and threaten to teare him in peeces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when Denmarke and Speeden were at Warre; our East-land fleet, bound for Leif-land, was forbidden by the King of Denmarke to trade with the flibjects of his nemies, and he threatened to finke their flips if they came through the flreights of Elfennar. Notwith landing this, our Merchants (hauing a hip of her Adieflier, called the Minior, to televal them) made the aduenture; and, full ayning fome Vollies of flot, kept on their courfe. The King made all the prouision he could, to flop them, or finke them, at their returne. But 50 the Minior, commanded (as I take it) by William Burrough-leading the way, did not only passe out with little loss, but did be at downe, with artillerie, a great part of the Fort of Elfennar; which at that time was not to well tampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any without any

wound receiued. Neither was it long fince, that the Duke of \*Parma\*, besteging \*Mniver\*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his \*Cannon on the banke of the River, so well to purpose, and so euen with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the \*Holianders\* and \*Zelanders\*, not blowne vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, curn the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme dearein \*Antwerp\*, passe for the or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despise of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of floud fauoured them; as also with a contrarie to winde, and an ebbing water, they turned back againe: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his \*Stockado\* ouerthwart the River\*, to his meruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. Philip terrified not vs in the yeare 1596, when we entred the Port of Calles, neither did the Fort at Pantal, when we were entred, beat vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaied ypon vs with four Demicannons within point blanque, from fixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The fiege of Oflend, and of many other places, may be gitten for protefo, how bard a matter tris to flop the paffage of a good dips, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is fo fet, as that of Angrain Tereara, that there is no paffage along begin to the past of

otherwise no

But to returne to our aduenturous Rhodian: He arriues in fafetic at Carthage, and makes them know the chare of Lilybeam. Others alfo, after this, take yon them to doe the like, and performeit with the fame fucceffe. The Roman therefore labour to choke the channell; and, for that purpofe, fill many Merchants ships with great thores, and linke them therein. The force of the Tidescleares it again in part: but they grounded to many of those great-bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap-slike a ragged lland, in the paffage. Hereby it came to passe, that a chartageissian Gallic, asking her course by night, and not suspecting any luch impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brane Rhodian, thinking to enter, as he had done before but this Carthagistian Gallic, all title before taken, gaue him chace, and gathered wpon him; he sindes what shee is, both by her forme, and by her swiftinesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolued to sight with her: But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lijheum, after this, is greatly diffressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempes, as some of the Romans woodden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lusheum, were ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performes it: for the sire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempess, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brasen heads of the battering Rammes. Herupponder and wearinesse brinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they

refolue, by a long fiege, to sterue the Defendants.

Vpon relation of what had path, a fupply often thousand Souldiers is fent from now, vnder M. Claudius, the Confull. He arriues at Mossian, and marcheth ouer land to Libbaum: where hauigner inferced the Armie, and supplied the Callies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of Drepaums, a Citie on the other 50 lide of the Bay of Libbaum. This service the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So so the Confull imbarques his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. Adherbal is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warter, who being signorant of thenew supply arrived at Libbaum; was at first amazed at their studen approch; but that in recovered his spirits, he perfectly the supplementation of the process of the control of t

fwades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be inclosed. Herewithall hee promifeth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall descrue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Confull, deceiued of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adherbal findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Confusi into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himfelfe, having the land on his back: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way to from his enemics, nor range himfelfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of relistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away : all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetic and foure thips, were taken or funke by the Carthaginians. Adherbal for this feruice is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indifcretion and flight, as much differed at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threefcore Gallies, with which they send away 1. Innius, their Confull, to take charge of their businesses in Scill. Innius armines at Theylans, where he meets with the whole remainder of the Roman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybaum. One hundred and a twentie Gallies he had, and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessaries prouisons for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at Syrausse, where he shales a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of sale, to keepe companie with him along from Anssignan. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards Lilybaums, his Quessors or Treassurers; to whom he committed one halfe of

his victuallers, with some Gallies for their convoy.

Astiberbal was not carelesse, after his late victorie: but studied how to vse it to the bestaduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to Carthalo, who had threescore and ten 30 more vnder hisownecharge, and sent him to trie, what good might be done against the Roman steer, in the Hauen of Litybeann. According to this direction, Carthalo studenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where he findes the Roman, more attentiue to the keeping in of the besigged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their owne against another seet. So he chargeth them, boords and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campetakes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But Himileo, Gouernour of the Towne, is not behinde shad; who sallies out at the sametime, and putting the Roman in great distresse, gives Carthalo good leisure to goe through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, Cartholo ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, deutling how 40 to worke missible to the enemie; wherein Fortune presented him with a stare ogalon, which be wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had described, neare at hand, a great fleer, consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the viscualiters, which the Consisting of all manner of Vessells. These were the viscualiters, which the Consisting of the heart of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a sleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastlens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The stomans had no minde to fight: but were glad to seek chelter in an open Road, full of rocks, under covert of a poore Towne, 50 belonging to their partie; that could helpe to saue them only from the present danger, by lending theme engines and otheraide, wherewith to beat off the Carthoginans that affalled them: Carthogine stomans that affalled them: Carthogic having them as were fined and the superior of the rest, that could not long ride whet rocks, but would be forced,

by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to faue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loffe of all their flipping. Whilett he was builed in this care; the Confull Insine drew neare, and was discouered. Against him Carthalo makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight; as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither meanes to flie, no rabilitie to fight. Therefore he likewife ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger to great, as that of the enemie. The Carthagman, feeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station between the two Roman Reets; wherehe watcheth, to see which of them would first stirre, with a resolution to assume that which 10 should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three sleets were on the South coast of Stati, between the Promontoric of Pachinus and Lifsbeam; a Trast exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The Carthagman, who knew the times of tempeth, and their signos, sinding belike some feeling billow (For so we doe in the Welt of England, before a Southerly storme) hasted to

billow (for lowe does in the West of England, before a Souther Month, which double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the Roman, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beafts, their Soothayers being all and-prophets, were fuddenly ouertaken with a boilerous South winde, and all

their Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This calamitie fo discouraged the Romans, that they resolved agains to for sake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions vpon firme ground. But fuch a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Iland, against those that have a mightie fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the Spaniards. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniards have done, in their Indian Discoueries. Yet perfishing in their enterprises, with an inuincible constancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome fo many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance 30 of all dangers path. Tempetts and thipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, have beene the enemies, wherewith enery one of their most noble Discouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeares have passed over some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more then one or two, have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in learch of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not beene disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they en-40 joy; and well they deserue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue

in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

d. XI

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ò. X I.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recoursed by AMILCAR; who floutly holds warre with them fine yeares. The Romans having emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of prinate men. The great victorie at Sea of LvcTATIVs the Confull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.

He Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lilybaum, and seeke to make sure to themselues all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Confull *Iunius*, to curo the wound of dishonour, which hee had received, bethought him

what enterprise to vndertake. In the end he resolued to attempt the Mountayne and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of Venus Erycina: which was the fairest and richeft of all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Erjx was commodiously seated betweene Drepanum and Panoroms ; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restraine the Carthaginians from making 20 roades into the Countrie. Wherefore Innius fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, ( both which places were very defencible) with a good firength of men. But shortly after, in the tenth yeare of this warre, the Carthaginians fent forth Amilear, furnamed Barcas, Father of the great Hannibal, with a fleet and armie, who failing to the coafts of Italie, did throughly repay the spoiles which the Romans made in Africa. For he first of all wasted and destroied the Territories of the Locrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicil; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that served fitly to infest the Romans, he occupied a peece of ground of great aduantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to 30 confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himselfe betweene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that Amilear had feized vpon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him oportunitie, to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, wasting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicil he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neare vnto Panormus, where in three yeares abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemie could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himselse and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he vndertooke a strange pecce of worke at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by Junius, on 40 the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neuerthelesse Amilear found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conueighed his men into the Citic of Eryx, that was about the middelt of the afcent, crethe enemie knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the Mountaine, were streightly held (asit were) belieged. And no leffe was Amilear himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such ascame to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two yeares more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrarie did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent 50 vnto the prosequuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as Hanni-Lia.Dic.; Lio. bal, in Linie, spake vnto Scipio) that the affaires of Carthage neuer stood in better termes, fince the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Ro-

mans had vtterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly woon confidence of their land-forces, which they held refittleffe, Amilear, with a fmall Armie, had so well acquited himselfe, to the honour of his Countrie, that by the triall of fine yeares warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was judged equall, if not, superiour, to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had been deuised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastrie of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that Amilear, for lack of Supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficultie was found. The common treasurie was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden yoon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens undertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one Quinquereme; which example wrought fo well, that they, whose abilitie would not ferue to doe the like, joyned with some others, and laying their monie together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another: with condition to be repaied, when the warre was finished. By this voluntarie contribution, they made and furnished two hundred new Quinqueremes: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lilyheum, as was shewed before. The charge of this sleet was committed to C. Luclatius Catulus; who past with the same into Sicil, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum: indeuouring by all meanes to have forced the Citie. But being advertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late loffes which his Predeceffours had received; he was carefull to put himfelfe in order, against their arrivall.

Hanno was Admirall of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wife in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the arte of feeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, of things vndertaken by men more worthie than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient fort, whose cold temper is anerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great forelight, confirmed by enery loffe received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grieuous oppressours of their subject Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall fuch hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this beene imploied against the Numidians, and wild Africans, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dilhonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which loft not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counfaile, when, having shewed himselfe an vnworthie Captaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to prefer the Leggie betweene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee descrued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter : how beneficiall hee was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard condi-

tions, that peace which he thenceforth commended. Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Expx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had neither been carefull in traying his Marriners, to the practife of
50 Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with flout fellowes. Hee thought, that the
fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert Romans give way: forgetting, that rather the relifflesse force of tempelts, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing hee had either algodi fi

conceined a-right, or elle was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to faile to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading : and having thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboord some part of the Land-armie, together with Amilear himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make the enemier epent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have beene performed. But Catulus vied all poffible diligence, to preuent the execution of this designe : not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but for that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that seared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with Amiliar. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was descried; 10 yet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to fuffer this convoy to paffe along to Erix, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunitie in the future. All that Hanno should have done, Catulus had performed. Hee had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; hee had lightned his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthen; and hee had taken aboord the choice men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and funke, and seuentie taken, wherein were sew lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronefu.

Theftate of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolue. Meanes to repaire their steet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sca were consumed; and Amiliar, youn whose valour and judgement the honour and fastetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in sizis, where he could not be relieued. In this extremitie, they make a dispatch vnto Amiliar himselfie, and authorize him to take what course should be seen best vnto his excellent wisedome; leauing all conclusions to his election and sole counsalie.

Amilear, whom no aduerfitic, accompanied with the leaft hope or possibilitie of recourse, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that 30 the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded vpon any reasonable termes. He therefore sent to Lustation the Consull an Ouerture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present ponertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkned vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouisson, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratific it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the lie of Sies. Secondly, that they should neuer undertake upon Hieron 40 King of Syrausse, nor inauda any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into Hale., all the Romans, whom they hold priloners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeares next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not throughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicil, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former summe; and required a shorter time of payment: Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthagnium should not only depart out of Sicil is selfe, but should also with draw their Companies out of all the other llands betweene it and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first Puinck Warre, that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the Remain had lost, by sight or shipwrack, about seuen hundred Quinquerenes; and the Carthoginians, about shundred; the greatnesse of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of Polybius; That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselves the braucr Nation; and Amilian, the most worthie Captaine.

# Снар. 11.

Of divers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

ð. I.

Of the cruell warre begunne betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercinaries.



HE Romans, having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthagnians out of Stell, and all the little Ilands thereunt oadjacentique them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselvies in a following warre, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is a true rush, Quaddinger of Law is a stellar by the Conquerers, and received in the two majored, are ginen by the Conquerers, and received of the conquered, was made vinto them, by one of the Privarnales; or else had foregretten to follow it; in this was gibt to bush.

nesse. For when one of Prinernum, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, What peace the Romans might hope for, or affure themselues of, if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in 40 these wordes, Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam : If the peace be good and faithfull that you give vs, it will be perpetuall; if it beill, then of little continuance. To this answere, the Senate, at that time, gave such approbation, that it was said, Viri & liberi vocem auditam ; an credi posse, villum populum, aut hominem denig, in ea conditione, cuius eum paniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly and a free man; for who could beleeve, that any people, or indeede any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened estate, then meere necessitie didenforce? Now if the Romans themselues could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little elfe, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; furely, they grofly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, 50 who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vhto themselnes, would fit downe any longer by the loffeand difhonour received, than untill they could recouer their legs, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only prinate men, but Kings and publique States, haue more prenailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue;

Such

with held the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselves.

For after that the first Punick Warre was ended : Amilear, leaving Errx, went to Lilybeum, from whence most conveniently the Armie might bee transported into Africk : the care of which businesse he committed vnto Geleo, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. Ge/co had an especiall consideration of the great fummes, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercinaries; and, withall, of the great disabilitie to make paiment. Therefore he thought it the wifest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that fo the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Com- to paniesarriued. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not beene hard to perfwade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common T reasurie did require : fo that the first might have beene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilest their dissunction had made them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique flate, by remitting a great part of their owne due; and hoped by fuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detayned the first and second commers; telling them, that they 20 would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (athing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remoue them all to some other place where they might be leffe troublesome. This must be done by some colourable wordes of perswasion : for their number was alreadie so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sicca: receiving enery one a peece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers beginne to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wines, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly 30 to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the Carthaginians have no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truffe vp their fardells, that they might have none occasion left, to make any errands thither. So to Sicca they remoned, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Bufineffe they had none to doc, and therfore might casily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their monie came in; how much would fall to euery single share; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could 40 finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable wordes and promifes of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, as fo many obligations, not to be cancelled, without fatisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time paffeth away; small the whole Armic being arrived, and lodged in the state. Himme comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, where in they shall albe mader ich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining shoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselfues to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to helpe his 50 memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made vato them; all which were to be considered in their Donatiue. Hanno begins a verife formall Oration; wherein he bewailes the pouertie of Cartinge.; tell sthem, how great a summe of mony is to be paid vato the Boman; teckons ye the excession.

charges, whereat the common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally defires them to hold them selves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare vnto the citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourfe: for the Carthaginian Armic was composed of fundry Nations, as Greekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yet they flared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceined the whole tenour of his speach, had informed the rest what cold comfort hee brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad men, fo that nothing would ferue to appeale them. Hanno would faine have affwaged their furic, but he knew not how: for hee leffe vnderstood their dissonant lowde noises, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of many countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutinic nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that Hanno can doe is to vie the helpe of Interpreters, and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some, for want of skill; others, of set purpose; and fuch as deliner his errandes in the worst sense, are best beleeved. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused, by the Carthaginians, and resolve to demaund their owne, in peremptorie termes, at a nearer distance. In this moode they leave Sicand march as farre as Tunis, that is within a little of Carthage, and there they

CHAP.2. S.I.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis,ne magna iuiuria fiat Fortibus & miseris :

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie Be not opprest with too great injurie.

But this proude citie, having neglected the rule, hath also beene carelesse in proui-20 ding to fecure her felfe against the inconvenience that might followe. She had fuffered the whole multitude, whereunto flee was like to give cause of discontent, to ioyne it felfe into one bodie, when the feuerall troupes might eafily haue beene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poore men, which had shee retained in shewe of kindnesse, shee might have vsed them, as Hostages, for her owne safetie; and by imploying a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of warre, thee hath weakened the reputation of her brauest Captaines, that might best have served to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely enough it is, that Amilear had no defire to be vledas an instrument in defrauding his owne fouldiours of their wages : especially considering, that as he to best could beare witnesse of their merits, so was hee not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereto may be added a probable conjecture, that Hanne, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to Amilear, had the boldnesse to impose the blane of his owne wretched counfaile, vpon the liberall promifes made by the Captaines Amilear therefore did wifely, in fuffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had thuffled. This they continue to doe as foolishly, as they had at first begunne. They furnish a market at Tunis, for the fouldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they lift, and at what price they lift. They fend euer and anone fome of their Senatours 50 into the Campe; who promise to satisfic all demands, as farre foorth as it should be possible. And thus, by shifting from one extreame to another, they make the fouldiours vnderstand, into what seare the city was driven; which cannot but adde much infolencie to the paffions alreadie stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the liiij Armie.

CHAP.2. S.I.

Armie, which thereupon growes wife, and finding the feafon fit, labours to make a great baruelt. Monie must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue loft their horses, in publique service of the state. The state shall pay for them. They had lived some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victualls from Carthage. If they had lived, they wanted not meat: therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ferne. They faid that they had beene sometimes driven to buy; and that (lince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the 10 dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have beene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whileft the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this corne-monie; the Souldiers have deuifed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater fumme of monic, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies, which daily did multiply, it was thought contienient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Skil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of Gesco: partly out of good liking to him, who had 20 thewed himfelfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africk : partly out of a diflike which they had conceived of Amilear; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So Ge/co comes among them; and, to pleafe them the better, comes not without monie: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of Hanno. Hee calles vnto him first of all. the Captaines, and then, the feuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had paffed; adulting them temperately concerning the prefent; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertained them, and would alwaies be mindfull of their good feruices. After this he beganne to put 20 hand to his purse: offering to give them their whole paie in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings, at a more convenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might have ferued to bring all to a quiet paffe; if two feditious ringleaders of the multitude had not ftood against it.

There was in the Campe one Spendius, a sturdie fellowe, and audacious, but a flaue; that in the late warre had fled from a Roman whome hee ferned, and therefore flood in feare, left hee should be delinered backe to his Master; at whose hands hee could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raifing fuch troubles, as might ferue to withdrawe men from care of prinate matters, and make his owne refti- 40 tution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With Spendius there affociated himselfe one Matho; an hote-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as hee could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should bee made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This Matho deales with his countrimen, the Africans; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the Gaules, the Greekes, the Spsmards, or any forreyne mercinaries. For (faith he) thefe our companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and fo get them gone : but wee, that are to flar behinde in Africa, shall bee called to another manner of accompt, when wee are left alone; so that wee shall have cause to wish, that wee had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with 50 the monie, which (little though it be) (hall breake our backes. Tee are not ignorant how tyrannically thefe our haughtie Masters of CARTHAGE doereigne over us. They thinke it restanable, that our lines and goods should bee at their disposition; which they have at other times beene accustomed to take away from vs, even without apparent cause, as it were to

declare their Souer eigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as free men, and beene bold to fet a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others have done? Ye all doe knowe, that it were a very hame for vs. if having beene as forward in eneric danger of marre, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaues, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This not with standing yee may affure your felues, that we are like to be taught better manners as soone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let witherefore be wife; and consider, that they hate and feare us. Their hatred will show it selfe, when their scare is once past : unlesse wee now take 12 our time, and, whilf we are the fironger, enfeeble them fo greatle, that their hatred shall not he able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in monie, wherewithall they have hired others against vs., and vs against others. At the present they have neither monie nor friends. The belt Armie that euer ferued them , whereof wee are no small part, lies at their gates, readie to helpe ws if we be men. Abetter opportunitie cannot be expected : for were our fwords once drawne, all AFRICK would rife on our fide. As for the CARTHAGI-NIAHS, whether can they fend for helpe? The case it selfe is plaine : but we must quickely resolue. Either we must preuent the diligence of GESCO, by incensing these GAVLES and SPANIARDES, and procuring them to draw blood; or elfeit behoueth vs to pleafe our good masters, by joyning wish them against our fellowes, yea by offering to forgive unto 20 them all our wages , if fo (peraduenture) they may be wonne to forgive us, or not overcruelly to punish our faults alreadie committed. He is worthily a wretched slaue, that neither hathcare to winne his Masters love, nor courage to attempt his owne libertie. By such perswasions Matho winnes the African souldiers to his owne purpose.

They are not now fo greedie of monic, as of quarrell; which hee that seekes will not misse to finde. When Gese therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demandes, for horses and visitualies, to some or their more convenient time; they breake into great outrage, and say that they will have all, even all at once, and that our of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie slock to gother about Mathe and Spendius; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde 30 more fuell to the sire alreadie blazing. Astaba and Spendius are the one in men to whom the fouldiours will hearken; it any other stand up to make a speach, allower of stone; stiping about his eares, puts him to silence, that hee shall never afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say; enough hath beene faide alreadie by the good spokes(men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can bee heard, faue onely

throwe throwe. Now the Rebellion beginnes to take forme. Matho and Spendius are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crew of Russians, will suffer no manto make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the com-40 mon cause. All which not withflanding, Gesco is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himselfe vpon their furie. One while hee deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle wordes: another while he workes with the feuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their owne hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen, as the Africans: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorilie, to give them their owne, and not to feed them with wordes. The truth is, that they are not so couctous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answere than of a good paiment. This is more then Gesco knowes: he sees not that Mathe hath any more than bare words, to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as to rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he telles them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of monie, to seeke it of their Captaine, Matho. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vponthe treasure that he had brought; yeavpon him also, and al that are with him:

as intending to take this in part of paiment, and, for the reft, to take another course. Matho and Spendius are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes beginne to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him. and all the Carthaginians that they can finde that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. Mathe follicites all Africk; and his Embaffadours are energy where well entertained. Neither is it needefull to vie perswasion: the verie same of this rebellion sufficeth to drawe the whole countrie into it. Now must the Carthaginians bee plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that aduerlitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as she is euer assu- 10 red to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne shee vndergoes those of other men. The Africans, finding the Carthaginians hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impolitions were mercilesse; that they tooke from them the one halfe of their corne, that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vaffals the greatest punishments for the least offences. These cruelties the Carthaginians themselues haue forgotten: but the people, that haue fuffered fo much, retaine all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely fuch ascan beare armes, are readie to doe feruice in this great Commotion; but the verie women bring forth their iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to fale for maintetenance of so inst a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, 20 Matho and Spendius are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and tenne thoufand Africans: and are moreouer furnished with monie, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the warre begunne. though it should bee of long endurance.

ð. II.

Diverse observations upon this warre with the mercinaries.

t. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how tyrants are driven to whe helpe of mercinaries.

Ere let vs reft awhile, as in a conuenient breathing place: whence wee may take prospect of the subicet, ouer which wee trauaile. Behold a 40 yryannicall Citic, persecuted by her owne mercinaries with a deadlie warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessaries what a tryrannic should be expled by mercinarie forces: it is common that mercinaries should be false: and it is common, that all warre, made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruclice. Yet wee seldome heare, that the ruine of a Tyrannie is procured or sought, by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldome or neuer doe wereade of any warre, that hath beene prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which wee properly call Tyrannie, is A violent forme of gonernment, not respecting the good of the subirest, but onely the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely 50 forbeare to say, that it is the winth rule of one ouer many: for verie truely doth Cleon in Thucydides tell the Atherians, that their dominion ouer their subiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were

were a great Citic, and a Popular estate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, violent: since it may well and casily bee conceiued, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe bee either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practile of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for lome Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very flaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne advantage. Neuertheleffe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto noto tice of the difference which, might bee found betweene the worth of feuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath fo good a rellish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to berestrained with any limits of respect. Why should hee seeke out bounds, to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that hee hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should have riches in goodly abundance. He hathtaken a great deale from enery one: but enery one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, and now hee harh enough: but (as Couctousnesses is neuer satisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a stock, though 20 it were indeede a good yearlie Income. Therefore he denifeth new tricks of robberie, and is not better pleased with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this; and he knowes it well: but hee thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vnjustly, he may be faid to deale craftily; but if Innocencie be not fafe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in feare, fince the Traitor is no worserewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore hee can thinke vpon none other securitie, than to disarme all his Subjects; to fortifie thin felle within some firong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustic Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not bee of his 30 owne Countrie: for if not euery one, yet some one or other, might chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vnhonest that can bee found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose only fauour they are maintayned. Now left any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselse: they shall all be permitted to doe as hee doth ; to robbe, to raussh, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outragious manner; being thought fo much the more affured to their Mafter, by how much the more he fees 40 them grow hatefull to all men elfe. Confidering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some Englift-man perhaps, that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this leafe, might suppose this discourse to be little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in neede of mercinarie Souldiers, and how those Mercinaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmely affured vnto the Tyrant.

20.

Tiiij

†. II.

Thueyd.l.e

....

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subjects is worfe, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewile wie mercinarie Souldiers.

N Ow concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppreffeth her Subjects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (asisone man) fearefull of her life : the leffe neede hath shee therefore, to se- 10 cure her felfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in confuming her treasures; and therefore needes the leffe, to pluck from her Subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion. drine her to necessitie, of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie fummes of monie: the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excufable. Indeede, no wrongs are fo grieuous and hatefull, as those that are infolent. Remember (faith Caligula the Emperor to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these wordes were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And Junenal reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruell Roman Dame upon her flaues; that whileft thee was whipping them, sheepainted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of 20 neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grieuances, wher with a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all fense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although defire of liber. tie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that shee should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throts, and maintaine them in all villanie. as a Dionylius or Agathocles must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselues, may serve to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserve the name of a T vrannelle, in the proper fignification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, That the miseries, wherewith a Tv- 30 rant lodeth his people, are not so heavie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some apparance of truth, it may bee said, that Luft, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall have neede to vie the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lascinious, when Cate was faine to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravitie, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By comon practife, and generall approued custome, we are to censure the qualitie of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphylicallabiliraction, of the univerfall from the lingular; 49 or of the Corporation, from these of whom it is compounded. I say therefore (as I have faid elsewhere) That it were better to line under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons, prouing this, are too many to set downe : but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate socuer, if they cannot be fatisfied, yet they may be wearied; hee is not able to fearch all corners; his humour may be found, and foothed; age, or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident, may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his Successione may proue better. Many Tyrants have beene changed into worthic Kings : and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditarie to their posteritie, hath growne into the most excellent forme of Gouernement, euen 50 a lawfull Monarchie. But they that line under a tyrannicall Citie, have no fuch hope: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they bee pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receive the bridle of a more mightic Chariotier. This is wofull : yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull

CHAP.2. S.2. +.2. of the Historie of the World. of the future. New flies, and hungric ones, fall vpon the fame fore, out of which, others had alreadic fucked their fill. A new Gouernour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poorekindred and friends, who meane not to returne home emptie to their bines, without a good lading of waxe and honie. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or what socuer elfe, in all the Province, is worthic to be desired. They know all a mansenemics, and all his feares: becomming themselues, within a little space, the enemies that he fearethmost. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vnder-gone) and such as e-

10 very one hath not meanes to goe about : but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successiour of this man, he is more louing than could be withed, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrarie faction at home, a bitter enemie to both his fore goers, who feekes the ruine of all that have beene inward with them. So the miferies of this tyrannic are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civill warre. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, or Of Recoucrie, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it ferued not wholly to restraine their Prouinciall Gouernours, who prefuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to

20 workeall these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of Rome groned vnder such oppressions; what must we thinke of those, that were vassalls vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthensome tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous, they condemned many noble Citizens, for having beene ill Gonernours. At Carthage all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly denifed by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every manresolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable flatesman, whose robberies had beene such, as might affoord a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practife, are not extant: the gouernement of Verres the Roman, 30 in Sieil, that is lively fet out by Tullie, may serve to informe vs, what was the demea-

nour of these Punick Rulers, who flood in seare of no such condemnation, as Verres vnder-went. By procequuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Propolition; That a Citic cannot gouerne her subject Provinces so mildly, as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyrannic of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Suteable to the crueltic of fuch Lords, is the hatred of their subjects : and againe, futeable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it sollowed, that, in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durit vie the service of African souldiers; in Africk it selfe, they had rather bee beholding to others, that were farther

40 fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick Warre, thist his mercinaries out of their owne Countries; VI Afrim Hiffamia, Hiffami in Africa, melior Liv. Dec. 1. I.t. procul ab domo futurus vierg, miles, velut mutuu pignoribus obligati siipendia sacevent; That the Africans might ferue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pleages. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African, and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercinaries : for they were subject vnto Carthage and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet feeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere delire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely fland vpon proprietie of a word, but 50 hold them, as Polybius allo doth, no better than Mercinaries.

t. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercinarie Souldiers, and forraigne

The extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of fuch Souldiers, is well observed by Machiauel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, denourers, and destroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their ownecommoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremitie, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that have trusted them. These Mercinaries (faith Machiauel) which filled all Italie, when Charles the eighth of France did paffe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King wonne the Realme of Naples, with his Buckler without a fword. Notable was the example of Sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by Queene Ioane of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden; and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of Arragon. Like vnto his father was Francis Sforza, the first 20 of that race Duke of Millan: who, being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his flaues; euen with the same Armie which themselues had levied for their owne defence. But Lodonick Sforza, the sonne of this Francis, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in loosing his whole estate by the trecherie of such faithlesse Mercinaries, as his owne father had beene. For, hauing waged an Armie of Switzers, and committed his Duchie, together with his person, into their hands; he was by them deliuered up vnto his enemie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches to his dy-

ing day.

The like inconvenience is found, in vling the helpe of forraigne Auxiliaries. We 30 fee, that when the Emperor of Conflantinople had hired ten thousand Turkes, against his neighbour Princes; he could neuer, either by perswasion or force; set them againe ouer Sca vpon Asia fide : which gaue beginning to the Christian feruitude, that soone after followed. Alexander, the sonne of Cassander, sought aide of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, flue the same Alexander who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syracon the Turke was called into Egypt by Sanar the Soldan, against his Opposite : butthis Turke did fettle himfelfe fo furely in Agypt, that Saladine his Successiour became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soone after. What neede we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The Bri- 40 taines drew the Saxons into this our Countrie; and Mac Murrough drew the English into Ireland: but the one and the other foone became Lords of those two

Against all this may be alleaged, the good successe of the vnited Provinces of the Netherlands, vling none other than fuch kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeede these Low Countries have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are sout Sea men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified : but in open field they have feldome beene able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessitie therefore compelled them to secke helpe abroad: and the like 50 necessitie made them for beare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with monie raised by their Trade, they maintayned the warre: and therefore could ill spare, vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as

might be, whilest they had none other than mercinarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange; can witneffe it: and that braue Commander, Count Lodowick of Nassaw, felt it to his griefe, in his retrait from Groeninghen; when in the very instant, that required their scruice in fight, his mercinaries cried out aloud for monie, and so ranne away. This was not the only time, when the hired fouldiers of the States, have either fought to hide their cowardize under a shew ofgreedinesse; or at least, by meere couctousnesse, have ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples : for they themselves will not denie it. Neither would I touch the honour of Monsieur to Duke of Anion, brother to the French King; faue that it is follie to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that fuch Aiders make themselues Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence agalling yoke vpon the peoples neck? Well, hee lived to repent it, with griefe enough. Euen whilest he was counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie forrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to bee surprised and wonne; the death of the Count 20 St. Aignam, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citic, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his owne French, who stood in neede of pittie. Then was his fained passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire demoy; Alas, my God, what wilt theu doe with me? So the affaires of the Netherlands will not ferue to proue, that there is litle danger in viing mercinarie fouldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe of the English Scots, and French: wherein they did wifely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen 30 of England refused to accept the Soueraigntie of their Countrie, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemie, purfued him with continual warre; when the heire of England raigned in Scotland, a King too just and wife warre; when the near of Enganata agrees in the position of his Neighbours mi-(though not ingaged in any quartel) either to make profit of his Neighbours mi-feries, or to helpe those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the Netherlanders very safely repose considence, in the forces of these their Neighbour-Countries. The fouldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receive; but well affected vnto the cause that they tooke in hand; or if any were cold in his denotion, to the fide whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, 40 by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would have rewarded him with death, if his faith had beene corrupted by the Spaniard. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the neceffitie of the poorer fort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, raigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so feeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may 50 well hold true in generall. That mercinarie, and forraigne auxiliarie forces, are no leffe dangerous, than the enemie, against whom they are entertained.

That the moderate government of the Romans gauethem affurance to whethe fernice of their owne subjects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vie and benefit of the like moderation.

Here may it be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to vse service of other solutions in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subjects; how 10 happenedit, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoide the inconveniences aboue rehearfed? The answere is; That their Armies were compounded vivallie of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equal lnumber: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of the Campanes, Hetrurians, Sammites, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best betrusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did implie so many,) tenne Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which serue to keepe in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the Armie than themselves. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priniledges and immunities, which they en- 20 ioyed, made them affured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they lived almost at libertic, as being bound to little elfe, than to ferue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how calle focuer, feemes troublesome to the necke that hath been caccustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of Italie hauetaken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselues from the Roman subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by warre; the Authors of rebellion have sharpely punished; and the people, by degrees, have obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italie. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many cities, and those farre off remooned, even to Tarfus in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne. That all the Burgesses should bee free of Rome it selfe. 30 This fauour was conferred absolutlie vpon some; vpon some, with restrainr of gining voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hercunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had beene wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a readie way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition, when the reuiew of harder times past, should rather teach them to fearearelaple, than to hope for better in the future, by feeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the Romans good go-List. Dist. 3. L.3. ucrnment, That when some, for their well-describing, baue had the offer to be made citizens of Rome; they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with 40 their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruaile, that Petellia, a citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to endure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to for fake the Romans; cucn when the Romans them selues had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their ownegood, as having beene faithfull to the vtmost. Such love purchased these milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maiestie thereby. The summe of all is: They had, of their owne, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning thereunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as neede required, with other helpe of their owne subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate vse of sourceigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the people vnto their Lords, and consequentlie, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may feeme strange, that the practife of tyrannie, whose effects are contrarie, hath beene so common in all ages. The like, I knowe, may bee saide, of all Vice,

and Ifregularitie what socuer. For it is leffe difficult (who soeuer thinke otherwise) and more fafe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; vet commonly our passions lead vs into by-pathes. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vnrulie appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wise taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not fo: for as much as we can hardly descric the passion, that is of force to infinuate it felfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It must be confessed, that lawleffe defires have bred many Tyrants: yet fo, that these defires have seldome been chereditarie, or long-laiting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants 10 life, fometimes before his death; by which meanes the Gouernment hath beene

CHAP.2.1.4.

reduced to a better forme. In fuch cases, the faying of Aristotle holds, That Tyran- Arist. Palib. 5. nies are of short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did 6.12. the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie? why did the Athenians? why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they beignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherin fo many thoufand citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concurre, notwithstanding the much diversitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtles, we must be faine to say, That T yrannie is, by

20 it selfe, a Vicedistinct from others. A Man, we knowe, is Animal politicum, apt. euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankinde, are common likewise vnto bruit beastes; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reafon; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all forts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise naturall, in convenient measure, both vnto mankinde, and to all creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite : euen so is this desire of ruling or obaying, engrafted by

30 Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civile forme of inflice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vsefull. Neuerthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttonic and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beasslie, by an unproper terme : fince they grow from appetites, found in leffe worthie creatures than beaftes, and are yet not To common in beaftes, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of fuch other Paffions as descend no lower than unto bruit beasses, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grieuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice 40 more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which issueth from the most noble roote,

euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischieses, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether bee the worse; That all things, or That nothing, thould be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereofit is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrarie distemper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremitie of either, no countrie is able to sublist: yet the defective dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, wil also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessitie doth enforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannic is more actiue, and pleaseth it selfe in the excesse, with with a false colour of iu-

50 stice. Examples of supiditie, and vnaptnes to rule, are not very frequent, though fuch natures are curry where found; for this qualitie troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is it not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe

CHAP.2. S.2.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall and appointed by God himfelfe; fo that it is alwaics, and fimplie, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one free man can have ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which hee that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to bee, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterlie rule, which God Geren, vas. gone vnto Adam, when he faid; Haue dominion ouer the fifth of the Sea, and ouer the. for he of the aire, and oner everieliving thing that moveth upon the earth: which also hee confirmed unto Noah, and his children, faying, The feare of you, and the dread of you, 30

flan be uf on everie beaft of the earth, and upon everie fowle of the aire, upon all that moueth upon the earth, and upon all the fifthes of the Sea; into your hands are they delinered. Hee who gaue this dominion to Man, gaue also an apritude to vseit. The execution of this power hath fince extended it felfe, ouer a great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disabilitie to gouerne themselves, proues them, according vnto Ariflotles doctrine, to be naturallie flaues.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vn-Ari ? . Pol. J. s. c. 3 lesse the lawfulnesse thereof be sufficientlie intimated, where it is faid, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant, whom he hath slaine by correction,

Exod catalat if the feruant line a day or two, because he is his monie; or else by the captinitie of the 40 Num.c.30.0.40 Assistantiff girles, which were made bondflaues, and the Sanctuarie had a part of them for the Lordstribute. Doubtleffe the custome hath beene very ancient : for Noab laid this curse vpon Canaan, that he should be a servant of servants and Abraham G(8.12.0.16. had of Pharaoh, among other gifts, men-ferusnts, and maide-feruants, which were none

other than flaues. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this olde kinde of feruilitie: but surelie, they are deceived, that thinke so. Saint Paul desired the li-Rod to Philem. bertie of Onesimus, whome he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote hee for this vnto Philemon, by way of request, crauing it as abenefite, not vrging it as a dutic. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the fame Saint Paul giueth vnto feruants: Let eue-

1400.04.0.20. ryman shide in the same calling wherein hee was called: art thou salled, being a servant? 50 care not for it , but if thou maift bemade free, veit rather. It is true , that Christian religion bath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietic, but for that the Christian Masters stood in seare, of being discouered by their slanes, vnto the persecuters of religion. Mahomet likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drewe

many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbad it, as vnlawfull, vnto his fectatours. to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; faue that by the practife of the Turks and Moores, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond servants, untill the times of our last civile warres : and I thinke that the Lawes concerning villenage are full in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great vie and feruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other the like Trades; flaues in Nature, though not

of the Historie of the World.

But whether this kind of dominion belawfull, or not; Ariflotle hath well proued, that it is naturall. And certainely we finde not fuch a latitude of difference. in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in clate, of the elect & reprobate) the wifeft excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpasse the wisest of beasts. Therfore when Commisferation hath given way to Reason; we shall find that Nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of service obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly faid, that some countries have sublisted long, without the vse of any feruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries have not the vse of any tame carraile. Indeede the affections which vphold civile rule, are (though more noble) not so simplie needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the an like; or of eueric one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, have libertie to shew themselves begging in the streetes; there may wee more justly wonder, how the dangerous toile of fea-faring men can finde enough to vindertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are wearie of their owne more painefull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a defire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaues.

This being fo, we finde no cause to meruaile, how Tyrannie hath beene so rife in all ages, and practifed, not onely in the finglerule of fome vicious Prince, but ener by confent of whole Cities and Estates : since, other vices have likewise gotten head, and borne a generall fway; notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have vsed well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not bee difordered? In the government of wife and children, some are vtterlie carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by masterlierigour, hold their owne blood under condition of flauerie. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation; and to preferre the Weale publicke about all respects whatsoeuer, is the Verthe justly termed Heroicall. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many exam-40 ples. Hector is named by Aristotle, as one of them; and descruedlie, if this praise be due to extraordinarie heighth of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans owne countrie. But if we confider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto the fountaine of all goodnesse: wee shall finde, that no Morall vertue. how great focuer, can, by it felfe, deferue the comemndation of more than Vertue, as the Heroicall doth. Wherefore we must fearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof. fuch, as Danid, Iofaphat, and Iofias were. Of Christian Kings if there were many

of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King, religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement 50 cither of aduer fitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vieth his authoritie, but addes the travaile of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to dociustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gopernment, civilitie is infused, even into those places, that had beene the dennes of fauage Robbers and Cutthrotes; one that bath quite abolished a slauish Brehon

fuch, the world would foone be happic. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth

Law, by which an whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one. whose higher vertue and wisedome doth make the prayse, not onelie of Nobilitie and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wines, and the goods. of those that are under his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appeare leffe regardable: he, I say, that can finde fuch a King, findeth an example, worthie to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerlie wanting. Vnder fuch a King, it is likelie by Gods bleffing, that a land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknowen; that Civilitie and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subjects, shall cause the Nations farre 10 offremoued, to wish him their Souereigne. I neede not adde hercunto, that all the actions of fuch a King, cuen his bodilie exercises, doe partake of vertue: since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, feeketh how to imitate the vnspeakeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which hee procureth. Least any man should thinke meetransported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I adde hereunto, that such a King is neuerthelesse a man must die, and may erre: vet wisedome and same shallset him free, from errour, and from death, both 20 with and without the helpe of time. One thing I may not omit, as a fingular benefite (though there be many other belides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruite of his goodnesse. The people that line under a pleasant voke, are not onelie louing to their Souereigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, than of flout fighters, if neede require: whereas on the contrarie, he that ruleth as ouer flaues, shall be attended, in time of necessitie, by flauish mindes, neither louing his person, norregarding his or their owne honour. Cowards may bee furious, and flaues outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yeelded ynto flaueric, vniuerfallie it is found true, that Homer faith, God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonablic haue spoken, in the generall discourse of Gouernment: but where so liuelie an example, of the calamitie following a tyrannicall rule, and the vse of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it felfe, as is this present businesse of the Carthaginians; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barelie delivered, as out of a common place.

# ò. III.

How the warre against the Mercinarie was diversife mannaged by HANNO and AMILCAR, with variable successe. The bloodie counsailes of the Mercinaries; and their finall destruction.

Eing now to returne vnto those Mercinaries, from whome I have thus farre digreffed, I cannot readilie finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginian's a neither care they to pretend, that they fecke their wages alreadie due

so that they are neither Mercinaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all beene subjects vnto Carthage, then might they justly have beene termed Rebels: 50 but Spendius, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuoured to subuert. Wherefore I will borrowethe name of their late occupation, and fill call them Mercinaries, as Polybius also doth.

Thefe

These vsing the advantage of their present strength, belieged \* Vtica, and Hip. \* Vica is seapagreta, Cities of great importance, as being feated upon the westerne Hauen of Care tod in the thage, where it is divided by a necke of land; Hippagreta standing inwards upon the enterstowards great Lake Vitica further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at Tunes aban. Carthag, not doned, which lay filthie to hinder the Carthaginians, from palling vp into the framework. countrie: for Matho and Spendius wanted not men, to followe the warre in all of spells. As parts at once.

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may Faragette conceine. But the bufineffe it selfe awakes them haltilie. They are hardly prest on ta; and by the to all fides; and therefore travailed their braines to the vttermost, how to shake off felace, God all files 3 and the state of the files and the files are the files and the files are the files and the files are the files are the files and the files are t their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good pre-ismined; and paration: but had gotten together whatfocuer was needefull, as well to relieue a the place, whereon it Towne belieged, as to batter and affaile any place defended against him. With macron it these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to Viica; so suddenlie called Magathat the enemies, as men furprifed, for fooke their Trenches, and retired them telnes the very angients. vnto arifing peece of woody ground, where they might be fafe against the violence and bring beof his beafts. Hanno, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, whose custome factoring factor 20 was, after any loffe, to flie two or three whole daies journie off; prefently entred the inflorated Towne; to shew himselfe, after this his victory. But these good fellowes, against beforecartlage whom he was to warre, had learned of Amilear, to retire and to fight againe, many was fet vp; times in one day, as neede required. Therefore as foone as they perceived, that he carding was knewe not how to vie a victorie; they affailed their owne Campe, and with great throwne down flaughter, draue the Carthaginians out of it sforcing them to hide themselves with in the shield inin Vica ; and got possession of all the store, that Hanno had brought for the reliefe milk Warre, Vaof the Towne. This bad beginning Hanno followed with sutcable indiscretion: mous it was the loofing the benefite of many faire opportunities, and fuffering the enemies to take cate the your poffession, of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

whom they furnished with ten thousand foote of supply, and seventie Elephants. was being thereof in the Amilear had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the ene- time of Genjemievpon equal ground. For belides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries who lived all had occupied, Hanno had suffered them to winne the onely Bridge, by which the the time of River Macar, or Bagradus, was passable vnto these, that were to travaile into the that Tyrant, Continent. This River had not many foords, nor thole calle for a fingle man to get ten the fory ouer: but vpon them all was kept fuch guard, as gaue to Amilear little hope of pre-of his crueluailing in feeking way by force. As for the Bridge it felfe, Matho & his followers were ties. 40 there lodged: and had there built a Towne, wherein to lie commodiously, intentiue onely to the custodic thereof. But Amilear had observed, that the very mouth of Bagradas y fed to be sometimes cloyed with sand and grauell, that was driven in by certaine customarie windes, and could not be driven out againe, by force of that flow River, till the wind falling, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vie; and taking his opportunitie, passed

Citizens. There was no neede to bid Spendius looke about him, when once it was heard, that Amilear was come over Bagradas: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the 50 newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident grantie of Hanno, but with an able spirit, euen with their owne Master in the Art of Warre, whome they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was foone changed into prefumption; when more than fifteene thousand of their owne societie, were come from Vica; and other tenne thouland from the gard of the Bridge. Their

the River; contrarie to all expectation, either of the enemie, or of his owne

The Carthaginians, perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did there riagonifer in force let fall their finete anchor; fending to the field their great Captaine, Amiles, wordly built

Armie was farregreater, than that of Amilear; and they were, in their owne judgement, the better men, your which confidence, they refolged to charge him on all fides, and beate him downe, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended upon him; watching for some advantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onfet. Especiallie they that followed him in the Rere, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. Amilear held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himfelfe on plaine grounds, that were fitteft for the seruice of his Elephants, which hee placed in front of his Armic. Neither made hee showe of any defire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, 10 till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldneffe than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would bee little for their good, if hee should turne upon them, he hastened his march, even to such a pace, as made a thewe little differing from plaine flight. The Mercinaries presentlie fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was readie to runne away-But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victorie, were driving at the heeles of those that had the Reare; Amilear wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotely, but in very good order, fo that amazed with the apprehension of inexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this ouerthrowe, there were fix thousand of the Mercinaries slaine, and about two 20 thousand taken; the rest fled some to the Campe at Vica; others to the Towne at the Bridge; whither Amilear followed them fo fast, that he wanne the place eafilv: the enemies being thence also fled vnto Tunes, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victorie, together with the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it. caused many Townes revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to returne to their former obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to himselfe, in this dangerous time. He sent about Numidia and Africk, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never to doe their best, for the recoverie of their freedome; hee per-Iwaded Spendius, and Autaritus that was Captaine of the Gaules, to wait vpon Amil- 20 ear, and alwaies to keepe the higher grounds, or at least the foot of some hill, where they might be fafe from the Elephants; and hee himfelfe continued to preffethe Towne of Hippagreta with an hard fiege. It was necessarie for Amilear, in passing from place to place, as his bulinesse required, to take such waies as there were: for all the countrie lay not levell. Therefore Spendius, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the Carthaginians lying in a Plaine, furrounded with hilles, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie; the same of Amilear his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For Naranafus, a yong gentleman commanding over the Namidians, was glad of this occasion feruing to get the acquaintance & 40 loue of fo braue a man, which he much defired : and therefore came vnto Amilear, fignifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all feruice. Amilear joyfully entertained this friend; promifed vnto him his owne daughter in marriage; and so wanne from the enemies two thousand horse, that following Narauasus turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe hee gaue battaile vnto Spendius: wherein the Numidian laboured to apprough is owne valour, to his new friend. So the victoria was great: for there were flaine ten thousand of Spendius his fellowes. and foure thousand taken prisoners, but Spendius himselfe, with Autoritus the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischiefe. Amilear dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were viwilling to become 50 his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatning to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Coucnant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, as

CHAP.2. S.2. tending to winne from them, the hearts of their fouldiers. Wherefore they refolued to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of Amilear, nor to hope for any fafetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertifement, wherein was contained, that fome of their companie, respective onely of their private benefit, and carclesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betraie them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull, to looke well vnto Geles, and his companions, whom these traitours had a purpose to enlarge. Vpon this Theme Spendius makes an Oration to the fouldiours, exhorting them to fidelitie; 10 and the wing with many words, that the feeming humanitic of Amilear, toward fome, was none other then a baite, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as also telling them. what a dangerous enemie Geleo would prooue, if hee might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of histale; were lettets come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth Autaritus, and speakes his minde plainly: faving, that it were the best, year the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were divising to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those, that had a care of the warre; that it were better to make an end of Ge/co his life, than to trouble themselues with looking to his custodie: that by such a course energe one should be ingaged in the pre-20 Sent Action, as having noncother hope left, than in victorie alone; finally, that fuch as would speake here-against, were worthie to bee reputed Traitours. This Autaritus was in great credit with the fouldiours, and could speake fundrie languages, in such fort that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed that Gelea, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheleffe there were some, that for lone of Geles. fought to alter this intended crueltie; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithall contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like fort: and that the subjects or friends of 30 Carthage, should loofe their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they observed

Of this crueltie I need fay no more, then that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counfaile of vling it, it was like vnto the counfaile of ACHILOPHEL; All Ifrael shall heave, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, be flrong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they bee more innocent; and to avoide the punishment of leffe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull spirits of those that have beene wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added, some deficiencie of Lawes, in distinguishing the pu-40 nilhments of malefactors, according to their decree of the feueral crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little, for his owne securitie. If PHOCAS be a coward saide the Emperour MAVRITIVS) then is he murderous. To be stedfast and sure, in taking revenge: is thought a point of honour, and a defensative against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opolite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie disconcred, makes them deadly enemics, who otherwise would have repented, and fought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought fo much woe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, and his Africans, to suspect cuen their gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes and Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the same 50 punishment, is a warded vnto the leffe offence, and vnto the greater, be that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is eafily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie,

cuer afterwards.

Against these inconveniences, Mercie and Severitie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which Amilear failed. For as long as these his own fouldiours were any way likely to bee reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanitie Kkkkk 2

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was readic to inuite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honestic and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be denoured:

Vntill this time Hanne, with the Armie under his command, had kept himselfe apart from Indian; and done little, as may feeme, for that nothing is remembered of him, finech his late losses. Neither was Amilear forsted want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre growe to such extremitie, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other side: then was Hanne sent for, and came to Amilear, with whom hee ioyned his forces. By this accesse of firength Indian was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now persone onthings, such was the hartered betweene him and his wovorthic Colleague. The Townessof Visea and slippagrets, that had stood alwaies firme on the Carthaginian partie, did now reuole vino the enemie, murdering all the solidiours that they had in Garrison, and cashing their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The proutsons brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were sold in solue weather: and Carthage it selfes tood in danger of being be sleeged, about which Matho and Spendum consulted, whilst one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vsed, as the fafest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practife of those two 20 mightie Cities, Athens and Rome; which other States and Princes have often imitated; perswading themselues, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will vie the greater diligence. They have also iouned two chiefe Commanders in equal commission, upon this further confideration; the better to restraine the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereofall Common-weales have beene iealous, having beene taught by their examples, that have made themselves Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point, the Venetians have beene so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they have made. It is true, that the equal 30 authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, ferueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath given them trust:but in mannaging the warre it felfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In warres made neare vitto Rome it selfe, when two good friends were Confuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of Triumph, which honor the greatest of any that Rome could gine) was to be obtained by that one yeeres feruice; it is no meruaile. though each of the Confuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end than victorie. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Confuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed 40 the manner, to fend forth both the Confuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnleffe one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was fo, that the Romans did many times preuaile with their joynt Generals: yet was this neuer or feldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modestie hath often beene such, that the leffe able Captaine, though of equal authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commaunders of one Armie, received great and most daungerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second Punick warre wee shall finde examples. 50 On the contrarie side, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they seldome failed to winne exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those tenne Generals, which served the Athenians at the Battaile of Marathon, it may truly be faid, that had not their temper beene better, than the judgment

of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of Miltiades; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled Nicias and Alcibiades together in Sicil: the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hastic, as all came to nought that they undertooke; whereas Cimon alone, as also Ariftedes, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkeable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of furie than of judgement, and fo the contrarie, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslipt, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably 10 vndertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was flaine after the Battaile of Iarnac, (which Prince, together with the Admirall Chastillon, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the faid Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themsclues, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, outreach the adussednesse of the other, as whatfocuer the Admirall intended to winne by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to loofe, by beeing ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we need no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this prefent bufines: who, though they were fill licke of their ill grounded loue to Hanne, and were viacy willing to difgrace him yet feeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the difcord of the Generals, committed the decifion of their controueries, who the Armie that ferued vnder them. The indgement of the Armiewas, that Hanne flould depart the Camprewhich he did, and Hannida was fent in his flead, one that would

be directed by Amilear; and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to profiper somewhat better. Matho and Spendius had brought their Armie neare vnto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; having in their Campe aboue shittie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neuerthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to winne by assault: and the entrance of victualies they could not hinder, if any should bee sent in by strends from

Histon, King of Syracufe, though during the warres in Sicil he affifted the Remans, and fill continued in their Alliance, yet now fent fuccours to the Carthaginiums: fearing their fall, and confequently his owne; because if in on their State game the Romans formewhat to trouble their diffection, the Principalitie of Syracufe would foone be deuoured by them. The Romansalfo gaue them fomellender affifiance, and for the prefent refufed good offers made with the the Whercinaries. This they did, to show a kinde of noble difposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the

fequele manifestly proued, Whilest Matho and his followers were busily pressing the Citic, Amilear was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their supply : so that finding themselves more straightly beseiged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hercupon they iffue into the field: where Spendius, and one Zareas an African Captaine affifting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde Amilear worke; leaving Matho in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the bufinesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of Narauasus, made Spendius fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore hee betooke himselfe to his former method of warre; keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the 50 straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disaduantage. But Amilear had more skill in this Art, than could bee matched by the labour of Spendius. Hee drew the enemie to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the ftrength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and

of

CHAP.2. S.2 day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough, to perceive their owne disaduantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomach to fight; but awaited for helpe from Tunis. Amilear prudently foreseeing, that necessitie might teach them to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miferably for fuccour, that came not: and having spent all their victuailes, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they fuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deferued any fauour from Cartha-10 ge; and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driven to such extremitie, that they were faine to denoure their owne companions, and yet faw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken; and they threatned their Captaines with what they had deserued, vnlesse they would goe foorth to Amilear, and seeke such peace as might begotten. So Spendius, Zarxas, and Autaritus, fell to consultation, wherein it was refolued, to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselues, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than to perish by the hands of their owne companions. Hereupon they fend to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with Amilear in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet 20 by the conditions which Amilear granted, it feemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaeimans should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; Amilear told these Ringleaders, that he choose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest hee forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon fo gentle articles, thought themselues betraied: and therefore amazedly ranne to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the fame 30 astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto Amilear both colour of inflice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all flaine: being fortic thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to Carthage; and terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. Henceforward Amilear, with his Narauafus and Hannibal, carried the warre from Towneto Towne, and found all places readie to yeelde: Viica, and Hippagreta, onely standing ont, vpon seare of deserved vengeance; and Tunes, being held by Matho, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefestrength of 40 the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth Spendius, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walles; to terrifie those of his olde companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the seige began; as if speedie victorie had beene assured. Hannibal quartered on that part of Tunis which lay towards Carthage; Amilear on the opposite side: too farreafunder to helpe one another in fudden accidents; and therefore it behoued each, to be the more circumfpect.

Matho from the walles beheld his owne destinie, in the miseric of his companion, and knew not how to avoide it otherwise, than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out vpon that part of the Carthaginian Armie, that lay fecure, as if all 50 danger were past, vnder the command of Hannibal: and with so great and vnexpected furie he fallied, that after an exceeding flaughter, he tooke Hannibal prisoner; on whom, and thirtie the most noble of the Carthagian prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of Spendius by the farne torture. Of this Amilear knew nothing

till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse. to continue the feige; but was faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the River Bagradas, where he incamped.

The terrour was no lefle within Carthage, vpon the fame of this loffe; than had beene the joy of the late great victorie. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder Hanno; whom, it feemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines surmining the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one fole Generall, neare vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hastie exigent, to deuiseabout repealing it. But thirtie principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring Hanno to Amilears campe, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched Amilear in his honour, that the carelesnesse of Hannibal seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemic to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheleffe after many conferences, the authoritie of the Senatours prevailed; Amilear and Hanno were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, Hanno tooke warning by Hannibals calamities, to followe good directions, though afterwards hee returned to his old and Lin. Dec. 3.1.1.

deadly hatred. In the meane season Matho was come abroad; as meaning to vie the reputation of his late successe, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with Amilear. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein Amilear trained his Carthaginians, did so farre abate the firength, and withall diminish the credit of Matho, that he resolued to trie the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthaginians were no lesse prone, than Matho: as being wearie of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; consident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it felfe in many trials; and well affured of Amilear his great worth, whereunto the enemie had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inui-30 ting their friends to helpe; and drawing foorth into the fielde, all that lay in

The iffue of this Battaile might have beene foretold, without helpe of witchchraft. Matho, and his followers, had nothing whereon to prefume, faue their daring spirits, which had beene well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to runne away. The Carthaginians had reason to dare, as hauing often beene victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a commander, as was not casily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of libertie should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their 40 State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the Carthaginians wanne a great victorie, wherein most of the Africans their enemies were flaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and Matho himselfe was taken alive. Immediatly upon this victorie, all the Africans that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: Vica onely, and Hippagreta stood out, as knowing how little they descrued of fauour. But they were soone forced to take what conditions best pleafed the victours. Matho and his fellowes were led to Carthage in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischieses which they had wrought in this warre. The warre had lasted three yeeres, and a-50 bout foure moneths, when it came to this good end : which the Cathaginians, whose subjects did not love them, should with leffe expence, by contenting their Mercinaries, have prevented in the beginning.

à. IIII.

## ð. 1111.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards drinemous by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia. contrarie to the peace.



Hilest Mathoand Spendius were making this terrible combustion in Africk; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire 19 in Sardinia: where murdering Bostar the Gouernour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own

vse. Against these one Hanno was sent with a small Armie, (such as could be spared in that busic time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the fudden. But these companions that followed Hanno, finding it more for their safetie, and present prosit, to iowne themselues with those that were alreadie renolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that commonweale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practife with the Sardinian Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away 20 all icalousseand distrust, they resolved to hang vp their Commander Hanno, and performed it. A common practife it hath beene in all Ages, with those that have vndertaken the quarrell of an vniust warre, to enjoyne the performance of some notorious and villamous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offerto partake, and to affift the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some fuch Actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of crueltie did the engratefull Mantineurs murder a Garrison of Achaians, fint vnto them for their defence against the Lacedamonians, by Aratus; who, when hee had formerly possess himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did 30 not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gaue them equal sreedome with the rest of the Cities vnited. These Renolis are also common in our Court-warres, where, in the conquelts of newe fortunes, and making of newe parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of oldestricads, we cannot be receiued and trufted by old enemics. Cefont les conps de vicille eferime. Thefe, (fay the

French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercinaries in Sardinia were no whit lesseviolent in their purpose, than were Spendiue, and his affociates: onely they wanted a Methoamong them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no leffe glad, than the fouldiours, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Countrie : but they 49 could not agree about the profit of the victorie. The Surdinians thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the fouldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwife, the fouldiours were of epinion, that the title of the Carthaginians to that Ile, was devolved vnto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have rifen, betweene Spendius with his Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the common defire of both had once taken effect; vilesse the riches of Carthage, had ferued to content them all. But in Sardinia, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countries the matter was not eafily taken vp. So they fell to blowes, which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to fauethemfelues in 114-50 ite. Before their departure out of Sardinia, they had inuited the Romans into it; with as good right, as the Mamertines had called them into Sicil. Yet this offer was refufed, vpon reasons that follow.

Some Halian Merchants had relieued Mathoand Spendius with corne; of whom

the Carthaginians tooke almost fine hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the Romans sent Embassadours to Carthage, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: they quietly yeelded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carrie all prouisions to Carthage. And vpon the same reason, did they for beare to meddle with Sardinia, or to accept the Citie of Vica, offering it felle vnto their subjection. This might have ferued, as a notable example of the Roman faith, to all posseritie: had not the iffue proued, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them fo temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriuing better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of Carthage depended, at that time, vpon the vertue of Amilear: who had he beene ouerthrown by Spendius or Mathe, in one maine battaile, that mightie Citie must either haue fallen into thebarbarous hands of merciles villaines, or have humbled her felfe vnder protection of the Romans, with whom shee had lately striuen for superioritie. That extreame necessitie, whereinto Matho reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one fallie made out of Tunis, is enough to proue, that Carthage was not farre from fuch a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not wisely done of the Romans, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but 20 finking shippe, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in Africk, and the Carthaginians began to prepaire for the recourse of Sarainia: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The Romans perceiuing that Carthage, beyond their hope, had recovered her feete againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercinaries, that were fled out of Sardinia; and they denounced warre against this enfeebled and impouerished Citic, under a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for SARDINIA, were made indeed against Rome it felfe. The Carthaginians knew themselves vnable to relift; and therefore yeelded to the Romans demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in Sardinia. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in re-20 compence belike (for I fee not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inualion from Carthage. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently fought occasion of warre. But necessitie taught the Carthaginians patience; and the monic was paied, how hardly focuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complaine of the Punick faith, in breach of Couenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace alreadie; which Amilear purposeth to make her dearely repent; but what Amilear lives not to performe, shall bee accomplished by Hannibal his renouned sonne.

# How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the lecond Punicke Warre.

He injurious dealing of the Romans, expressing their delire to picke a quarrell; ferued to infrust the Carthaginian in a necessarie lesson.
That either they must make themselues the stronger, or else resolution to be obedient with other than the terms are more mightie. In a Citic long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easilie tooke place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The 50 strength, and the icalousie of the Romans, forbade all attempts vpon the Mediterran seas; but the riches of Spaine, that lay vpon the Ocean, were vnknowen to Rome: wherefore that Prouince might serue, both to exercise the Carthaginians in warre, and to repaire their decaied forces, with all needfull supplies. Of this Spanish Expedition, the charge and soueraigne trust was committed vnto Amilear: vpon

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the Engl fb n the yeare 1585 whom his Countrie did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recour strength by his meanes, that had faued it from ruine.

Hanne, with fome other envious men, that were of his faction, tooke little pleafure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards Amilear and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to bee the most worthic of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietneffe; aduifing men to beware of prouoking the Romans, in whose amitte they faid, that the felicitic of Carthage did contift. By such discourses, harsh to the cares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Commonweale; they got none other reputation, than of fingularitie; which the ignorant fort suspected to be wisedome.

But the glorie of Amilear was continually vpheld and enlarged, by many notable feruices that he did, to the fingular benefit of his Countrie. He passed the Streights of Hercules, (now called the Streights of Gibraltar) and landed on the westerne coast of Spaine; in which Countrie, during nine yeares that he liued there, he subjected vnto the State of Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in Portugale, called the Vettones, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) hee was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and same, by which in many

fignall victories, he had aquired the name of a fecond Mars.

After the death of Amilear; Asárubal his sonne in law was made Generall of the 20 Carthaginian forces in Spaine. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practife and cunning, than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthage: adding fo many fubices and confederates thereunto, that the Romans began to groweicalous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of Granado, opposite to that of Oranin Africa, and gaue it the name of New Carthage, which to this day it nearely retaineth, being called now \* Carthagena. With this fuccessed of the Carthaginians in Spaine, the Reman were not a lit-tle troubled; but begin to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of sieil, as suspecting their 20 neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselues in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anone) given them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by farre exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the Gaules, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But hee needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to bee feared : it is enough if hee request; fince his request shall have the vertue of a

Yet were the Romans etterly destitute of all good colour; that might helpe them 40 to intermeddle in Spaine. The Spaniards were then vnacquained with Rome, whereof (in probabilitic) they scarce had heard the name : so that there were no Mamertines, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of Sardinia, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in Spaine. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that Asdrubal had any purpole, to extend his victories vnto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had beene suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that hee should forbeare to proceed any further, than to the Riuer of Iberus. In addressing their messengers, rather to Astrabal, than to the Citic 50 of Carthage; they seeme to have hoped, that howsoever the generalitie of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to avoide all occasion of warre with Rome: yet the brauerie of one man might proue more fastidious, and, refenting the iniurie, returne such answere, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the

quarrell, that they fo much defired; and might embrace at leafure, when once they had found apparent cause. But Astrubal tinely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diflike at all: and, whereas they would have this infolent couenant inferted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doc it, of his owne power, with fuch appearance of conformitie to their will, that they went their waves contented and fought no further.

If it had beene fo, that the State of Carthage, thereunto preffed by the Romans, for feare of prefent warre, had ratified this new composition made by Aldrubal: yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, valesse an oath had also beene extorted, to make all fure. But fince all passed quietly, vnder the bare authoritie of A/drubal; this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a fecond breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of periurie, (as they after did) for refusing

By this Treatie with Afarubal, the Romans wanne some reputation in Spaine. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse over them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiping blowes from a stouter Dame: there were foone found fome, that by offering themselves to the protection of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-feruants with Carthage. But the Car-20 thaginians will shortly teach them another lesson. The Saguntines, a people on the South fide of therus, entred into confederacie with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the Romans, to admit the Saguntines, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemic in warre to the Carthaginians) into their focietie; and vnlawfull it was vnto the Carthaginians, to vie violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with Rome. Neverthelesse, if wee confider the late agreement made with Afdrubal; wee shall finde that the Romans could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the River Iberus a bound, over which they themselves would not passe, in any Discouerie or Conquest by them intended to bee made upon Spaine: in which 20 regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians ; though Rome as yet had no foote, on the one fide of Iberus, whereas Carthage, on the other fide of that River, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were; this indignitie was not To easily digested, as former injuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthaginian, should behold Saguntum resting securely among them, vpon confidence of helpe from a more mightie Citie. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to doe themselves right: warre against Saguntum was generally thought vpon, let the Romans take it how they lift. In fuch 40 termes were the Carthaginians, when Afdrubal died, after hee had commanded in Spaine eight yeeres: (being flaine by a flaue, whose master hee had put to death) and the Great Hannibal, sonne of the Great Amilear, was chosen Generall in his

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The estate of Greece from the death of PYRRHVS, to the raigne of PHILIP the Conne of DEMETRIVS

N the long terme of the first Punick warre, and the vacation following. betweene it and the fecond; the effate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was growne fomewhat like vnto that, wherein Philip of Maceden had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The ro

whole countrie had recourred, by degrees, a forme of libertie: the pettie tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each upon such Townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse. asnot onely served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like diffensions and tumults in Macedon, as had beene in Greece, when Philip first began to incroch vpon it. For after many quarrels and great warres, about the Kingdome of Macedon, betweene Antigonus the elder, Caffander, Demetrius, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the Gaules: Antigonus, the sonne of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirtie 20 yeeres; yet fo, that hee was diners times thence expelled, not onely by the Gaules. and by Pyrrhus, as hath beene alreadie shewed, but by Alexander the sonne of Pyrrhus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonne it. This happened vnto him by the repolt of his fouldiours, even at fuch time, as having overthrowne with great flaughter an Armie of the Gaules, hee was converting his forces against the Athenians, whom hee compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his yong sonne Demetrius raised an Armie; wherewith he chaced Alexander, not onely out of Man cedon, but out of his owne Epirus, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the helpe of this yong Prince Demetrius (though in another kinde) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corinth; which was justly termed the fetter of 20 Greece. The Citadell called Acrocorinthus, flood upon a fleep rockie hill on the North fide of the towne; and was by nature and art fo ftrong, that it feemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that running betweene the Agean and Jonique Seas, joyneth Peloponne fus to the Maine of Greece. Wherefore he that held poffession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of Greece vnto the other; befides the commoditie of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. Alexander, the fonne of Polysperchon; and after his death, Cratesipolis his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betweene Alexanders Prifices. Afterwards it paf- 40 sed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing elfe, than that he was thought to bee poisoned by this Antigonus. who deceived his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The device was this. Antigonus fent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court Niced. and sceke her marrage. The foolish olde widdowe perceived not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was even as readie to confent, as was his sonne to defire it, and came this rher in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts. plaies, and all forts of games: in the middest of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Ladie, whose icalousie had beene ex- to cceding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauitie beseeming his old age. But as bee had stollen it; fo was it againe stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being alreadie spent with age.

Demetrius

Demetrius, the fonne of this Antigonus, fucceeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The Dardanians, Atolians, and Acheans, held him continually bufied in warre, wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the Macedonians began to decaie; and the Grecians to call off their voke.

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.2. S.6.

Philip, the onely fonce of Demetrius, was a yong child when his father died and therefore Antigonus, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minoritie of the Prince; but he affumed the name and power of a King, though hee respected Philip as his owne sonne, to whom he left the Crowne at his death: This Antigonus was called the Tutor, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called Dolon, that is 25 much as Will-gine, because he was flow in his liberalitie. He represfed the Dardanians, and Theffalsans, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his raigne. Vpon confidence of this good feruice, hee tooke flate vpon him, as one that rather were King in his owne right, than onely a Protectour. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were foone appealed by faire words, and a feeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The clohaians tooke from him the Civie of Athens, foone after Demetrius his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that hee held in Greece, if their owne effate had not beene endangered by a nearer enemie. But citile diffention. 20 which had ouerthrowne the power of Greece, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recourred strength after a long sicknesses and gaue to this Antigonus no leffe authoritie therein, than Philip, the father of Alexander, got by the like aduantage.

These Achaians, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to oreat ftrength and fame: fo that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greekes. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not onely drawall others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, to be gouerned by one Lawe, and to vie 20 one and the same fort of waights, measure, and monie.

Aratus, the Sicyonian, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had beene by the Macedonian Captaines divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the Heraclida, when Tisamenus the sonne of Orestes posses the Territorie of Achaia. In this estate they continued to the time of Gyees; after whome, when his fonnes fought to change the Legall government of their Predecessours into T yrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as feeming most equall. This forme of Commonweale had continuance, with some small

an changes according to the diversitie of times, till the reigne of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world: For those twelve Cities, called the Cities of alliance, whereof Helice, and Bura of Olenus, the Sea had caten up a little before the Battaile of Lendfres; were; by diffurbance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a warre, no leffe foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentith Olympiad, in which, or neare it, Ptolomie the fonne of Lagus, Lyfimachus; Seleucus, and Ptolomie Ceraunus, left the world; two of the ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the Patrenles and the Dimei, vnited themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, which after followed. For having 50 beene, some of them Partisans with fundrie Macedonian Captaines, and others hauing beene gouerned by pettie Kings; they began to fasten themselues in a strong

league of amitic, partly, in the olympiad before spoken of, and partly, at such time as Pyrrhus made his first voiage into Italie. Now after the vniting of the Patrenses and Dimai, to whome also the Cities of Tritaa, and Phara, joyned themselves:

Ellll 2

Agira

Agira chased out her Garrisons: and the Burians, killing their Kings, entred with the Geraunians into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie and fine yeares, vied the same forme of Gouernement with the Achaians; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and foone after. by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, Marcus Carynensis was the first, and Aratus the

This Aratus was a noble yong Gentleman of Sieyon, who living at Argos in exile, whilest his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banifled men, to enter their owne Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of An- 10 tigonus Gonatas King of Macedon, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the Greekes, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of Antigonus, the Sicyonians entred into the Athaian league: which though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ferued well enough against Antigonus, whose subtletie was som what greater than his valour. As the industrie and counfaile of Aratus delivered his Countrie from bondage, and fortified it by the Achaian league: fo further, by lis great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fiftie talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, betweene the banished Siegonians, which returned with him. and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same 20 mony he drew many others to affift him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the fingular good of all Achaia. The monie he obtained of Ptolemie Euergetes King of Egypt; who partly had a defire to hold fome strong and sure friendship in Greece, partly was delighted with the conversation of Aratus himselfe, that made a dangerous voiage to him into Agypt, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of sieyon excelled.

The first of Aratus his great attempts, was the surprize of the Acrocorinthus or Citadell of Corinth; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some thecues that he had hired for the purpole, who living in the place, had practifed to rob Antigonus his treasurie, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was 20 he faine to fight for it, ere hee could get it: though indeede Antigonus his Souldiers were rather ouer-come by their owne feare, than by any force of the affailants; as miltrufting left the Achaians were more in number, than in truth they were, and haping loft the advantages of the place alreadic, vpon which they had prefumed, be-

fore they were aware of any enemic.

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In these kinde of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practises, Aratus was very cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, hee was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was effected, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when 40 he beganne battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the fundrie natures of men, and in a manner confined, vnto feuerall forts of action. In resoluing which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercife, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a natural inclination standeth in neede of little practife; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was Aratus in matter of Warre. In fincere affection to his Countrie he was unreprougable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will testific.

When Acrocorinthus was taken, and joyned vnto the Common-wealth of Achaia, the Megarians revolted soone after from Antigonus, and entred into the same Corpo- 50 ration. So did the Trazenians, and the Epidaurians : whereby this new creeked State grew fo powerfull, that it aductiured to take Athens, from the Macedonians; and Argos, and Megalopolis, from T yrants that held them. The enterprise upon athens was of none effect. For though Aratus wasted the Ile of Salamis, to show his strength,

and fent home the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to allure the Citie by thew of love : verthe Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honelt flaues to the Macedonians. Vpon Argos the aduenture was carried more frongly. The Achaians came fometimes to the gates of the Cirie, but the people thirred not once they entred it, and might have wonne it, if the Citizens , would have lent any helpe to the recouctie of their owne freedome; fundrie times, and with diverse event, they fought with the T yrants (who rose vp one after another in Arges) in open field, and flue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: untillat length Ariftomachus the Tyrant was fo terrified, perfwaded, and hired, by Aratus, that he consented to refigne his estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus that had oppressed the Phliasians. Whilest this businesse with the Argines was on foot, Lyfiadas the Tyrant of Megalopolis was fo well handled by stratus, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of Achaia: whereby he got fuch credit, that hee was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two yeares together by one man) every fecond yeare, for a certaine while, Her and Aratus fuccccding one another by turnes. Butthose late Tyrants, and new Citizens, Lysiadas and Aristomachus, were carried with private passion, from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed dratus, to the great hurt of Ashain, as shall appeare 20 in due time.

The Achains having obtained fo much puiffance and reputation, that Ptolemie King of Ægypt was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open Warre vpon Demetrius the-Sonne of Antigonus Gonatas, for the libertie of Athens. It is strange and worthie of noting. That when Aratus in this quarrell had loft a battaile, the Athenians wore Garlands, in figne of loy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, that had wonne the victorie. Such were now the Athenians become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, Aut humiliter feruit, aut fuperbe dominatur; It is either base in seruice, or insolent in command. Neuerthelesse 30 when Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that by monie which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased libertie to the Athenians, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the Achauns, louing them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe but into their Corporation they entred not, fcorning it belike, in regard of their owne

CHAP.2. 6.6.

out-worne glorie. Now as the Common-wealth of Achaia daily increased within Peloponnesus, by inflice and honeffie; so did the Atolians, in the vtter part of Greece, yea and within Peloponne (us it felfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of bodie, and rude courage in fight, without helpe of any other vertue. They had floutly defended themselues 40 against Antipater and Craterus; partly by during to doe and fuffer much; partly by the naturall strength and fastnesse of their Countrie; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other bulinesse, as hath beene related. They had molested Cassander, in fauour of Antigonus; and were themselues as much plagued by him, and by the Acarnanians, a little sour flour Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to doe with Demetrius a floring of the first Antigonus, and more or leffe, with all the Kings of Macedon succeeding him. They likewise held often Warre with the Acurnanians, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities in Pelaponnelus: fo that they were hardened with perpetual transile , feldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserted the name of va-50 lour; feeing they, had no regard of honestic orfriendship; measuring all things by their owne infolent will, and thinking al people base minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themselves.

Thefor Etolians had lately made great spoiles in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good part of the countrie. They had inuaded the friends of the Acheans; taken and facked Lilli 3

Pallene; where although they were foundly beaten by Aratus, yet their defire of gaine made them greed to of a new voiage thither as to a Countrie wherin form what was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by Demetrius the fonne of Antigonus Gonatas: who preffed them fo hardly, that they were driven to feeke helpe of the Acheans: which they obtained. The warre which the Acheans made vpon Demetrius, without Peloponne fus, in Attica; though it tended to expelling the Macedons out of Greece, vet the benefit thereofredounded chiefly vnto the Atolians, at whose instance it was set on foot : for thereby were the Macedonian forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged: though very basely the Atolians, giving thankes in wordes, devised how to requite the benefit 10 with fomegreat mischiefe. They saw that the Acheans were desirous, to bring all Peloponne (us into their Alliance and Corporation; of which intent, the Laced amonians were very icalous. Wherefore thefe + tolians laboured earnestly, to fet the Lacedamonians and Achaans together by the eares : hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called into helpe (it skilled not on what side) and fo get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their device vnto Antigonus; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many loffes, that his Kingdom had sustained by the Achaans. Of this plot Aratus was aware : who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the Lacedamonians cause to 20 take armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late; and not altogether in his owne power to hold. He had been e medling with the Arcadians, that were dependants of Lacedamon: and thereby had proupled the Lacedamonians to looke about them; feeing that all Peioponnesus, excepting themselves, the Eleans, and a few Arcadians their friends (who also were attempted) was alreadie become Achean.

The Citic of Sparta was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger Neighbour. Pyrrhus had greatly weakned it : The Atolians entring Laconia with an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand flages; and, which was worfe, their discipline was corrupted. Anarice and Luxurie raigned among them. the poore was oppressed by the rich, and the generotitie of spirit, that had sometime 20 beene their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in Sparta no more than seven hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not about one hundred had lands: all the rest were needic people, and desirous of innouation. Hercupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. Agis a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of Lyeurgus his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of lands. All the yonger, and the poorer fort were glad of this: but the rich men opposedit. These had recourse vnto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained up in the 40 Court of Syria, whence also he had his wife. In this contention Leonidas was expelled the Citic, and a new King chosen in his stead. But Agis his friends and Counfailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commoditie. They were haltie to take away all debts, and cancell bonds, for they themfelues were deeply indebted; but the division of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in Sparta, which these menincreased, by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine Leonidas was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerse Kings driven to take Sanctuarie; out of which, Cleombrotus, the late-made King, was difmiffed into exile : but Agis was trained forth , drawne into prison , and there by his 50 enemies condemned and Grangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer knowne in Sparta; and (which is the more odious) this crueltic proceeded from the Ephori, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the lawes, vling their power, and more power than to them belonged,

against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the lawes

The death of Agis was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ferued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case Aratus might well hope, to adopue Lucadaman to the Abram Compon-wealth: though it were great insultice to take such aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of Pelaponnessus, and to the benefit of Spartait selle, it could have been envought by persuation.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of Sparta, and reuenged the death of Agis, did also requite the injust attempts of the Acheans, even in their owne kinde: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all Peloponne (us; though little to their good liking, for that the Lacedemonians and their King, should have been the principall; not they and their Prator. Leonidas having thus caused Agis to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in mariage (perforce) to his owne sonne Cleamenes. This yong Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and fought to winne-her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband Agu, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a defire of accomplishing that, wherein Agu had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst he was very yong, hee gladly embraced all 20 occasions of warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which Agis, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his owne ruine. Therefore when the Ephori gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie Atheneum, a Temple on the marches of Laconia, to which both they and the Megalopolitans pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof Aratis made no complaint, but fought to take by surprise Teges and Orchomenus, Cities then confederate with the Lacedsmonians: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painefull nights trauaile, and discouered his enmitte to Sparta; of which Cleomenes was nothing forric. By these degrees the warre began. In the entrance whereto Aratus had discovered the Atolian practife, and therefore would have staied the quarrell from proceeding too farre. But Lysiadas and Aristomachus would needes fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing Cleomenes was so vrgent. Aristomachus was at that time General of the Acheans, (He & Lyfiadas being of great account. fince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who fent vnto Aratus, lying then in Athens, and required his affistance in a journie to be made into Laconia. No diffwasions of Aratus would ferve : therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, litle pleasing him in the present, and lessein the future. When he met with Cleomenes. he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against Aristomachus, who desired to give battaile. Yet had the Acheans twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas Cleomenes had no more than flue thou and in all. This gaue repu-40 tation to the Lacedemonian, and railed an ill report vpon Aratus; which Lysiadas helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuerthelesse the Acheans would not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the year following against Lysiadas his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behoued him to confute, with deedes, the flanderous wordes of Lysiadus. Thereforche purposed to set vpon the Eleans : but was met withall on the way, neare vnto the Mount Lycam, by Cleomenes; who vanquilhed him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to have beene slaine. This miladuenture Aratus recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue been ex-50 pected, had he been victorious. For whilft there was no suspition of any great matter that he could vndertake; he secretly wrought with some of the Mantineans, who did let him into their Citie. The Mantinaans had once before joyned themselues with the Athaians; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the Atolians; and from the Atolians, presently after this victorie. to Cleomenes. from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their leuitie they were not punished, but freely admitted now againe into the Achean Societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of diatus; so another battaile almost ruined it. Cleamenes and he encountred neare vito Megalopolis, where the Achaans had fomewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon Lyllades, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the Lacedemonians, whom hee routed at the beginning, but purfuing them too farre into places of hard paffage, he was flaine by them, and his followers driven back vpon their owne Companions; in fuch fort, 10 that finally all the Armie was difordered, and put to flight. This was a great loffe, and incenfed the Acheans against Aratus: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercinaries which he had waged. This Aratus tooke patiently, and followed the warre nevertheleffe; wherein though Cleamenes wanne fome I ownes, and Aratus got the better in one small fight, yet litle of importance was done; the Acheans being wearie, and the Spartan King intentiue to another businesse.

Cleamenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and

tired them with painefull journies, for fooke the Achean warre on a fudden, and came vnexpected home to Sparta, where hee flue the Ephori, and restored by force 20 the ancient discipline of Lycurgus. Then gaue hee an accompt of his doings: and the wing by what degrees the Ephori had incroched upon the power of Kings, and many disorders had growne in the Cities he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, our of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: fo that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether fland in neede of mercinarie helpe, as it lately had done, to faue it felfe from the .Etolians, Illyrians, and other enemies. All this was dispatched in great hafte; the Spartans well fatisfied; and Cleomenes him felfe readie in the field, ere his enemies could

take advantage of these his domesticall troubles.

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The Acheans hearing of this great alteration in Sparta, thought that it would be long, ere Cleomenes durst iffue forth of the Citic, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had walted all the Countrie of Megalopolis; hadranged over all Arcadia at his pleasure; and was admitted into Mantinea; and readic to take other places, even of Achaia. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when Cleamenes had shaken off the power of the Ephori, that curbed his authoritie, hee proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed, and by better men. His Laced emonians refumed their ancient courage; and be himfelfe had the heart to demand the Principalitic of Greec. He did not therefore henceforth contend, about the pofferfion 40 of a few Townes: but adventured to winne or loofe all. The Atolians, in facour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side; and whereas he had gotten Manti-Page, Tegen, and other places, to which they had fome title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and faw that Antigonus with the Atolians, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which Cleamenes had thus begunne. Therefore hee denifed how to prouide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not bee to faue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, hee refused; fearing to bee so farre press as to hazzard in one battaile all 50 the force of his Countrie, to which as hee had never any affection, nor perchance courage, fo was his manner of warfare otherwife. For he commonly actempted by furprile, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner

of the Irib, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not for fake the care of the weale publike, though in aiming at the generall good, it feemes that private passion drew him into an ill counse. He saw, that Megalopolis could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that Mantines had not only opened her gates unto Cleamenes, but flaine the Achean Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vinto him, without compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once T yrant of Argos, and since Generall of the Acheans, was now revolted vnto the enemic, following the fortune of Cleomenes. Ptolemie was too farre off to helpe; and the neareneffe of Antigonus was very dange-10 rous ; yet might beviefull; if this King would (as Polybius faith) like others, be friend or enemie, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, draine or entine, as mone our agree with insowne profit. I o make trait nereot, Aratiginated with some of Aegalopolis, whom he found apt vinto his purpose; and interested them how to deale with both Antigonus, and the Acheans.

The Citie of Megalopolis had beene well affected to the Macedonians, euer fince the time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay nearest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well bee relieved by the Acheans, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should bee sent vnto the generall Councell of Achaia, requesting seaue and 20 good allowance, to trie the favour of Antigonus in their necessitie. This was granted, for lack of what elfe to answere: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to Antigenus. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecesfours; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delinered the more generall matter, wherein Aratus had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of Cleomenes, and violence of the Etolians, might redound to his owne great loffe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how Aratus himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the Acheans under the Patronage of 30 Macedon: then beganne Antigonus to lend a more attentine care to their discourse, He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote vnto the Megalopolitans, that his helpe should not be wanting, so faire forth, as it might stand with the Acheans good liking. Particularly he commended himselse, by these Messengers, to Aratus; afluring them, that he thought him elfehighly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have beene grounded vp-

on any hatred to the Macedonians, but only vpon a inft and worthic love to his owne Nation. With this answere they returne to Megalopolis: and are presently sent away to the Councell of Achaia; there to make some speedie conclusion, as the ne-

cellitie of the time required.

The Acheans were gladto heare, that Antigonus was so inclinable to their defire; and therefore were readie to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto Aratus gaue his consent; and praised the wisedome of his Countrimen, that fo well difcerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safetie; adding neuerthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to tric their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus hee shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that hee might not afterward fultainethe common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiste, linee it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that 50 leifurably, the generall consent.

Neurrhelesse in true estimation, this sinenesse of Aratus might have beene vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrarie course. For it had beene more honourable, to make an end of the Warre, by yeelding vnto Cleomenes that power which they gaue vnto Antigonus: fince therby he should both have freed his

Countrie from all further trouble; and withall should have restored ynto the vniuerfall state of Greece, that honorable condition, whereof the Macedonians had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pittie) that Vertue having rilen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principalitie, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hastic growth of any others reputation, wherewith it fees it felfe likely to bee ouer topped. Other cause to despise the Lacedamonians there was none; than that they lately had been in dangerous case : neither could any reason be found, why Aratus should prefer Antigonus before Cleamenes, than that he had flood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherfore he was justly plagued, when he saw his owne honors reverfed by the infolent Macedonians; and in flead of living as a companion with Cleomenes, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posteritie of Hercules, was faine to doe facrifice vnto Antigonus, as vnto a God, and was finally poisoned by Philip, whose Nobilitie was but of fine descents, and whom perhaps he might have feenchis fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the Macedonians, the loue of Ptolomie was loft : who forthwith tooke part with Cleomenes, though he did not supply him with such liberalitie, as hee had yied to the Acheans; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more warie both in trusting and difbursing. Cleomenes himselfe, whilest this businesse with Antigonus was a foot, passed through Areadia with an Armie, and laboured by al meanes 20 to draw the Acheans to battaile. At the Citie of Dymes in Achaia were allembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their effate, without feeking helpe of the Macedonian. Thither went Cleomenes, and there fought with them : where hee had fo great a victoric, that the enemie was no longerable to keepe the open field. The calamitie was fuch, that dratus himfelfe durft not take vpon him to be their General, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the Acheans were compelled to fue for peace; which was granted vpon this casie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselves the command of Peloponnesus, but suffer the Lacedemonians (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in Warre. Hereunto if they would 30 condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their owne Lawes and Liberties without mole flation. This gentle offer of Cleamenes was very pleasing to the Acheans: who desired him to come vnto the Citic of Lerna, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of Greece likely to bee settled in better order, than they had euer beene fince the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warres, yea or fince the Persian Invalion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which Cleomenes dranke in a great heat, and thereupon fell extreme fick, and so could not be present at Lerna, but caused the Parliament to 40 be deferred to another time. Neuerthelesse he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the Acheans in their defire of his friendship: who affembled againe at Argos, there to establish the League. But Aratus was violently bent against it; and sought by great wordes, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of resoluing. When all would not ferue turne, he betooke himfelfe to his cunning; and fent word to Cleomenes, that hee should doe well to leave his Armie behinde him, and come alone into Argos, receiuing Holtages for fafetie of his person. Cleomenes was alreadic farre on his way, when he met with this advertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had beene an easie matter, to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so farre with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselues and their Messengers; or if he would ad-

uenture himselfeinto the Citie, then to depriue him of all Royall shew, that might breede respect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeede which Aratus seared. and for which he fought to hinder his comming thither in person : lest the people, hearing the promises of Cleomenes ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle wordes, and finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore Cleomenes wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these ingling tricks: and Aratus was not farre behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Affembly knew not how to proceede, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. Cleamenes tooke his aduantage of their present weakenesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many heeforced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne Argos, which neuer King of Sparta before him could doe. In this cafe Aratus fent his owne fonne to Antigonus, entreating him to deferre no time, but come prefently to relieue the distressed Acheans. Antigonus gaue as good words as could be wished: saving that he vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse he might first haue Acrocorinthus put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promifed to helpe the Horse against his enemie the Stagge: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himselfe to bee sadled and bridled. Aratus was herewithall contented, but wanted all honelt colour to doe it: feeing the Corinthians had no way descrued, to be thus given away to the Macedonians. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the Corinthians, perceiuing what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So hee withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and fent word to Antigonus, that the Castle should bee readie to let him in. The Corinthians on the other fide ranne to Cleomenes; who loft no time, but made hafte with them to Corinth, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to faue it from Antigonus, by furrounding it with Trenches , that none might iffue nor enter without his leaue. Whileft this was in doing, he tooke speciall order, that Aratus his house and goods, within the Towne, should be safely kept for the Owner; to whom hee fent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agree-20 ment, and not to bring in the barbarous Macedonians, and Illyrians, to Peloponnelis: promiting that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would hee give him double the same pension, which hee had beene wont to receiue of King Ptolemie. As for the Castle of Corinth, which was the gate of Peleponnesus, and without which none could hold affured soueraigntie of the Countrie; he desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be iountly kept by the Lacedamonians and Achaens. All this entreatic ferued to no purpofe. For Aratus, rejecting veterly the motion, fent his owne fonne as an Hoftage to Antigonus; and laboured with the Acheans, to put Acrocorinthus into his handes. Which when Cleomenes vnderflood. he feifed upon the goods of Aratus in Corinth, and wasted all the Countrie of Sieron.

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whereof this his Aduersarie was natiue, Antigonus in the meane time drew neare to the Isthmus; having passed with his Armie through Euba, because the Atolians held the freights of Thermopyle against him. This they did, either in fauour of Cleomenes, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the Macedonians might attaine by the good succeffe of this journic. At his comming thither he found the Lacedemonians readie to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to wearie him thence with hunger, against which he came not well prouided. Antigonus therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able fo to doe: hee fecretly got into the Corinthian Hauen; but was 50 violently drinen out againe, with great loffe of men; finally he resolued to turne afide, and fecke a paffage ouer the gulfe of Corinth, to Sieyon, or some other part of Achaia; but this required much time; and great preparation, which was not easily

In this perplexitic newes from Argos came by Sea, that greatly comforted Anti-

gonus, and no lede troubled his Enemies. The Acheans were gotten into that Cities and the Garrison which Cleamenes had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadell, yet was hardly diftieffed, and flood in neede of present helpe. Areas had alwaies beene enemie to Sparta, and well affected to the Kings of Macedon When Cleamenes tooke it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreatie of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperitie. They were glad indeede of Cleamenes his victories, both in Argos and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditours, as he had lately done in Sparta. But that which Cleomenes had done in Sparta, was agreeable to the Spartan institution: in other places, where it would to haue beene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, fuch as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, beganne to turne good Common-wealths-men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the Achaans; affailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to for sake the defence of Corinth, and looke vnto the enemies that were behinde his back. For when he vnderstood. by continual mellages, that his men which held the Citadell at Argos, were almost loil : hee beganne to feare, left his labour in guarding the entrie should grow friuolous; the Acheans in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore hee for fooke his cultodic of the Ishmue, and made all hafte towards Argos: which if hee 20 could faue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to Argos; that both Argines and Acheans were glad to house themselves, leauing him Matter of the streets : when the horse-men of antigonus were discouered a-farre off, hasting to relieue the Citizens; and Antigonus himselfe (to whom Corinth was yeelded, as soone as the Spartan had turned his back) following apace with the bodie of his Armic. Cleomenes therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safe retrait. This he did; and got him home into Laconia: loosing in short space all, or most, of that which he had beene long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himselfe at Argos, and commended the Citizens, went into Arcadia; where he wanne such Castles as were held for Cleomenes, and restored 30 them to the old Poffesfors. This done, he tooke his way to Agium, where was held a Parliament by the scheans: to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and Spake braue wordes, that filled them with hope. The Acheans were not behinde withhim; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates: and further entred into couenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somwhat longer, dratus was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart : carrying him to Sicyon, his owne Towne (for Winter was comeon) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as facrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of Aratus and his Si- 40 cyonians, was followed by the rest of Achaia: which had made (for footh) a very wife bargaine, if in stead of Cleamenes that would have beene a King, it had obtayined the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherewith to pay his Macedonians, imposed the burthen upon the Acheans. This was hardly taken : yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was Aratus himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those T yrants, which he had throwne downe in Argos, were againe creeted by Antigonus; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken Acrocorinthus with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreatic. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuerthelesse in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, Aratus did satisfie his owne passion by the aide of these Masedonians. For with extreme torments he did put Arislomachus to death, who had beene once Tyrant of Augos; afterwards Generall of the Acheans; and from them renolting vnto Cleomenes, did fall at length into their hands. In like fort

handled hee (though not as yet) the Martineans, for their ingratitude and crueltie flewed to the Achaens. For he flue all the principall Citizens, and fold the refl, men, women, and children, all for bond-flaues: diuding the fooile; two parts to the Macedonians, and the third to the Achaens. The Towne it felfe was given by Antigens to the Argiues: who peopled it with a Colonie of their owne; and Aratus having charge of this businesse, caused it to be enew-named Antigonia. Surely of this crueltie there can bee no better excuse; than even the flatteric, which Aratus was driven to vet to Antigonia; foras fluent as it was a token of feruilitie; whereinto they had viged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus require, to But leaving to speake of this change, which the comming in of the Macedonian wrought, in the Ciuill flate of the Achaens; Let vs returne vnto his ware against

The next Sommer Antigonus wanne Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, Herea, and Tel-phulfa. Mantinea he dispeopled, as was faid before; in Orchomenus he placed a Garison of his Macedonians; the rest he restlored to the Achaens: with whom he wintred at Agium, where they held a Parliament. Once only Cleomens had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of Lappaia, where hee lay readicto defend his owne Territorie. The reading why he shirted po further, apor followed Antigonus to Mantinea, and to those other Townes that hee wanne, was this: Hee had see Soul-

and diers, and not monic enough to wage more. Ptolemie the Ægyptian promifed much, but would performe nothing, whelfe he might have Clearmens his owne Mother, and his children in pledge. The were fent into Ægypt 3 yet the aide came not. For Ptolemie was flow; as dealing in the bufinefle of Greece, rather for his mindes fake, than upon any apprehension of necessities. Clearmens therefore prouided for him-felfe, as well as his owne abilitie would ferrue. He manumised all the theisters, which were the Lacedemoins flaues: taking monic for their libertic, and arming two thousand of them, after the Macedonian fashion. Hauing thus increased his forces, hee ame on the fudden to Megalopsis; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfein more dangerous times, and hauing now Antigonus neare at hand in Ægium. The

Towne he wanne: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare armes, role haftily againft him, and though they could not driue him out, yet faued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their efcape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would bee of his partie. But they brauchy refunded his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to Spurts a great bootie that he found therein. These newes assonished the Acheans at Esiam: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. Antigonus sent hastily for his Mescalinism, out of their wintering places; but they were so long in comming, that Cleamens was fafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfeto Argos, there to passe the rest of this valueke winter, somewhat so further from the eyes of the grieued Acheans. When he had laine awhile at Argos, further from the eyes of the grieued Acheans.

there from the eyes of the grieued Achaeus. When he had laine awhile at Argas, Cleomers was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than Amigonus had then about him. The Argiust perceiving that their Countrie would be fpoiled, if Antigonus did not iffue into the field; were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wifer, than to be moved with their clamours; and fuffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resigne his Office of Protector, victo some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with solids wordes; rather than hee would be ouer-come in fight, and thereby loose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this Cleomens had his delire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither sollowers, nor other strength, who

Afterwards, when the leason was more fit for warre, Antigonus gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite these brauado's of his enemie, with the conquest of Sparta. Cleamenes on the other fide, laboured to keepe the warre from his ownegates; and therefore entred vpon the Countrie of Argos, where he made, fisch 4.10

Cleomenes

Cleomenes fled vnto Sparta: where hee had no defire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of fixe thousand Spartans that hee had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves vnto Antigonus; and promising to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-fide (where he had shipping long before prouided, against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for Egypt. He was louingly entertayned by Ptoleme Euergetes; who undertooke to reftore him to his Kingdome; and (perhaps) meant no leffe, as being much delighted with his gallant behaujour and qualities. In the meane feafon hee had a pension allowed him, of foure and twentie talents, yearely. But this Ptolemie died; and his sonne Ptolemie Philopater succeeded him; a vicious yong Prince. wholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore Cleamenes was delirons to returne into Greece, whither the troubles in Peloponnelus did feeme to inuite him : Ptolemie, and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to difmiffe him (as he defired) to trie his owne friends in Greese, because hee was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of Egypt : nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was; that with thirtie of his Countrinien, bee undertooke 20 a desperate enterprize; breaking out of the prison, and proupking the Alexandrians to rebell, and seeke their libertie. In which attempt hee slue some enemies of his that he met; and having walked vp and downe the fireets, without reliffance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very frange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) He, and his Companions, agreed together to bee Ministers of their owne death. Vpon his dead bodie Ptolomie was bold to shew his indignation; and flue his Mother and Children, that had beene fent thither as Hostages, together with the wines of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending youn the old Queene. Such was the end of Cleomenes; a generous Prince, but Sonne of Leonidas, who had caused Aeis, with his Mother and Grand mother, to 20 come to fuch a bloudie end, as now befell his owne Wife, Sonne, and Grandchildren.

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After the Victorie at Sellssia, Antigonis without resistance entred Sparts: whereinto neuer the force of any Enemie, before him, could make way. Hee kindly entreated the Citzens, and lest them to their owne Lawes and Gouernement: tarrying there no longer, than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of Peloponnes (in, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedie departure was, an advertisement that he received out of Mueedans; how the slbstrass cuer-ranne, and destroied the Countrie. Had these news come a little sooner; or had Cleomens either deserved the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wise tarried, a few dayes after the fight, in Sparts: the Kingdome of Lackstones would have stood, and perhaps have extended it selse over all Greece. But God had otherwise de-

Antigenus fought a great battaile with the Ilbyrians, and ouer-came them. Yet therein hec caught his bane not by any wound, but by ouer-frayning his voice; wherewith he brake a vieinethat bled inwardly, and in flort fpace finithed his life; who was troubled before with a confumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto Philip, the some of Demetrius, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that Antichoka, surnamed (1 know not why) the Great; and Fiolemic. Philopater; beganne to raigne in Assa. and Antichoka, 50 though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuenteene yeares of his raigne. The vnripe age of Philip and Antichoka, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is visual in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted with the Remans; yoon Mann mm 2

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which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

### d. VII.

How the Illyrians infelled the coast of Greece; and how they were fubdued by the Romans.



Hilest thinges thus passed in Greece; and whilest the Carthaginians were to bufic in their conquest of Spaine: the Romans had found themselues worke among the Sardinians and Corficans, that were eafily subdued at first, and easily vanquished againe, when they rebelled. They made alfo warre with the Illyrians, wherein they got much honour with lit-

tle paine. With the Gaules they had much adoc, that lasted not long; being rather, as Linie faith, a tumult than a warre. So that by all these light exercises, their valour was hardly kept from ruft. How they got the Ilands in the Mediterran Sea; it hath beene showed before; of their dealings with the Illyrians and Gaules, it is not meet to

The Illyrians inhabited the Countrie, now called Slauonia: a troublesome Nation, 20 impatient of rest, and continually making warre for gaine, without other regard of friend or foc. They were inuited by Demetrim King of Maceden, to helpe the Mydionians, his friends, that were belieged by the Etolians, for that they refused to be of their focietie. Before the Illyrian fuccours came, the Mydionians were fo farre front. that the Atolians contended about the bootie: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honor of the victorie, and the diuision of the spoile to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the fiege to an end, and wonne the Towne : others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie firife, and somewhat like to that of the French in later 20 ages, who thought vpon dividing the prey, before they had wonne the victories. which anon they loft, at Poitiers and at Agincourt. The Atolians wifely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, should bee iountly intitled in the victorie, and have equall authoritie, in distribution of the gettings. But the Illyrians finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the Ætolians; and though good relistance was made, yet got the victoric, partly by force of their owne multitude, partly by helpe of the Mydionians, that were not idle in their owne businesse, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the Etolians were flaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was loft : the Illy- AQ rians tooke the spoile, and went their way; the Mydionians erected a Trophie, infcribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the Atolians had directed them by example.

The fuccesse of this voiage, highly pleased Agron King of the Illgrians: not only in regard of the monie, wherewith Demetrius had hired his affiliance; or of the bootie that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the Greekes, hee found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For joy of this, he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a Pleurisse, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto Tenta, his wife.

Tenta gaue her people free libertie, to robbe all Nations at Sea, making no difference betweene friend and foe; as if thee had beene fole Mistresse of the falt Waters. Shee armed a fleet, and fent it into Greece: willing her Captaines, to make

Warre where they found aduantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of Peloponnesus; where they invaded the Eleans, and Messenians. Afterwards they returned along by Epirus, and flaied at the Citie of Phanice, to take in victualles and other necessaries. There lay in Phanice eight hundred Gaules; that having beene Mercinaries of the Carthaginians, went about to betray, first Agricentum, then Erry, to the Romans; but failing to doe either, they nevertheleffe revolted. and were for their misdeedes disarmed, and sent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained by these Epirots, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Towne. The Gaules were foone growne acquainted with the Illyrians, to whom they betraied Phanice 1 which deferued none other, in trufting them. All Epirus was presently in armes and hastned to drive out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the Epirots lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another Illyrian Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one Seerdilaidas; whom Queene Teuta had fent to helpe his fellowes. Vpon this advertisement, a part of them is fent away towards Antigonia, to make good that Towne, and the streights adjoyning, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrie; another part of them remaines at Phanice, to continue the fiege. Neither the one, nor the other, feed well in their businesse. For Scerdilar las found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were befreged within Phaniee, fallied out of the towns, and gaue fuch an ouerthrow 20 to the Epirots, as made them despaire of fauing their Countrie, without great and speedie helpe from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the Acheans and Atolians: crauing their helpe, with very pittifull termes of entreatie. They obtayned their fuit; neither was it long, before an Armie, fent by these two Nations. was readie in Epirus, to present battaile vnto Scerdilardas. But Scerdilardas was called home, by letters from Testa the Queene, that fignified a rebellion of fome Illyrians against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered compolition; which was accepted. The agreement was, That the Epirots might ranfome their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the Illyrians should quietly depart, with all their bootie and slaves. Having made this profitable 20 and honourable bargaine; the Illyrians returned into their owne Countrie by Land,

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fending their bootic away by Sea. Attheir comming home, they found no fuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voiage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many Italian Marchants, whileft they lay at Phanice; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the Roman Senate, were fo frequent, that Embassadours were fent to require of Testa, that shee should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that flee had, in fhort space, tamed her Rebells, and brought all to good order, faue only the towne of Iffa, which 40 her forces held streightly belieged. Swelling with this prosperitie, shee could hardly affoord a good looke to the virmannerly Romans; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, Pyracie, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, shee youchsafed to tell them, That injurie in publike shee would doc them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get commoditie, how they best could, by Sea. But (said the yonger of the two Embassadours) we Romans have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publike, of those private wrongs, that are borne out by publike authoritie: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your Kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the 70 Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, shee caused him to be slaine: as if that had beene the way, to set her heart at reft; which was indeede the meane, to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The Romans, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Mmmmm 2

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led by A. Posthumius. They trouble not themselves any more, with requiring faristaction: for this injurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall warre. It is indeede contrarie to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to bee this; that since without mediation. there would never be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally receiued by all Nations, as a leffon taught by Nature, that Embaffadours should paffe freely, and in fatetie, betweene enemies. Neuertheleffe, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold vpon Embassashould draw into the quarrell; then is it as lawfull, to vie violence to those Embalfadours (thus implosed, to make the warre more terrible) as it is to kill the men of warre, and subjects, of an enemie. And so might the Athenians have answered it, when they flue the Lacedemonian Embassadours, that were sent to Xerxes, to draw him into a warre upon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadours, which practife against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law what focuer. For whereas the true Office of an Embaffadour reliding, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practife against the life of another, much leffe may an Embaffadour doe it, without incurring justly the no priviledge at all. But we will leave this dispute to the Civilians; and goe on with the reuenge, taken by the Romans, for the flaughter of their Embaffadour Co-

The Illyrian Queene was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to stirre against her. Shee was indeede in an errour; that hath vidone many of all forts, greater and leffe than flee, both before and fince: Having more regard onto fame, than onto the substance of things. The Greekes were at that time more famous than the Romans; the Ætolians and Epirots had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had shee casily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the Romans shee should be litle troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Armie, which wrought 20 fuch wonders in Greece, was not much greater, than often thousand men; and that neuertheleffe, it preuailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; thee would have continued to vie her advantage, against those that were of more fame than ftrength, with fuch good caution, that flee should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mightie than her felfe. But fine was a woman, and did what fine lifted. Shee fent forth a greater fleet than before, under Demetrius of Pharos; with the like ample commission, to take all that could bee gotten. This fleet divided it selfe; and one part of it fell with 2 Dyrrachium; the other, with Corcyra, Dyrrachium was almost surprized by the Illyrians; vet was it refeued by the flout Citizens. In b Coreyra the Illyrians landed; 40 wasted the Isle; and belieged the Towne. Hereupon the Etolians and Acheans were called in to helpe; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; loofing, befides others of leffe note, Marcus Carynenfis, the first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus fucceeded. The Towne of Coreyra, difmaied with this overthrow, opened the gates vnto Demetrius Pharius; who tooke possession of it, with an Illyrian Garrison; sending the rest of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the meane season, Teuta was angrie with her Captaine Demetrius: I know not why: but fo, as he refolged to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The Romans were even readie to put to Sea, though vncertaine which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fuluius the Confull, of Demetrius his 50 feare and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to adnance the bulinesse in hand. Wherefore the Consull failed thither; where hee found the Towne of Coreyra fo well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the Roman protection.

Sea, confifting of two hundred faile, commanded by C. Fuluius; the other by Land, dours fent by their enemies, not vnto themselves, but vnto some third, whom they to fame danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him 20 CHAP.2. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

After this good beginning, the Confull failed alongst the coast, to apollonia; ac- c Apollonia. 2 companied with Demetrius, whom he vied thenceforth as his counfailer and guide. Citie neare To Apollonia came also Posthumus, the other Consull, with the Land-Armic, numbred at twentiethousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had befieged; but vpon newes of the Roman Pintus calls to Armie, they disperse themselves. From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by Sea, take twentic of their ships; and enforce the Queene Tenta to forsake the coast, and to couer her selse in Rison, farre within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leave the best places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; an other part flaies behinde, and profecutes the warre, in fuch fort, that Tenta was forced to begge peace: which shee obtained upon miscrable conditions; to wit, That shee should quit the better part of Illyria and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, neuer fend any of her ships of warre, towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Iland of Lisa: except it were some one or two vessells, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this Illyrian warre, the Romans sent Embassadours into divers parts of Greece, fignifying their loue to the Countrie, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made warre with good fuccesse you Testa, and her people. They hoped be-like, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: 20 which if it hapned, they were wife enough to play their ownegames. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thankes; and a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the Ifthmian passimes. This was an idle courtese, but well meant by the vaine Greekes, and therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrian Expedition got nothing in Greece, faue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

# o. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the comming of HANNIBAL into Italie.



He Gaules that dwelt in Lumbar die, were the next, against whom the Romans tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome; fometimes with their owneforces, and sometimes with the affishance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke Rome, and burnt it: though the iffue of

that warre proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit vnto Roman Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they received; and if they got any victoric, it yeelded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeed emore fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred up to warre, and lightly giving ouer. At the first brunt, they were faid to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwaies carefull he de to their approch, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was fudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts woon Rome, were called warres, but tumultus Gallici; tumults of the Gaules; and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to Italie, and vsed to rise with great Armies but 50 after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occa-fion served to dispert them. Having receive, an overthrow; they would rest ten, or twelve yeares, sometimes twentie or third: till they were stirred vp againe, by yonger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whileft they refled; the flate of Rome, that against these made only defensive warre, had leisure to grow, by setting

à Dyrrachium, fometime called Evidamnus. and now Duruzzo, feated voo the Adriatick Sea , betweene the Hands of Phares and Corcyra. b Corcyra, an Hand of the Adriatick Sea, nor farre from Duraggo; called now Corfu, and in the polfelsion of the

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vpon others. He ein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which hee intended to raife : that the Gaules neuer fell vpon Italie, with a mightie power, in the time of any other great and dangerous warre. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest Pyrrhus was travailing in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former Punick warres: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the Ganles had no better intelligence in the affaires of Italie, than strangers had in Gaule. At least, they knew not how to vie their times : and were therefore like to fmart, when soeuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their owne home ; which was now after the first Punick Warre. Once before this, the Romans had beene bold, to set 10 vpon the Gaules in their owne Countrie : and that was three yeares before the comming of Pyrrhus into Italie. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gaules invading Hetruria, and besieging Arretium, had wonne a great battaile, and flaine L. Cacilius with the most of his Armie. Manius Curius the new Confull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassadours they flue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it so well, that they expelled these Senones out of their Countrie, and sent a Colonic of their owne to inhabit it. This caused the Boi, another people of Gaule, to scare the like meafure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the Hetrurians to their fide. But the Romans ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them fue for peace, 20 which lasted untill this end of the Illyrian warre.

It vexed the Gaules, to fee a Roman Colonie planted in their Countrie; who had been eaccustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours pertheie Bon were force. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpines ( fo the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alpes, though to vs they are nearer; like as they called Cifalpines, or by-hither the Alpes, those who dwelt betweene them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their partie: reasonably presuming, that as their distunction had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the Cifalpines and Transalpines, fell together by the eares: putting the Romans only to a tumult, without fur- 30 ther trouble of warre: Soone after, they were viged by a greater indignitie, to goe more substantially to worke. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in Rome, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colonie alreadie planted in the territorie of the Senones, as many more should be caried thither, as would ferue to people the whole Countrie betweene Ancona and Ariminum: exterminating vtterly those Gaules. Such an offer, were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or Guiana it selfe, would not ouer-joy the Multitude. But the Commo-

naltie of Rome tooke this in so good part, not with standing all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the Boij: who being Neighbours 40 to Ariminum, seared the like displantation. And because all the rest of the Gaules had reason to resolue, that themselves also should bee rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Insubrians, which inhabited the Duchie of Milan, joyned with the Boil , and vpon a common purse entertained the Gessates, Nations about Rhodanus, wagcable as the Switzers in these times. The Gessates having received a great Imprest, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings, Concelitanus and Aneroeflus: who with the Boij and Insubrians, compound an Armic of fiftie thousand foot, and twentie thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer inuaded the Roman Territoric; to whom, the Seno-ealli, that had beene beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrarie side, the Venetians, and the f Cenomanni, adhes, dto the Romans: as better beleeuing in their prosperitieand riling fortune. For feare of whose incursions therefore, the Gaules were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of Milan: With the rest of their forces they entred into Tuscane. The Romans hearing of this danger,

f cenomanni. are the people about Bergamo, on the Northfide of the River Po in Italie. There were also of thefe Cenomanwi in France, and inhabited the Countie

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fend Amilius to Rimine, to stop their paffage; and in the place of C. Atilius their other Confull, who then was in Sardinia, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the detence of Tufcane.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the confideration of this powerfull 'Armie, which the Gaules had affembled, they caused a view to bee taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themfelues, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not bee preuented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded : because they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the warre foure Legions of their owne : euery Legion consisting of flue thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. There were also appointed for Supplies (if any misaduenture came to these) of the Sabines and Hetrurians fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; which Armie was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria. Of the Vmbri and Sarsinates, which inhabited the Apenines, there were twentie thousand; and of the Venetians and Cenomans, other twentie thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the Boi, that forcing them to defend their owne Territories, the generall Armie of the Gaules should be thereby greatly dimi-20 nished. There were besides these, to bee readic against all vincertaine chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fifteene hundred horse, garrisond in Rome it selle, of their owne people; and of their Allies, thirtie thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Ouer and about these great troupes; in the Roll of the Latines, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thousand foot, and fine thousand horse; in that of the Samnites, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand; in that of the B lapyges, and Mellapyges, fiftie thousand foot, and sixteene thousand horse; the Lucays sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the h Marsi, i Marrucini, k Ferentani, and the Vestimi, of twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The Romans had also two Legions in Sicil, and about Tarentum, 20 contayning eight thousand sourch undred foot, and sourch undred horse. So as of the Romans and Campans jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fiftie thousand foot; and of horse, three and twentie thou fand : of which, reckoning the Romans apart, there were an hundred and fiftie thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Casting vp the whole forces of all the Provinces in Italie, both of the Romans and their Confederates, it amounted to feuen hundred thousand foot, and seuentic thousand horse. But the number is fomewhat miffe-cast by Polybius; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead paies: for where he reckons nine hundred horfe too many, he falls short nine thoufand two hundred of the foot.

How great focuer this Muster was, it seemes to have beene like vnto that, which Lodowick Sforza made, when Lowes the twelfth invaded Milan: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, hectooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth Ferentines, fault part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of Trebia, Trasimene, Leander. and Canne, did not confume any fuch proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the Romans faine to arme their flaues, even for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrowat Canne. Wherefore the maruaile is not great, that the Carthaginians and others were little terrified, with report of fuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for helmets: though the Roman Citizens were, in generall,

50 as good fighting men, as elfewhere might be found. Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the Gaules keepe on their way: and entring into Tulcane, destroy, and put to fire and fword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards Rome; hoping to finde the Romens, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the

g Lattrees and one Nation: who are alto times, Pencecias Apulians, and Calabrians, The Countrie is containing the Northermoft head-land of Calabria h Apcople of of Naples. Ptelomie cals them a people k A people of

Roman Armic, fent into Tuscane, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had miffed of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their journie. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head : and in the same euening discourred the Roman Armie, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessitie, that fight they must Wherefore they helped themselues with a stratageme: that shewed no great fineneffe of wit, but fuch, as well befeemed those that had none other occupation than warre; and flood them in good flead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speede, as might 10 rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide buttaile. The Romans, interpreting this their haltic departure, as the Gaules defired they should, follow them in disorder. The Gaules returne; charge them; and kill fixe thousand upon the place; the rest take a peece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselues, till L. Emilius, being at Ariminum, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Confull, the Gaules confult, whether they should give the Romans battaile, or forbeare. In which dispute, Anerocstus, one of their Kings, persuades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, pefter, or other impediment. This aduice they all 20 embrace; for feeing they that were Mercinaries, had obtained what they came for. to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisedome, to bazzard neither it, nor themfelues, any further.

This indeede had beenea good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemie had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an enemies Armie. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemie, they finde within a few miles, either flreight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In fuchcases, the Souldier knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which for sakes 30 the field, perceives, and feares, some advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betraier of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possess the heart of man, it caffeth thence both courage and vinderstanding. They that make the retrait, are alwaies in feare to be abandoned; they that leade the way, feare to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heeles that is foremost, and consequently, all difband, runne, and perifh, if those that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men ofgreatcourage. The miserable overthrow, that the French received in 2/4ples, in the yeare 1503. vpon a retrait made by the Marques of Sal, doth testifie no leffe. For although a great troupe of French horse, sustayned the pursuing enemie a long time, and gaue the foot leifure to trotaway; yet being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot ouer-tooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the warres between the Imperials, and the French; Boist and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a brauerie would needes fee the enemie, before they left the field. So was Stroß? ouerthrowne, by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the Marques his arrivall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first, wifely : when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landerfey, by night; as many other, the most adulfed Captaines, (not finding themselues in case to give battaile) have done. Je ne trouve point (sath the Marshall Moneve) au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'one retrait; I sinde nothing in the arte of warre fo difficult, as to make a safe retrait. A sure Rule it is, that there 50 is leffe dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof Mr. dela Noue giues this judgement, of a daies retrait, made in France, presently beforethe battaile of Moncountour. For (faith he) flaying vpon our reputation, in Thew not to diflodge by night; we lost our reputation indeede, by diflodging by day:

whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our roine. And yet did that worthic Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Naffau*, brother to the late famous *Princed Orange*, make the rettait at *Monotonition*, with fo great refolution, as hee faued the one halfe of the *Protestant* Armie, then broken and disanded, of which my felle was an eye, witherse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gaules, embracing the fafe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turne their backs to the enemie, and their faces homeward. \*\*Jemilius followes them, as neare as he can, without ingaging himfelfe attending his adunatage. In the meane while, C. \*\*Jetilius the other Confull, with the Legions of Sardinia\*, lands at Pifa; so as the Gaules, inclosed between etwo Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally firengthen their Reare, and Front, T. fo fulfatine \*\*Jetilius\* the very appoint the Gallestein, and the Salamois is in the Front, they range the Piemontois and the rest of the Gaulestein thabiting upon the Ruier of Po. The manner of the fight Polybius describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the Gaulesteil, and so did Attilus the Confull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gaules (S. \*\*Concolitanus\* and \*\*Aneroestus\*), with fortic thousand of their Validias.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the Gaules Toft courage; and, ere long, all that they held in Italie. For they were inuaded the yeare following this ouerthrow, by the 20 new Confulls, Fuluius, and Manlius. The Romans knew well how to vie their victorie: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time, to the Gaules, to repaire their forces, as the Gaules had done to them. These new Confulls beat the Boij ; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that raigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeare, Furius, and Flaminius, inuade the Milanois; and prevaile very farre, being strongly assisted by the Conomanni and the Venetians. Neuertheleffe these Consulls were reuoked out of their Province, by the Senate of Rome, and compelled to refigue their Office: because the Augures, or South fayers, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all forts of their divination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not 30 only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. C. Flaminius, receiving letters of this revocation, from the Senate, and being otherwiseaduertised of the contents, was not hastie to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Countrie; then pervsed the letters; and returning home obtavned a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that hee fided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that Flaminius, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrie of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesshe of Rome is the wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vsc their power, ouer himselfs, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surers side and found imitatours, that rose by the same arte, which in processe of time, grew the only or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminiss and his Colleague, being depoted; Aclaudius Marcellus, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio, were chosen Confulls, for the rest of that yeare. The Gaules about this time delired peace, and were like to have obtayned it: though the new Confulls yo were against it, as fearing to want worke. But when thirtie thousand of the Gessate following their King Britomarus, were come over the Alpes, and joyned with the Insulance and the Confulls has a lother discourse, there they betigged Averre, at owne not faire from You use to Garden the Alpes, and when the Fronius Country (so faire had the Romans pierced alreadie) in the Duchie of Assistant. To divert

them from this fiege, Britemarus late downe before Classicium, a Towne in the same Track, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the Insubriums, to attend vpon the Confulls at Aerrs, and to look to the defence of Assian. But this would not suffice, to make the Roman breake vp their slege. Date classic, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at Classiciums. Britemarus heard of the Confulls comming; and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to rest themselves after their journie, but were compelled instantly to sight: Herein Ritionswin had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a rash braverie, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foor: but hee thought so well to of his owner personal valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, proucking any one to fight with him. Asserblium was no lest daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and distanced Britemarus, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were 6 dismaid, that without much trouble of fight, the Romans obtained a great victorie.

This was the third and last time, that cuer any Roman Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victorie, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only Romulus, Cossins, and this Abareellus, had the honour; I daresay, that the two Seipios, and diuers other Roman Captaines, especially Cossin, 20 were better men of warre than any of these three; though they neuer offered up to I vp 17 ER, Opima spokes, The Armonn of a Generall, slaine by themsclues, when they were Generalls, not perhaps affected to to doe.

After this victorie, Acerra was yeeleded to the Romans; and Milan foone after: with all that belonged to the Cifalpines, or Gaules, that dwelt in Lumbardie. Thus was that valiant and mightie Nation, that had for fo many yeares weed the State of Rome, and in former times taken the Citiet felfe, brought to nothing in a fhort time; their pleafant and fertile Territorie polfeth by the Romans; and the remainder of thiefi Nation, inhabiting Italie, to many as would not fubject their necks to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselines in 30 the cold and barren Mountaines, like Out-lawes and Thecues. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeares, following the peace made with Cartage. In part of which time, they were at fuch leifure, that they closed with Cartage. In part of which time, they were at fuch leifure, that they closed with Cartage. In part of which they neuer did before, (it standing alwaics open, when they had any warre) sauce once, in the raigne of Namas; nor in long time after, untill the

raigne of Augustus. But this their prefent happinesse was not to last long:
a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer beene,
was to come vnto their gates; which being well ended,
they might boldly vndertake, to extend their
Monarchie as farre, as their ambition
could reach.

CHAP.

5

# CHAP. III. Of the second Punick Warre.

ð. I.

10 The wirrs of HANNIBAL in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL beforgets and taketh Sagantum; whileft the Romans are buffed
with the Illyrians. Ware proclaimed betweene Rome
and Carthage.



A N N 1 B A L, the fonne of Amilear, was about fixe and twentie yeares old, when hee was chofen Generall of the Carthogianis forces in Spaine. Hee was cleded by the Armic, as foone as Afandal was dead: and thee-lection was ratified by the fate at Carthage; wherewith Hanns and his Complices were nothing pleafed. This was now the third of the Barchine familie (fo called of Amilear, whofe furnam was Barcas) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have been leffe enuicd, by thefe domesticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends

of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This generall goodwill, as it was first purchased by the most worthie deserts of Amilear, in saving his Countrie from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it 20 with treasures, and great reuenewes; so was it retained by the same good artes . among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partifans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe the like feruices ynto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous advice, of not propoking the Romans. This they scaloned otherwhiles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the libertic of the Citic. But their malicious wordes were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens, (very few excepted) no leffe Barchine, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the ar-An ticles of peace, affoorded no fecuritie to Carthage; were fine neuer fo quiet, and officions: vnleffe face would yeeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the Romans could finde some good advantage, to renew the Warre : it was rather defired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the warre should beginne; than that in some vnhappie time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, vpon termes of disaduantage.

This disposition of his Countrimen, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he 50 ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time decinical of this businesses that in making warre with the Remans, it was no small advantage to get the flart of them. If once he could bring an Armicinto Italia, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should sind friends and assistants, euen of those people, that helped to increase the Reman atmics in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effe.

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cted, if the matter were openly diffouted at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthagemin, how glad foeuer they would bee, to heare that he had fet the warre on foote, would neuertheleffe be flow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprifes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if thould happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpole, but with fuely particulars as mult be difficult of the world of, in procuring allowance to his deffigne. This might fuffice to diforder the whole Proied. Wherefore, he refolued to lay fiege vnto Saguntum; which might forme not greatly to concret the Romans; and would highly pleafe the Carthageminans, that had fresh in mind the indignitie, of that Spanish Townes alliance with their to false friends. So should hee assaic both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition on 6 his owne. Citizens.

Having this concluded, he neuertheleffe went faire and orderly to worke; and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approched vino Saguntum by degrees. This he did (faith Luie) to going fome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre, againft Saguntum, but had beene drawne thither by courfe of business. Ye reason reachest plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needefull to finish the Conquet to the rest, before he did any thing that should proboke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpoints Territorie of the \*Oleastes; and having belieged Althas (Linic callets) the Carteas) their chiefe cities became, in a sew dayes, Malter not only thereof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first vndertooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand; he rested his Armie in Now Carthage, or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conjuest.

In the Spring following, he purfued the warre against the a Vaccet : and without any areat difficultie, wanne first Salmantica, now called Salamanca; and after it, b Arbueala, by affault: though not without a long fiege, and great difficultie. But in his returne, he was put to the heighth, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all fuch of the Vaccai, as were able to beare armes, being made delperate by the spoile of their Countrie, with those of Salamanea, and of the Oleades, that 20 had escaped in the late ouer-throw, joyning themselues with the Toletans; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men; and sayed Hannibal on the bankes of the River Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisbourne in Portugale. Tacfe foure Nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he neuer faw enemie, vpon whom hee durft not give charge; were throughly refouned, that his naturall valour would at this time no leffe neglect the cold aduice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But hee that makes himselfe a bodie of Crystall, that all men may looke through him, and discerneall the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (withall) an Asse; and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or 40 drive him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in all that is just and vertuous; yet they are like coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtile Carthaginian, when he served under Astrubal, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may beseeme a Captayne, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it bath fometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have beene found more fortunate, than wife. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diffemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the River side, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multi-tude, from their bankes of advantage. The Spaniards; apprehending this in such fort, as Hannibal defired that they should; thrust themselves in furie and disorder. into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrarie fide. But when Hapnibal

faw them in their way, and well-neare ouer; hee turned back his Elephants, to entertayne them at their landing; and thruft his Horfe-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. Thefe, carrying a kinde of Lance de 297, harpe at both ends, which they held in the middeft of the flaffe; had fuch an advantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their firokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or lhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they liew all thofe, (in a manner) without refiltance, which were alreadic entred into the water; and purfied the reft, that fled like men amazed, with 60 great a flaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that fide the Riuer of therm, (the Sagnationies excepted) that had the daring to life up their handes again the Carthaginians.

The Sagnatines, perceiting the danger towards them; cryed before they were

hurt. They fent Embaffadours to Rome, and bemoned themselves, as likely to fuffer that, which afterwards they fuffered indeede; only because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable Citie, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moued the Senate : but much more a report, that Saguntum was alreadic belieged. Hereupon some crie out, that Warre should bee proclaymed by Land and Sea; as alfothat the two Confuls should be fent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Africk ... But others went more Roman-like to worke; and carryed it. So it was only concluded; that Embaffadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of 20 their Confederates; which were indeede none other, than the Saguntines. For if Hannibal intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plaulible occasion to take armes against him; if hee had no such purpose; yet would it be in their power, to determine what they lifted themselues, voon the report of these Embassadours; and this their grauitie, in being not too rash at first, would scrue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embasfadours Linie reports, that they found Hannibal before Saguntum; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But Polybius, an Historian of finceritie leffe questionable, tels, that they found him at Carthagens and had conference with him , though fuch as 20 left them doubtfull. This is more agreable to the reft of Hannibal his whole course. And furely wee might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a

And furely wee might wonder, why the Carlinginian should afterwards admit a more peremptoric Embassage (as Linic confesses) and fall to disputation about the couenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was sent upon none other pretence, than preuention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, Hannibal prepared not only his forces, but some Roman pretences, against Sagantum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his helpe against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani; a Nation adjoyning to Saguntum, and having many quarrells with them: (as happens commonly 40 among Neighbours) of which, Hannibal himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, what soener it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first prouoked him, ere he medled with them ; he made no more adoc, but fate downe with his whole power before their Towne. Hee was now more fecure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertayned the Roman Embassadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeares they had beene wont. Neuerthelesse, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions; not only because the warre, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his sourfe, as an open enemie, before hee could fet foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrarie delire. They were glad 50 of the quarrell: as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hastic to threaten, before they were readie to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the seate of the Warre.

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In the meane while, Demetriss Pharius, whom the Romans had made King ouer a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them; either for that hee found himselfe ouerftreightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather because hee was of an unthankefull disposition. The commotion of the Gaules, and afterward. the fame of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perills, even with the hazard of his whole efface, which hee had received of their gift. But hee was a Traitor to his owne Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being fuch. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of Greece : against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further, and sei- 10 fed yoon fome places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had become fooner, or rather if he had flaied fomewhat longer, he might have fped better. For the bufineffe with the Gaules, was ended; with Hannibal, not throughly begun; when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemie, and was vanquished. The Roman Conful, Emilius, was fent against him: who in seucn daies wan the strong Towne of Dimalum; and thereby brought such terror vpon the Countrie round about, that Embaffadors were fent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Only the Citic of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, prepared to relift: which it might have done long, if the hot headed Rebell had not been too foolish. Amilius landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and be- 20 flowed them in couert; presenting himselfe the next morning, with twentie ships before the Towne, and offering to force the Hauen. Demetrius with all his power iffued out against the Consul; and was soone intercluded from the Towns, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths, to a creeke, where he had shipping readie for him, and embarqued himselfe : leaving all his estate vnto them, of whose liberalitie he first had it.

- This bulinesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of Saguntum: before which Hannibal fate downe, ere Emilius was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the fiege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the braue fallies made by the Saguntines; in one of which, their Generall received a dan- 20 gerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many daies vnable to moue. Neuertheleffe he was not vimindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raife certaine moueable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diners Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hor affault was given: but it was fo well fustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne. which upon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued even to their owne trenches and camp. Neuertheleffe the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an 40 hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so wearie the townesmen with continual travaile, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-workes of the Saguntines, that were also readie to be won. In this extremitie, there was one Alcon a Saguntine, that conveyed himselfe out of the Towne, to treat with Hannibal for some accord. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered, were so seuere, and without all compasse of honour, as Alcon durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For Hannibal demanded all that they had; gold, filuer, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the Citic it felfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promifing, that hee would affigne some other place for their habitation : not allowing them, to carricout with 50 them any other thing, wherewith to fulfaine themselues, than the clothes on their backs; or other armes to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better have submitted themselves vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and faued the honor of their wives and daughters)

daughters) than to hauerefled at the differction of the Conquerour, as foone after they did: by whom their wines and daughters were defloured before their faces; and all put to fword, that were aboue fourteeney eares of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and fell their blond at the dearefl rate, they flut themfelues by like molt wretched creatures, in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselues with all that they had: fo dying wreuenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, Hambulk tept, therewith to pay his Armie: the flaues, and other bootic, he diuded among his Souldiers; referuing some things of choice, wherewith to present his services are extended to the present of the pres

CHAP.2. S.I.

friends at Carthage, and to animate them vnto the Warre. These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans; who had good cause to because ie at their owne flownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadonrs againe to Carthage : demanding only, Whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that HANNIBAL had made warre upon Saguntum: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answere was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect. That this their second Embaffage, how focuer qualified with milde words, was indeede more in folent than 20 the former. For in that, they only required justice against Hannibal; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of Carthage, was vrged to pleade guiltie, or not quiltie. But (faid the Carthaginian speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in Spaine, in belieging Saguntum, have only followed his owne counfaile; or whether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the Romans ought to aske vs. That which is indeede worthy examination or dispute, is; Whether it were lawfull, or unlawfull, for HANNIBAL to doe as hee bath done. For it belongs to vs, to call our owne Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errours; to you, to challenge vs, if wee have done any thing contrarie to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with Luctatius the 30 Conful, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended : but the Saguntines were nor then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last apreement, betweene you and Afdrubal, wherein you will fay that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught vs, how to answere that particular. For what society ou found in the Treatie betweene vs and Luctatius, to your owne disaduantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promifing those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it bee lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Confuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the 40 fame libertie may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which Adrubal hath made for vs, without our commandement and confent.

This was an impertinent answere, and little better than a meere cauill. For Luctatius the Confull, in his Treatie of peace with the Carthaginians, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had beene therefore much better, to have dealt plainely; and to have alleaged. That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans. In robbing the Carthaginians of the sile of Sardinia, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjurie the state of Carthage, being now growneable, would revenge with open 50 warre. As for the Sagamines; it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into consederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatie of peace with Marubal. feeing that the Treatie with Marubal. all other business between Roman and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better than Roman injuries; as implying this commination, Dec.

what focuer wee require, elfe will wee make warre, without regard of our oath, which wee haue alreadie broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alleage, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polybins takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since Linie himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the fnirit of Amilear with delire of reuenge: we may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this injurie was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the warre, now towards, had long beene thought vpon, and like to be made with extraordinarie force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian to Senate moved the Roman Embaffadours, to deliver vnto them in plaine termes the purpoles of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them : as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within Theres; those were but their pretences. Wherupon Q. Fabrus gathering vo the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had beene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and Warre: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your felfe haue a fancie to offer vs. Marrie then (quoth Fabius) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the Affembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had refelued to make warre, it was meerely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have over been emaintayned by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to fustaine the warre. The ruftie fword, and the emptic purfe, doe alwaies pleade performance of concenants. There have beene few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a-T reatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage and commonly (feeing peace between ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best-aduised have rather begunne with the sword. than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois with the French in Naples; Hanrie the second, of France, with the Imperialls, when he wrote to Brifac, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the warre brake out; Don John, with the Netherlands; and Philip the second, of Spaine, with the English, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our thips and goods in his Ports.

But Hannibal, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditarie desire. that violently carried him against the Romans. His father Amilear, at what time he did sacrifice, being readie to take his journie into Spaine, had solemnely bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiese, as soone as he should be a man, and able. Hannibal was then about nine yeares old, when his father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make 40 this vow: fo that it was no meruaile, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this fort, as it were by Legacie, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings; with whom wee are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predeceffors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of England.

è. I I.,

HANNIBAL takes order for the defence of Spaine and Africk. His iournie into Italie .



Arre being thus proclaymed, Hannibal refolued, not to put up his fword, which hee had drawne against the Saguntines, vntill hee had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the fecond Punick Warre; fecond to none, that euer the Senate and People of Rome fustained. Hannibal wintred at Carthagena; where he li-

cenced his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother Afdrubal, for the gonernement of Spaine in his absence. Hee also tooke order, to fend a great many troupes of Spaniards into Africk, to equal the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that fo the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africh thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred flingers of the \* Baleares. Belides thele, he lelected foure thouland foot, all young men, \* Maintee do and of qualitic, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be garrifond Minutes.

20 in Carthage it felfe, not fo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ferue for holtages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Cirizens, and those that swayed most in their severall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. Hee also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and senen Gallies; whereof thirtie feuen were prefently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans, and other Nations strangers, he left with him about twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, besides one and twentie Elephants.

Having in this forttaken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk; he fent Difcouerers before him, to view the passages of the Pyrenean Mountaines, and of the Alpes He alfo fent Embaffadors to the Mountainers of the Prienes, and to the Gaules.

30 to obtaine a quiet paffage: that he might bring his Armic entire into Italie, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embaffadors, and Discouerers, being returned with good fatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past ouer the River of Iberia, with an Armie consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, hee now subdued : and appointed Hanno (not that old enemic of his house, who fate still at Carthage) to gouerne Spaine on the East fide of Iberus; to whom he left an Armie of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine, fome of his spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that o-40 thers might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that see-

med willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journie seemed the lesse winning cook gone. The cook teams to partly that the obtained enterties redious vitor those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With therest of his armic confishing now but of fiftie thou land foot, and nine thou fand horse, he past the Pyrenees and entred into Gaule. He found the Gaules that bordered yoon Spaine, readie in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrie : but wonne them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, hee came to the banke of Rhodanus; where dwelt, on each fide of the River, a people called Volce. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to

so keepe him from paffing ouer the water. But he was greatly affifted by fome of those Gaules, that inhabited on the West side of Bhodanus, to wit, by those of Vinaretz and Lionnois, For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrie of Daulphine; thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet fuch as remained, being defirous to free their Countrie of fo many ill guests,

were better pleased to have their Countrimen beaten, which had abandoned them. than to have their owne store of corne and cattaile wasted, by the long stay of so great an Armie, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the River; and lent him guides. When the veffells for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he fent Hanno, the sonne of Bomilear, vp the River : himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foorde below. The end of this labour was: that Hanno charging the Ganles vnawares vpon their owne side, and Hannibal, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with fome difficultie; and the enemies difperfed. Yet was hee greatly troubled in con- 10 ueying ouer his Elephants; who meruailously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and turfe; whereof hee fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another, of the fame fort, but loofe, vpon which the beafts were towed ouer.

Having past this first brunt, and over-come both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cifalpines, that inhabited Piemont and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. Thefeinformed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which not withflanding; hee found himfelfe extremely incumbred by 20 the Savoians: and loft, both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely affailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other fide. And whereas this iournic ouer the Mountaines cost him sifteene dayes trauaile, he was enery day, more or leffe, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall, extremely beaten with grieuous weather and fnow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he beganne, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now readie to receive them; with the affiftance and conduct of the Cifalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often inuaded the Roman Territorie; gaue them great comfort, and encouragement to goe on : having no- 30 thing elfc of difficultie remayning, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and refolution; namely the Roman Armies, and refiftance.

#### ð. III.

How the Romans in vaine (elicited the Spaniards and Gaules totake their part. The rebellion of the Cifalpine Gaules against the

He Countries of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had beene follicited before, by the fame Roman Embaffadours, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. Thefe.as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke Spaine in their way homeward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance,

as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volscians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open affembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answere. With what face (saith 50 he) can yee Romans perswade vs to valew your Alliance, or to preferre it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines, to be more wife, than so? For they, relying on your faith, and promised assistance, have beene veterly rooted out, and destroied by the Carthaginians; whom

they might elfe haue held their affured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of Spaine haue found them. Yee may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answere for the rest of our Countrimen ) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our handes: who are resoluted, neuer to make accompt of their protection, nor amitie. From the Volcians, the Embassadours tooke their way towards the Gaules; vsing their best arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the Carthagintans to passe into Italie, through their Territorie: and withall greatly glorifying themselues, their

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firength, and large Dominion. But the Gaules laught them to scorne, and had hard-10 ly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by refifting Hannibals passage into Italie, entertaine a warre which is not meant to be made against vs? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie. by force, which marcheth with a speedie pace from vs, towards our ancient enemics ? Haue the Romans deserved so well of vs, and the Carthaginians so ill, that wee should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning ? No, wee know it well, that the Romans haue alreadic forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answere the Embassadours returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were Confederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemic. Of this inclination, the Cifalpine Gaules gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italie, that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boij, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Plucentia, within their Territories. Relying therefore vpon the Carthaginian fuccour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given 30 to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes that they could not winne; for Hannibal shortly afterfailed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to Modena: where they belieged them. The fiege of Modena had continued some small time; when the Gaules, having little skill in affaulting Cities, waxed wearie, and seemed de-

firous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand vpon

the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hostages, in way of exchange. And

it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detayned. Manlius the 40 Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the belieged. But the Gaules, having laid a strong ambush in a wood loyning to the way, fel vpon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was vtterly ouerthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by fast running, a little village, but defencible, vpon the River of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. Atilius, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieue the belieged, with one Legion, and five thouland of the Roman affociates: which forces were taken out of the Confuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie

As the Gaules were too rash and hastie: so were the Romans too slow, and indeede too ill-aduised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that 10 Carthage, which had almost scruilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be fo braue and couragious on the fudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italie it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Africk: refling secure of all danger at home. Titus Sempronius tooke his way toward Africk, with an hundred and threefcore Quinqueremes, or Gal-

lies, of fine to an Oare; which preparation may feeme to threaten even the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neare. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Conful. made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Provence; and vsed such diligence. having the winde also fauourable, as in fine dayes he recovered Massilia. There hee was advertised, of Hannibal his having passed the River of Rhodanus; whom hee thought to have found busic yet awhile in Spaine. Hannibal had also newes of the Confuls arrivall; whereof he was neither glad, nor forrie; as not meaning to have to doe with him. Each of them fent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings : Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were 10 beaten; yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, having flaine only two hundred. and loft of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when scipio drew neare, to have met with the Carthaginians; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as hee then found affuredly true) with an intent to looke vpon the walls of Rome. This interrupted his intended voiage into Spaine. Neuertheleffe hee fent away thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Armie, to trie what might bee done against Afdrubal, and the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sca to Pifa; and so passing through Tuscane into Lumbardie, drew together the broken troupes of Manlius and Milius, that lately had beene beaten by the 20 Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemie, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with travaile of his painefull journie.

# S. IIII.

Scipio the Roman Conful over-come by HANNIBAL at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Confuls beaten by HANNIBAL, in a great battaile at Trebia.



a Thefe dwelt

a goodly City,

vnto the Doke

of Savey:which

lla Taurinorum.

from them

tooke the name of Augu-

about Turine,

Iue moneths Hannibal had spent in his tedious journie from Carthage- 30 na; what great muster he could make, when hee had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twentie thousand; others report them to have been only twentie thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. Hannibal him-

felfe, in his Monument which he raifed, in the Temple of Juno Lacinia, agreeth with the latter fumme. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Armie, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the bankes of Rhodanus, he had with him eight and thirtie thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all sauethose remembred by himselfe in 40 the Inscription of his Altar in Juno's Temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaynes; which mischiefes had deuoured, each, their seuerall shares.

Having newly passed the Apes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Armiein the Countrie of Piemont; he fought to winne the friendship of the a Taurini, who lay next in his way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Infubrians, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amitie. Wherefore he affaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three dayes. Their spoile ferued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more adoe, fell vnto his fide: many for feare, many to for good-wil, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrie: which joyned, or was all in a readinesse to joyne, with the Carthaginians; when the newes of Scipio the Conful his arrivall, made some to be more aduifed, than the reft. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters : what

was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Conful was already gotten through the most defencible passages, ere any speech had beene heard of his approch : many fate still, for very feare, who else would faine haue concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater seare, offered their service against the Carthaginians, whom neverthelesse they wished well to fpeede.

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This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals halten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called Paula; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition: Hanni-10 bal thinking it strange, that the Conful, whom he had left behinde him on the other side of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before hee had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines; Scipio admiring the strange aduenture of paffing those Mountaynes, and the great spirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed, at Hannibals successe, and sudden arrivall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste vnto Sempronius, the other Consul, that was then in Sicilia, giving him to vnderstand hereof; and letting him further know, that whereas he had beene directed to make the warre in Africa; it was now their pleasure that hee should forbeare to profecute any fuchattempt, but that hee should returne the Armie vnder his charge, with all possible speede, to saue Italie it selfe. According to this order, Sem-20 pronius sent off his Fleet from Lilybeum; with direction to land the Armie at Arminum, a Port Towne not farre from Rauenna: quite another way from Carchage, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, Scipio and Hannibal were come so neare, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had : vnto which Hannibal added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed vpon certaine prisoners of the Savoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italie. For these, having beene no lesse miserably settered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their delire, than to be delinered from their miseries by any kinde of present 20 death; were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were flaine; with condition, being the Victor, to receive his libertie, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to vse in single combats. Euery one of these vnhappie men wished, that his owne lot might speede; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resoluedly : as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having 40, none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally for all these poore creatures were willing, vpon what soeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themselues out of slauerie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them; wrought also vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordayned. For they deemed happie, not only him, that by winning the victorie had gotten his libertie, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being slaine in fight had escaped that miferable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them; beganne to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect. That he had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more gricuous) to liue in a perpetuall slauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promife to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Ri-

uers, the great diflance from their owne Countries, and the purfuit of mercileffe Enemies, mult needes retrench all fuch impotent imaginations. He therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praifed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquilhed, would make it their ownecafe; feeing thiere was neuer any in the world, appointed with fuch a refolution, that had euer beene broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contraire, he tool them, that the Romans, who were to fight vpon their owne foile, and in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waites to faut themfelues by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight with-all, could now ay entertaine fuch a refolution as theirs: feeing the fame necessfite, (to which nothing feemes impossible) did no way presset them, to constraine them. To In this fort did Hannibal, with one shall all argument, That there was a mease, between Pritorreand Death, encourage his Companions. For (faith a great Captayne of France) la commostite de la retraiste aduance la futte. The commoditie of a retrait, dath of severally aduance a shart naming away.

Scipio, on the other fide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge ouer the River of Ticinus, did not neglect to vie the best arguments and reasons hee could, to encourage the Armie he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armic commanded by Hannibal, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no 20 better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to confider, that at this time it was not only fo diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeues, than an Armie like to encounter the Romans; but fo weather-beaten, and starued, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustante the first charge that should be given voon them. Nay (said he) yee your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remayning, after fo many travailes and miferies; freing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the Roane, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Campe, but Hannibal himselfe, fearing our approch, ranne head long towards 20 the Alpes: thinking it a leffe dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the tharpe twordes of the Romans, which had to often cut downe his people, both in refrica, and in Sicil.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generalls met: each being farre advanced before the groffe of his Armie, with his Horfe; and the Roman having also with him fome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; Scipio sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to beginne the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troupes, to affift them: himfelfe with his Roman men at armes, following foftly in good order. The Gaules (whether defirous to trie the mettall of the 40 Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get fauour of the Romans) behaued themselucs couragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding the Gaules maintayned the fight, and did more hurt than they received: as prefuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conful vnmindfull to relieue them : their hardinesse deserging his gide; and the hastie slight of those that should haue flood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore hee aduentured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed Africanus) had not brought him off: 50 though others give the honour of this refeue, to a Ligurian flaue. Whilest the Romans were bulied in helping their Conful; an vnexpected ftorme came driving at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. Hannibal had appointed his N umidian light horse, to give vpon the Romans in flanke, and to compaffe them about, whileft he with his men at armes fuffained their charge, and met them in the face. The Namidians performed this very well: cutting in peeces the feattered foot, that tanne away at the fift encounters, and then falling on the backs of thole, whole lookes were faltened vpon Hamibal and Scipio. By this imprefison, the Koman were fluitled together, and rowced: 16 that they all betooke them to their foeede, and left wnto their enemies the honour of the day.

when Sepio faw his horfe thus beaten, and the reit of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged the thought is a point of wisedome, having lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremes of the

voon the first patie of winde, to take Port with the Test, better the extrement of the tempest oue-trooke him. For he saw by the lowring morning, what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of soot being yet vubroken, hee in a manner shole, the retrait; and recovered the bridge ouer Trianus, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, heelest sike hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should have passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of warre, Steetsamen quandos, dubium videatur, tastam mulet arripiat fugum: [uza min sliquando laudanda: which must be vnderstood in this fort; st. a Generall of an Armie, by some empositeres us beginnings doubt the successe; to finde his Armie searful or wavering; it is more profitable to stead a soft extrait, than to abide the omeerstain eacast of battail.

It was two dayes after, ere Hammbal could paffe the River; Scipio the whileft refetting his men, and cafing himselfe of his wound in Platentis. But as Soone as Hammbal preferred his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the Remans, who durft not accept it, nor iffue forth of their campe; the Gaules; that hitherto had followed Scipio for feare, gathered out of his feare courage to forfake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieffaines and Souldiers, than Aneres Ilus, Britmanus, and the Gesslate, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Reman campe; wounded and slew many 5 efpecially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they field outer to the Cartaginians, and presented their service. Hammbal received them exceeding courteoully, and dissimily them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vestoo him, in personaling the rest of their Nation to become his Consederates, than in any

other feruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stale a retrait, as hee had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. \*Hannihal\* had a good eye yoon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the \*U smidian\* after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the \*Romans\* had received a great blow, if the

Numidians, greedie of fpoile, had not staid to ransack their campe; and thereby giuen time to all, saue some sew in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to assist the Ruer 40 of Trebia, and sauc themselues. Seipio, being both vnable to trauaile by reason of his wound, and withall sinding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conful; incampes himselfe strongly ypon the bankes of Trebia. Necessitier equired that he should do does, yet this diminished his reputation. For euery day, more and more of the Gaules sell to the Cartheginian side; among whom came in the Boi, sthat brought with them the Roman Cömissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hisherto kept them as Pledges, to redeeme their owne Hostages: but now they deliuer them yo to Hamibal, as tokens and pledges of their assessment in his work of helpe they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, Hamibal, being in great scarcitic of victualles, so attempted the taking of Classidium, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid yp all their thore and munition. But there needed no sorce; a Brundassan, whom the Romans had laid yp all their thore and munition. But there needed no sorce; a Brundassan, whom the Romans had laid yp all

mans had trufted with keeping it, fold it for a little monie.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Reme, filled the Senate and People, rather

CHAP.3. S.4.

ther with a defire of haltie reuenge, than any great forrow for their loffe received: feeing that, in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted. were as yet entire. They therefore halled away Sempronius, that was newly arriued, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him fent out of Sicil, awaited his comming. He therefore hasted thither; and from thence be marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the bankes of Trebia. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Confuls denifed about that which remained to bee done: Sempronius receiping from Scipio the relation of what had paffed fince Hannibals arrivall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what errour or miladuenture the Romans were therein foiled: which Scipio chiefly laid on the repolt and treason of to

Sempronius, having received from Scipio the state of the affaires in those parts: fought by all meanes to trie his fortune with Hannibal, before Scipio were recoursed of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victorie, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtayned. He also feared the election of the new Confuls: his owne time being well-neare expired. But Scipio perswaded the contrarie; objecting the vnskilfulnesse of the new-come Souldiers ; and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him, that the Gaules, naturally vn. constant, were upon termes of abandoning the partie of the Carthaginians; those of them inhabiting betweene the Riuers of Trebia, and Po, being alreadic repolted, 20 Sempronius knew all this as well as Scipio: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made hafte to finde out the difhonour, which he might otherwise eafily have avoided. This resolution of Sempronius was exceeding pleasing to Hannibal, who feared nothing to much as delay and loffe of time. For the strength of his Armie, confishing in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; he no leffe feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other; who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the defire of Sempronius, it fell out fo, that about the same time, the Gaules inhabiting neare vnto Trebia, complained of injuries done by the Carthaginians. They did not supply Hannibal with necessaries, as hee supposed that 20 they might have done; although hee daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their fakes, and to let them at libertie, hee had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his wordes, he was bold to be his owne Caruer; and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hercupon they flie to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, fay that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyne with Hannibal. Scipio cared not much for this : he suspected their fallhood, and was assured of their mutabilitie. But Sempronius affirmed, that it flood with the honour of Rome. to preserve the Confederates from suffering injurie; and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the Gaules. Therefore he sent out a thou sand horse: which com- 40 ming vnlooked for vpon Hannibal his forragers, and finding them heavie loaden.cut many of them in peeces, and chaced the rest euen into their owne campe. This indignitic made the Carthaginians fallic out against them : who caused them to retire falter than they came. Sempronius was readie to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. Hannibal did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armic was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the Carthaginian had not re-

This victoric (for fo the Conful would have it called) made the Romans in penerall defirous to trie the maine chance in open field : all the perswasions of Scipio to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hannibal was aductised by 50 the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bethought himfelfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding fome stratagem to his forces. He found in the hollow of a water-course, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit

trench to couer an ambush. Thereinto he cast his brother Mago, with a thousand choice horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed. and well fed themselues, in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Conful. Early in the morning, he had fent ouer Trebia some companies of Numidian light horse: to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. Sempronius was readie to take any opportunitie to fight : and therefore not only iffued out of his campe, but foorded the River of Trebia, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of foode, did so enfeable and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines : having of the one, fixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flankes with three thousand horse: thrusting their light armed, and Darters, in loose troups in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian numbers of foot, werein a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by farre the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flankes of their foot, were broken by the Namidians; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares preft in the Reare, by Mago and his two 20 thouland, that role out of their place of ambush: then fell the Romans, by heapes. vnder the enemies swordes; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horse-menthat pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all forts. Horse

Three great errours Sempronius committed, of which every one deserved to be recompenced with the loffe that followed. The first was, that hee fought with Hennibal in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horse, and withall thereby fubicat to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-even grounds, and woodlands, would have beene of no vie. His second errour was, that he made no disco-30 perie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grofly ouer-reacht, and infnared, by the ambulh which Hannibal had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his foot-men with emptic stomachs, in the River of Trebia, even in a most cold and frostic day, whereby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one faith well; There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to prefent an Armie, tyred with trauaile, to an enemie fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generolitie of minde is but as an unprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by Scipio, who got therewith into Placentia; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding raynic, from the Carthaginians; who either perceived him not, because of the shewers; or 40 would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. Sempronius escaped with extreme danger; flying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a sccret flight; yet by fewer, than could have made reliftance, if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheleffe hee got away, and came to Rome, where hee did his office in chooling new Confuls for the yeare following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh fupply against Hannibal.

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The departure of HANNIBAL from the Cifalpine Gaules into Hetruria. FIAMINIUS the Roman Conful flaine; and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of

He Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and vnfit for service: to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keepe 10 the field, lay warme in Placentia, and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did not fuffer them to rest very quiet : but vexed them with continuall a-

larmes; affayling divers places; taking fome; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the Ligarians to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Ouxflors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and fiue Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senatours, which they had intercepted. Thefe, and in generall all fuch Prifoners as he had of the Romans, he held in streight places, loden with yrons, and miserably sed: those of their followers hee not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in Halie, to free them from the 20 oppression of the Romans. By these meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and affiliance. But the Gaules were not capable of fuch perfuations. They flood in feare, left hee fhould make their Countrie the feate of the Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were readic soone after to practise against him; but were in like fort detected. He was therefore glad to vie Perwigs of haire, and false beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be described, nor known, to those that should vndertake to make him away. Faine hee would have passed to the Apennines, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarrie among the Gaules, till hee had seen more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was fomewhat better opened, he refolued to take his leave of these giddie Companions, and bring the warre nearer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, having his Armie greatly increased with Liqurians and Ganles; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the Apernine Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet fince the Roman Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way : the great vexation which fell vpon Hannibal, when hee was tranailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the 40 extremitie of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journie. Neuerthelesse to avoid the length of way, together with the refistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene crected upon the ordinarie passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tufeanc. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, sauc one, together with the vie of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the aire, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recoursed the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about Arretium: where hee fomewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the 50 Roman Confuls.

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Seruilius had of late beene chosen Consuls for this yeare: Seruilius, a tractable man, and wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; Flaminius,

an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as hee thought) of his Confulthip, by a deuice of the Senators, was afraid to be ferued to againe, vnleffe hee quickly finished the warre. This jealous Conful thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entred into his Office, left his adversaries, by favning fome religious impediments, should detaine him within the Citie, or finde other bufinesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that hee hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed feeretly out of the Towne; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, renoked him by Embassadors : but he neglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the Carthaeinians tooke his

way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Conful, promised vnto Hannibal great affurance of victoric. Therefore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere Seruilius came with the reft of the Armie. All the Countrie betweene Fefula and Arretium, hee put to fire and fword, even under the Confuls noie, which was enough to make him flirre, that would not have fitten ftill, though Hannibal had beene quiet. It is true, that a great Captayne of France hath faid : Pays gaste v'elle pas perdu: A walled Countrie is not thereby lost. But by this waste of the Countrie, Flaminius thought his owne honour on to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemie. Many advifed him (which had indeede beene best) to have patience awhile, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to heare: faying, that he came not to defend Arretium, whilest the Carthaginians went, burning downe all Italie before them. to the gates of Rome. Therefore he tooke horse; and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enlignes stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Enfigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falle, Tullie makes a jeast : faying, that the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardily pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answere of Flaminius (if it were true) disagreeable hereto. For he commanded, that 20 it should be digged up, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it : asking with all; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this jealousie, both hee, and the Senate that gaue him cause, are likely to

All the Territorie of Cortona, as farre as to the Lake of Thrafymene, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consul thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he purfued Hannibal fo vnaduifedly, that he fell, with his whole Armic, into an ambufft cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of Cortona, and the Lake. There was he charged vnawares, on all fides, (faue only where that great Lake of Perufia, permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flie from them) knowing 40 not which way to turne, or make refiltance. So was hee flaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carkasses of his Countrimen. About fixe thoufand of his men, that had the Vantguard, tooke courage, as for the most part happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recouered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and given charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which, kindled by necessitie, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they cealed to despaire, of fauing their liues by flight. They flood still, in a cold fweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing under them a terrible noise, but not discoso usering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all the morning. When it grew toward noone, the aire was cleared, and they might plainly differne the lamentable flaughter of their fellowes. But they flaid not to lament it : for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were descried, and attached by

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the enemies horse. This they should have thought your somer; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For descried they were, and Maharbal sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a village, which hee furrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring their armes, ypon his promise of their lives and liberties. This accord Hannibal refused to confirme; faying, that it was made by Msharbal, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith : and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they lifted; if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents. To besides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and beelimited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans. whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace; then can Hannibal bee as Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it looseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, hee had in his handes : of which all that were not Romans, he fet free without ranfome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their fakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannic, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the Romans he kept in fireight prifon, and in fetters; making them learne to cate hard meat. This was a good way, to an breede in the people of Italie, if not aloue of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome : as if this warre had not concerned the generall safetie, but only the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of flauerie, which her ouer-flrong enemies would thruft vpon her, in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by fuccesse of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the Carthaginian can get any Italian Partifans.

Presently after the battaile of Thrasymene, C. Centronius, with foure thousand Roman horse, drew neare vnto the Campe of Hannibal. Hee was sent from Ariminum. by Seruilius the other Conful, to increase the strength of Flaminius: but comming too late, he increased only, the misaduenture. Maharbal was imployed by Hannibal, 30 to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them; and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high peece of ground, whence they came downe, and fimply yeelded to mercie, the next day. Servilius him felfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Gaules; against whom hee had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes were brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in Hetruria; that made him haften back to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular jealousie, which perfwaded the Romans to the yearelie change of their Commanders in the wars: which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all 40 men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-goers. Flaminius had heard, in what a trap Sempronius had beene taken but the yeare before, by this fubtile Carthaginian; yet fuffered he himselfe to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten, how Sempronius, fearing to be prevented by a new Conful, and ambitious of the fole honour of beating Hannibal in battaile, without helpe of his companion Scipio, had been rewarded with thame and loffe: elfe would be not, contrarie to all good aduice, have been fo haftie to fight, before the arrivall of Servilius. If Sempronius had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the fecond time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: 50 both which this new Conful Flaminius neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Gouernement of France ten yeares, Cafar brought that mightie Nation, together with the Helvetians and many of the Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene every yeare a new Lieutenant sent, they

would hardly, if cuer, have beene subdued. For it is more than the best wir in the World can doe, to informe it felfe, within one yeares compaffe, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to profecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three yeares; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them have returned as wife, as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they beganne but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Government, fitting the Countrie, they have been called home, and new Apprentices fent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But 10 it hath euer beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their flothful ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; shough neither likeneffe of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have persuaded the imitation.

# ð. V I.

How O. FABIVS the Roman Dictator, Sought to consume the force of HANNIBAL, by lingring warre, MINVIIVS, the Master of the Horse, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and successefull attempting, adventures rashly upon HANNIBAL; and is like to perish with his Armie, but relcued by FABIVS.

Reatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner. than euer did warre, since Rome it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow; that when Pyrrhus had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all

Italie was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that 20 could worke wonders. But Pyrrhus his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: hee only fought honour, and fought (asit were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himfelfe like a courteous enemie. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasymene, witnessed his purpose, and his abilitie. Which to withstand, they sed vnto a remedie that had long beene out of vie, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Confuls, and scarcely subject vnto comptroll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was feldome chosen, but upon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. He was to be named by one of the Confuls, at the appointment of the Senate; though it were forthat the Conful (if he stood vpon his 40 prerogatiue) might name whom he pleafed. At this time, the one Conful being dead, and the other too farre off; the People tooke your them, as having supreme authoritie, to give the Dignitic by their election, to Q. Fabius Maximus, the best reputed man of warrein the Citie. Novum factum, novum consilium expetit; Contrarie windes, contrarie courses. Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this Minutius grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of Fabius, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion : a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. Butifit were true (as Limereports it) that the bookes of Sybil were consulted, and 1.14.1.22, 50 gaue direction in this businesse of denotion; then must we believe, that those books of Sybil, preferued in Rome, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordayned, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to Mars, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto tupiter, and a Temple to Venus; with other such trumperic. This

vehemencie of superstition, proceedes alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And furely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly diffempered with paffion : whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they faw their fonnes returne aliue from Thrasymene, may serue to beare witnesse; though it bee more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the Citie, were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken, for defence of *Rome* it Ielfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly fet forth against Hannibal; word was brought, that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to Cn. Scipio in Spaine. Against these Carthaginians, Fabius commanded Servilius the Conful to put to Sea; and taking vp 10 all the ships about Rome, and Ostia, to pursue them : whilest he, with the Legions, attended upon Hannibal. Foure Legions he had levied in hafte : and from Ariminum he received the Armie, which Seruilius the Conful had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. Hannihal in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vfed all manner of crueltie towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he did put to the fword, all that were able to beare armes. Paffing by Spoletum and Incona, he incamped upon the Adriatick shores ; refreshed his dif- 20 eased, and ouer-transiled Companies; armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans; and made his dispatches for Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that hee had gotten. Hauing refreshed his Armie; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; and (as Polybius hathit) healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine : he followed the coast of the Adriatick Sea towards Apulia, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of Naples; spoiling the Marrucini, and all other Nationslying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ranne, he had not taken any one Citie : only he had affaied Spoletum , a Colonic of the Romans ; and finding it well defended, prefently gaue it ouer.

The malice of agreat Armie is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. 30 This the Protestant Armic found true at Poictiers, a little before the battaile of Moncounter; and their victorious enemies, anonafter, at St. Iean d'Angeley. But Hannibal was more wife. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detayne him, and give the Romans leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once hee was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates without expecting any engine of batterie. To this end he presented Fabius with battaile, as foone as he saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of brauado's. But Fabins would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer 40 fince they were Boics, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in Spaine, made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, and of late by fome notable acts against the Romans; and such, as had no oftner seene the enemie, than been vanquished by him. Therefore hee attended the Carthaginian fo neare, as hee kept him from stragling too farre; and preserved the countrie from vtter spoile. He invred his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and hee brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might fit on his taile.

Now Minutius had a contrarie disposition, and was as fierie as Flaminius; taxing Fabius with cowardife and feare. But all stirred not this well-adussed Commander. 50 For wife men are no more moued with fuch noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indifcretion, and danger, than to purfue miffortune : It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Armie that defires battaile: and this of Hannibal, was both the invading, and

the victorious. Fabius therefore suffered Hannibal to crosse the Apenines, and to fall voon the most rich and pleasant Territorie of Campania; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the Roman Armie in battaile : but being farre too weake in horse, he alwayes kept the Hills and fast grounds. When Hannibal saw he could by no meanes draw this warie Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the towns flood firme for the Romans, whose Legions were in fight, though a-farre off; he resolued to rest his Armie, that was loaden with spoile, in some plentifull and affured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must paffe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head you the Hills of Calli-

CHAP. 3. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

10 cala, and Cassimum: for other way there was none, by which hee might iffue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, which hee had alreadie walted, into places more aboundant of prouition for his wintering. It was by meere error of his guide, that he first entred within these streights. For he would have beene directed vnto Cassinum. whence he might both affay the faire Citie of Capua, which had made him friendly promifes vnder hand, and hinder the Romans from coming neare it to pregent him. But his guide mif-vnderstood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry an other way, from Cassinum to Cassinum, whence Fabius hoped that he should not eatily escape. Now beganne the wisdome of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap; and wonne the victorie, without blowes, But 20 Hamibal reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe; by a slight invention, yet ser-

uing the turne as well as a better. In driving the countrie, he had gotten about two thousand Kine; whose hornes he dressed with drie faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange. and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be the worke of a terrible enemie. What it should meane, Fabius could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hilltops, were horribly afraid, when some of these fierie Monsters were gotten beyond them : and ranne therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behinde their backs, and fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no leffe afraid 30 of them. So Hamibal, with his whole Armie, recoursed fure ground, without mo-

lestation : where he stayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light footmen, with some flaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmish: After this, Hannibal made femblance of taking his journie towards Rome: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the Citie, whilest the Carthaginian wasted all the Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke Geryon, an old ruinous Towne in Apulia, for faken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store houses for winter, and incamped under the broken walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idlely, till the Dictator was called away to Rame, about some businesse of Religion, and left the 40 Armie in charge with Minutius, the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiencie. Hee was fully perswaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans and Spaniards: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by fubtiltie and ambulh, which he thought himfelfe wife enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie Fabius. In this jollitic of conceit, hee determined to fight. Yet had hee beene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victorie, which hee

50 held vindoubtedly his owne; the love of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing Office in Rome, were enough to faue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer fo hainoufly. Hannibal on the other fide was no leffe glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore heedrew neare : and to prouoke the Romans, fent forth a third part of his Armie to waste the Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that Minutius incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despited those whom hee had so often vanquished. There was a pecce of high ground betweene the two camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthagainan seized youn by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But Assimatus, by plaine force, wanne it from them the next day; and entrenching himselfe thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

neighbour.
The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which hee knew to bee the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Sommer; if besides this he 10 could give the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his owne men, terrifie his enemics, and give him leave to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore Minutius did not in many dayes iffue forth of his campe, the Carthaginian fent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in haruest. This aduantage Minutius wifely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armic, and fetting it in order presented battaile to Hannibal, that was not in case to accept it, enen at his owne Trenches. His horse, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, hee fent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootic, could make no relistance. This angred Hannibal, that was not able to helpe them; but worfe did it anger him, when the Romans 20 tooke heart to affaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meere weakeneffe, which held him within his campe, and therfore were bold to despise his great name, that could not relift their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, Aldrubal came from Gerron with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This emboldened Hannibal to issue forth against the Romans: to whom neverthelesse hee did not such hurt, as hee had received.

For this peece of service Minutius was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he lent the newes, with fomewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recovered 20 fpirit, so farre forth that it dared to set youn Hannibal in his owne campe; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praifed the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as farre out of liking with Fabius, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that hee had not done any thing wifely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeede in no other thing hee had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angric with the breach of discipline; and searcfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. Hee said that hee knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he 40 were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence; the other, taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons every one cryed out; especially Metellus, a Tribune of the people; which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he lift, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (faid he) that this our only Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatelt necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to bee wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himfelfe can, or dares? It were good to confider what he meanes by this. Into the place of C. Flaminius hee hath not chosen any new Consul all this 50 while; Servilius is fent away to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and Hee, have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hannibal had indecde forborne to spoile some grounds of Fabius, that so he might bring him into enuic and fuspition) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoile all others, without impeachment.

peachment. Surely his drift is even this: He would have the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and have the sole Gouernement both of our Citie, and Armies. But this muthor the So. It were better, that the Commonaties of Rome, which gave him this authoritie, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthie. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I, will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equall authoritie, with the Dictator; a thing not more now, nor less encessaries, than was the electing of this Dictator; by the People.

Though all men, cuen the Senators, were ill perfwaded of the course which Fabius had taken against Hamslad, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his general linent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than yery honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of percedit and authoritic besides the Propounder, should stand up, and formally deliuter his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disprace, both write a worship Personage, and (therewishall) vinto that Dignitic, whose great power had freed the State at squerall times, from the greatest dangers. Only c. Terentus Varre, who the yeare before had beene Prætor, was glad of such an opportution tice, to winner the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonie of a Buern of the Multitude.

20 ntice, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. In his tellow was the lonne, or a Butcher; a firerwards became a floop-keeper; and being of a contentious fight, grew, by often brablings, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by lixtle and little he goe into Office; and role by degrees, being addianced by those, who in harted of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baseness. And now hee thought the time was come, for him to giue an hard push as the Confussibility by deing that, which none of the great men searing or fauouring one another, either durft or would. So he made an hot innectiue, not only against fabine, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, that it grieved them, to see the people dog well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter, of Governemen; that they sought to 30 humble the Commons by powerie, and to impour that them by warre; especially by warre at their owne dores, which would some conjunge every poore mans significant of the control of the confusion of t

ning, and finde him other workero thinke yoon, than matter of Stake. Therefore he bad them to be wife: and fince they had found one; (this worthic Malker of the horfe) that was better affected wito them and his Goupiec, to reward him according to his good deferts; and give him authoritie, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that folk might be encouraged and enabled, so proceede as he had begunne. So the Ast passed.

Before this bulie day of contention, Fabius had dispatched the election of a new Conful, which was M. Atthis Regulus, in the roome of C. Flaminius: and having 40 sinificed all requisite bulinesses, was a compared to the confusion of Towne, peopering well, that he should not bee able to withstand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The newes of Attinuius his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as Fabius: for that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, beganne to treat with him as Companion; af king him at the strik, in what sort be thought the strong thing as Companion; af king him at the strik, in what sort be thought; the strong the string the content of the conten

50 fed; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke fuch wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuerthelesse he meant to doe his best; and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and an halfe from the Distator. Needfull it was (though Linie seeme to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto the other, nor iov-

ned in Commission, but have each entire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two diffinct Armies in which regard, one campe shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. Polybius neither findes fault with this disunction, nor yet reports, that Fabius was vnwilling to command in chiefe fuccessively (as the two Confuls yled) with Minutius, by turnes. Hee faith that Minutius was very refractarie; and formoud of his advancement, that continually hee opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces betweene them, as is faid before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to bee true. For natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loofe from the 10 rigour of authoritie, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein confilted

the proofe and affurance of their libertie.

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leffe carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was Fabius of avoiding the necessitie. That which Minutius and Hannibal equally defired, could not long be wanting. The Countrielying betweene them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many, and spatious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two orthree hundred men. In these lurking places, Hannibal bestowed fine hundred horse, and flue thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not 20 be discouered. But lest by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a peece of ground, that lay on the other hand : whereby he drew the eies and thoughts of the Komans, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which, not long before, had prouoked Minutius, to aduenture voon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like fort as he got it; he fent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (feeing that Hannibal feconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) hee followed in person with the Legions. He was foone caught; and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make refiftance, nor any saferetrait. In this dangerous case, whilest 30 the Romans defended themselves, looking many, and those of their best men: Fabius drew neare, invery good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiuing a farre off,into what extremitie his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe, and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrie, than the difgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himselfe, by hasting to doe good, than by suffering his enemie to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon Fabius his approch, Hannibal retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung fo long on the Hill-tops. Minutius forthwith submitted himselfe to Fabius; by whose benefit hee confessed his life to have beene faued. So from this time forwards, the 40 Warre proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would haue it; both whileft his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when hee delinered vp his charge vnto the Confuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Conful had purfued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which hee came neuer within kenning. He ranne along all the coast of Italie; tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corficants; paffed ouer into Africk; and there negligently falling to spoile the Countrie, was mamefully beaten abourd his ships, with the losse of a thouland men. Weighing anchor therefore in all hafte, hee returned home by sicit; and (being fo required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conful, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

69 VII. W

è. VII.,

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthing Conful. Great forces levied against HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL taketh the Ramans prouisions in the Caftle of Canna, The new Confuls fet forth against HANNIBAL.



Ith little pleafure did they of the poorer fort in Rome . heare the great commendations, that were given to Fabrus by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but hee had neither finished the warre, nor done any thing in apparance thereto tending. Rather it might feeme, that the reputation of this his

one worthic act, was likely to countenance the flow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Elfe, what means the Confuls to fit idle the whole winter, contrarie to all former custome; fince it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall. had willingly fuffered the time of his command to runne away without any performance: as if it were honorable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were readie euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his owne

20 private loffe, vpon the ill administration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to C. Terentius Varro, in his fuit for the Confulfhip. It behoued him to firike, whilft the Iron was hot : his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignitic. But the Comonaltie were then in fuch a moode, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinfman, Bibius Herennius, then Tribune of the Pcople; who spared not to vse the libertie of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modeftie. This bold Orator fluck not to affirme. That Hannibal was drawne into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That Minutius indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been over-20 throwne, and was rescued by Fabius with the other two: but had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victorie of Aunutius, when he comanded ouer all, as Master of the horse; That without a Plebeian Conful, the warre would never be brought to an end; That fuch of the Plebeians, as had long since been advanced to honor by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner fort, euer fince themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needfull to choose a Conful, who should bee altogether a Plebeian, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the People's loue, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well descruing of them. By fuch perswasions, the Multitude was wonne, to be wholly for Terentius: to 40 the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honor; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the defire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alleaged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending upon Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment. or because the Fathers desired an Inter-regnum, wherein they might better hope to prevaile in choice of the new Confuls. This Inter-regnum tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of Romulus; and was in vie at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted 50 themselues into Tens, or Decuries; and governed successively, by the space of five daies, one Decurie after another in order: yet fo, that the Lietors, or Virgers, carrying the Fasces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vie, when by death, or any casualtie, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the

CHAP.3. S.7.

old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there needed no more, than to let flip fine daies, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well affwaged. Vpon fuch change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to fue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publiquely declare themselues to fecke those Offices. But no denice would serve, against the generall fauour borne vnto Terentius. One Inter regnum passed ouer; and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this meane, but worthie man, seemed so manifest, ro that when the People had viged the bufineffe to dispatch, only Terentius was chofen Conful: in whose hand it was left; to hold the election of his Colleague. Herevpon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinarie marke had flood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defeet, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and bot-headed man, one of great fufficiencie, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So L. Amilius Paulus, he who few yeares since had over-come the Illyrians, and chaced Demetrius Pharius out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobilitie to fland for the place: which he cafily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the defire of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great busi- 20 nesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service; He, and M. Linius that had been his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto judgement: wherin Livius was condemned, and Amilius hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the Romans well in minde, each of them in his fecond Confulthip, wherein they shall honorably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happic victorie, that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Confuls, Varre and Paulus, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the warre: wherein though Varro made the greater noise, by telling what wonders hee would worke, and that hee would aske no more, than once to haue a 20 fight of Hannibal, whom he promifed to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of Paulus, travailed more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainely boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls seruilius and Atilius; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheleffe, to ply the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate affisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the flanders, with which Terentius and his Adhe- 49 rents had burdened them. What number of men they raifed it is vncertaine. Fourefcore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which Varre had fo greatly defired, of looking vpon Hannibal.

Hiero, the old King of Syracuse, as he had relieved the Carthaginians, when they were diffressed by their owne Mercinaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, 2 thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitic of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouisions : fearing nothing more, than that one of the fetwo mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by bauing them fomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsaile, to fend to forces into Africa; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were given to Titus Octacilius the Prætor, which was to goe into Sicil, that hee should accordingly paffe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more ferue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger, accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for service. For besides these Armies of the Confuls, and that which went into Sical; twentie five thousand, with L. Posthumius Albinus another of the Prætors, went against the Gaules, to reclaime that Prouince, which the passage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They fent Embaffadors to Philip the fonne of Demetrius, King of Macedon; requiring him to deliuer into their hands Demetrius Pharius: who having beene their 10 Subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of paiment was alreadic past. What answere they received, it is not knowne; only this is knowne, that Demetrius Pharius was not fent vnto them; and that Philip henceforth beganne to have an eye vpon them. little to their good. As for the Illyrian monie; by the shifts that they were driven foone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little foeuer) would haue beene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any cauill about forfeiture for non paiment of the whole.

of the Historie of the World.

Whilest the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near vnto Hannibal, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessitie of a battaile. Many 20 skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other feruices, but was indeede the occasion, to draw on the m ferie following. Hannibal, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Gerron, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neare him, lodged about Cannufium; and, that they might not be driven to turne afide for all necessaries, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of Canne: for the towne was razed the yeare before. This place Hannibal wanne; and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull thinges, vnlesse they would bee troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his aduan-30 tage, hee enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the service of his horse: longer than the Romans, having so many mouthes to feede, could well endure to tarrie; without offering battaile; which he most desired. Of this mishap when Seruilius had informed the Senate, letting them understand, how this Peece, taken by Hannibal, would ferue him to command no fmall part of the Countrie adjacent: it then feemed needfull, euen vnto the Fathers themselues, to adventure a battaile with the Carthaginian, rather than fuffer him thus to take roote in the ground of Italie. Neuerthelesse, answere was returned vnto Seruilius, that hee should have patience yet awhile: for that the Confuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doc as neede required.

When all things were readie in the Citie, and the feafon of the yeare comodious to take the field, the two Confuls, with their armic, fet forth against Hannibal. This was alwaies done with great folemnitie: especially, when socuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemie. For Sacrifices, and folemne Vowes. were made vnto Inpiter, and the rest of their Gods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed; the Generals, in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, not only fuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leavetaking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobilitie, wai-50 ted vpon Amilius Paulus, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthie of this honor, or likely to doe his countrie remarkable service. Terentius his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no leffe in greatnes, than the other was in dignitic. At the parting; Fabius the late Dictator, is faid to have exhorted the Conful Paulus, with many grave wordes, to shew his magnanimitie, not

The

only in dealing with the Carthaginians, but (which be thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Conful. The answere of Paulus was, That hee meant not again to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrie: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, Hee would thinke it less rashnesses to adventure vpon the Enemies flowers, than you her hailes of his owne Citizens.

### d. VIII.

Diffension between the two Roman Consult. Whether it be likely, that HANNIBAL 10
w.us upon point of sping out of Italic, when the Romans pressed him
to sight. The great battaile of Canna.
Hele new Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismisted M. Atilius one of

the last yeares Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakenes:

Servilius they retained with them, as their Affiliant. The first thing

that Emilius thought necessarie, was, to hearten his Souldiers with that Amitus thought necessarie, was successful thinterto, had gathered good wordes; who out of their bad fuccesss hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not only now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but even their owne great numbers: which were no 20 leffe than all that Rome at the prefent was able to fet forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie stood; how the state and safetie thereof, rested upon their hands, vling some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectuall part of his Oration was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Armie, had not yet obtained one victorie by plaine force and valour : but that only by deceit and ambush he had from the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia and Thraffmene. Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate raffineffe of Sempronius and Flaminius; of whom the one faw not his enemies, vntill hee was furrounded by them; the other fearce faw them, when they firuck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkenoffe whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their fnares. Finally de- 20 claring what advantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helps, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that under a Captaine so well experienced, and every way fufficient, as Emilius vvas knowne to bee, they should easily premaile against the Carthaginians : that came farre short of them in all things else, faue craft; which yould not alwaies thrine. But in one thing they millooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his defire, that they should have heart to fight; not that they should loofe the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, 40 having preconceived a victorie, thought all delaies to be impediments: and thereby fought to robbe themselues of their best helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the Vulgar defire, of ending the year quickly; wherein fince Amilius had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them for bear to vicit? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Conful Terentius; who was no leffe popular in the Campe, than he had been in the Citie, Expectation is alwaies tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All menlonged, both at Rome, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the

to effect, was likely to winne more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in the performance.

Thus while the Romann thinke themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which sew are more dangerous; Dissension

doubtfull Passions of Hope and Feare: therefore Terentius, who hastned their defire 50

of their chiefe Commanders. Varro would fight: Emilius would fo too, but faid that it was not yet time; why? because the enemie must shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places leffe fit for his horfe. But shall the Romans wait, till Hannibal, having eaten vp his last yeares provisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Haruest? This would (faid Varre) favour too much of O. Fabius: And your haste (faid Paulus) doth fauour no lesse of C. Flaminius. Their deedes were like their wordes: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. Amilius lodged fixe miles from Hannibal, where the ground was fomewhat vneuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come; hee doubted not to fend them away 10 in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. Terentins therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and befeeching him to flay. Neuertheleffe he fate downe close by Hannibal: who as an unbidden guest gaue him but a rude well-come and intertairiement. The Carthaginian Horse, and light Armature, sell vpon the Roman Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whileft it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loffe, for that the Romans had, among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, Amilius, who could not handfomly withdraw the Armie out of that levell ground. incamped upon the River Aufidus; fending a third part of his forces over the wa-20 ter, to lie vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselues. Hee neuer was more vinwilling to fight, than at this prefent; because the ground served wholly for the aduantage of his enemie; with whom hee meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equal termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himfelfe; expecting when Hannibal should dislodge, and remoue towards Geryon, Canna, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necesfaries: whereof an Armie forraging the countrie, was not likely to carrie about with

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is sufficient quantitie, for any long time.

Here it would not bee passed ouer with silence, That Linie differeth much in his Relation from Palybius: telling many strangetales, of the miscrie into which Hangonia had beene driuen; and of base courses that he deussed to take, if the Romans could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (sait Linie) but trea diage proussion of meat. He had not monie to pay his Souldiers. They were an varuly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that He knew not how to keepethem in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were readiet to forske him, and runne ouer to the Roman side. Yea thimshal himselfe was once you the point, to have sloshed away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length, for lack of all other counsails, Heerefolued to get him as sarreas he could from the Romans; into the Southermost parts

40 of Apulia; to the end, that both his vnfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficultie in running from bim; and that his bunger might be relicued with the more early harutel. But while the was about to put this deuice in execution, the Romans prefled him fo hard, that they even forced him vnto that, which hee most defired; even to fight a battaile vpon open champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in Livie, to speake the best of his owne Crizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be executed; as writing only by report. For thus he faith; HANIBAL de figa in Gallam (dictur) agitās to NNIBAL [is staid] to have bethought himself e of sping into Gaule: where he makes it no more than a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all therest or this Relation. As for the processe it felic, it is very incredible. For if Hannibal, comming out of Gaule, through the Marishes and Bogs of Herruria, could finde victuailes enough; and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Sommer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeare; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harvest; since

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Lin.L.m.

Now let vs returne back to the two Armics, where they lie incamped on the Riuer Auficlus. Varro was perfuaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good 20 his word vnto the people of Rome: and fince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the confent of Paulus, now at length to vie his owneauthoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owneday came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of day he beganne to passe the River, without flaving to bid his Colleague good morrow. But Paulus came to him; and fought, as in former times, to have diffwaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needleffe hazard. Against whose wordes and substantial larguments, Terentius could alleage none other, than point of honour. Hannibal had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his Numidians over the River but even the day before, who fell vpon the Romans that 40 were fetching water to the leffer Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to affaile: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of fuch courage, as promifed affured victorie. When Amilius perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; he tooke all care, that what he faw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either Hannibal might bee compelled, to leave behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was leffe able to spare from the battaile, than were the to Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vponthe Carthaginian Campe, when the fight beganne, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly doe fuch accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemics in the heat of fight. This done; the two Confuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the leffer Campe, whence

whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile; the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great cause; and, without any delay, paffed likewise ouer, somewhat higher vp.the streame, which ranne from the South; leaving in his owne campe fo many, as he thought would ferue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, your which they were to fight. They did fo. And could you (faid he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyne battaile with the Romans upon fuch alenell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (faid he further) yeare first of all to thanke the Gods, that have brought them hither; and then Vs, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessistie of playing for their lines, where they are fure to loofe them. As for these Romans. I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first ; but now vee may euen encourage your felues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee haue as often beaten as scene. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects; as, to drine them before you out of Gaule; and to winne the open Countrie, and fields of Italie; both of which vechauc obtained : now are vecto fight for the Townesthemselves, and all the 20 riches within them; which this victorie shall make yours. Therefore play the fout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall bee Lords of all that the Ro-

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mans hold.

When he had faid this; his brother Mago came to him, whom hee had fent to view the countenance of the Enemie. Hamibal asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to have with these Romans? Worke enough (answered Mago) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee brother, that among them all, fearch them neuer fo diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is Mago. With that bee fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their 20 Generall would not be fo merrie, without great affurance. Whether it were fo that Hannibal, in the pride of his victories alreadie gotten, valued one Mago aboue many thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no leffe troubled with thinking upon Mago and his Companions, than was Mago with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant only to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jeft, and thew himfelfe merrie vnto the Souldiers: this his answere was more manly, than was the relation of his discouerer. But if Hannibal himselfe had beene fent forth by Mago, to view the Romans; he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captaine Gam, before the battaile of Agincourt, made vnto our King Henrie the fift : faying, that of the Frenchmen, 40 there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to runne away. Euen such wordes as these, or such pleasant jests as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but ferue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke

needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boafts. In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfe-Aion of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which hee had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; Hee marshalled his Armie in such conuenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doc 50 best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the Baleares, he sent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velites. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name Enfans perdues; but when we vied our owne termes, the forlarne hope. The groffe of his Armie following them he ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman manner, with the spoiles which they

ypon fuch paffions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other

had gotten at Trebia, Thrasymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vie of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly ferued: made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these hee ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their owne Countrie manner; their thields alike: but the Gaules vling long broad fwordes, that were forcible in a downe-right ftroke; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust: the Gaules, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fierceneffe; the Spaniards, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in qualitic, made a gallant shew : and terrible, because strange. The Gaules were strong of body, and surious in giuing 10 charge; but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt. which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The Spaniards were leffe eager, but more warie; neither asnamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-pressed; nor afraid to returne, and renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, serued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with Carthaginians and other Africans; whose name was growne terrible in Spaine, by their Conquests; and in Gaule, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not bee feared, that any great calamitie should fall 20 youn them, whileft the wings on either fide flood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to thrinke, or forbeare to imploy the vtmost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the Enemie could not preffe farre vpon them, without further engaging himfelfe than differetion would allow. Hercunto may be added that great aduantage, which the Carthaginian had in horse; by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth affored Confidence. Hannibal therefore caused these Ganles and Spaniards to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had flood, and into which they might fall back, when they flould becourhardly preffed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, Hee made them as it 20 were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the emptie space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thinne, as seruing only to guide it orderly back, when neede should require; the foremost part of the Ring, fwelling out toward the enemies, being well ftrengthned and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have beene so great, that it shadowed the Africans, who flood behinde it : though fuch figures, cut in braffe, as I have feene of this Battaile, prefent it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of Africans, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the Gaules and Spaniards, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that Hannibal in person stood betweene the 40 last rancks of his long batalions, and in the head of his reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer Aufidus, were the Gaules and Spanish horse, under the command of Asarabal: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was Hanno (Linie faith Maharbal) with the Numidian light horse. Hannibal himselfe, with his brother Mago, had the leading of the Reare. The whole fumme of Hannibals Armie in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and fourtie thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and Hee, five to three against them in horse.

The Roman Armie was marshalled in the vsuall forme : but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found conuenient against the Carthaginians, in the former warre. It was indeede no bad way of refistance against Elephants, to make the Rankes thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rearc, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-allie themselues. Thus much

it seemes, that Terentius had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the Carthaginians had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, for a fmuch as their charge is better fultained in front, than you a long flanke. As for Amilius; it was not his day of command: He was but an Affiftant; and in such cases it happens often, that wife men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horse-men, vnder the Conful Paulis : On the left wing, was C. Terentius Varrothe 10 other Conful, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other Associates: Cn. Servilius the former yeares Conful, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly rifen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginians having their faces Northward; the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the Roman Velites and Hannibal his Darters and flingers of the Baleares: Afdrubal brake upon the Conful Paulus, and was rough-Iv encountred; not after the manner of feruice on horse back, yfed in those times. wheeling about Alman-like; but each giving on in a right line. Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; fo that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake through. Where-20 fore they not only vsed their Lances and Swordes; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another; and so, their horses running from under them. fell many to the ground; where flarting vp againe, they beganne to deale blowes

like foot-men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were ouer-borne, and driven by plaine force to a fraggering recoile. This the Conful Paulus could not remedie. For Afdrubal, with his boilterous Gaules and Spaniards, was not to bee relifted by these Roman Gentlemen, vnequali both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the Roman Legionaries found worke enough, and fomewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, youn which they first fell : fo strongly, for the while, did the Gaules and Spanish foot make resistance. Wherefore 20 the two points of their battaile drew towards the midft; by whose aide, these Oppolites were forced to difband, and flie back to their first place. This they did in

great hafte and feare; and were with no leffe hafte, and follie, purfued. Vpon the Africans, that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was void roome enough; and for a fmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the fafe retrait, where Hannibal with his Carthaginians was readie to reenforce them, when time should require. In this hastic retrait, or slight, of the Gaules and Spaniards; it hapned, as was necessarie, that they who had stood in the limbe or vtter compaffe of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concaue surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside out-40 ward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the Romans, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe-cir-

cle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, ( for that the sides of it were exceeding thinne and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men rowted, and feeming vnable to make relistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great bodie, that was in a manner dissoluted. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victoric, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and thereby vnwittingly engaged themselves deepely within the principall ftrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two African Battalions on either fide advanced fo farre, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they inclosed them, in a manner, behinde; and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing Hannibal and Mago; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as coue-

red the Africans; who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that Plut in vit. the Romans were thus empaled unawares; and that they behaued themselues, as Hannib.

men that thought you no other worke, than what was found them by the Gaules. Neither is it credible, that they would have beene so mad, as to runne head-long. with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of flaughter; had they feene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines : but fince the Conful Paulus, a man fo expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot bee supposed. that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselues. Astrubal, having broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by the Consul Paulus, followed vpon them along the River fide, beating downe, and killing, as many as he could, (which to were almost all of them) without regard of taking priloners. The Conful himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuerthelesse hee cheared up his men as well as hee could, both with comfortable wordes, and with the example of his owne front behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Conful received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt; and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding about him. did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he 20 was compelled, by wounds and weakenesse, to forfake his horse. Hereupon all his companie alighted, thinking that the Conful had given order to doe: as in many battailes, the Roman men at armes had left their horfes, to helpe their foot in diffreffe. When Hannibal (for he was neare at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Conful had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly faid, I had rather be would have delinered them unto me, bound hand and foot : meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with the horse of the Affociates, in the left wing, was meruailously troubled by Hanno (or Maharbal) and the Numidians: who beating up and downe about that great fandie Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong South-winde, 20 blowing there accustomarily, draue into the cies and mouthes of the Romans. These, vling their advantage both of number and of lightnesse, we aried the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither gining, nor fultayning any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happie day of it. For when the battailes were euen readie to joyne; fiue hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the manner of those which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselues. This was good luck to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. Varre had not leafure to examine them; but caufed them, vnweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bad 40 them rest quietly till all was done. These crastic adventurers did as hee bade them. for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Under their lackets they had short swordes and ponyards: belides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were flaine, and therewithail flew upon the hindmost of the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: fo that they did great mischiefe, and raised yet a greater terrour. Thus Hannibal, in a plaine levell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gaue the first. Astrubal, having in short space broken the Roman troupes of horse, and cut in peeces all, saue the Companie of 4-50 milius that rushed into the groffe of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered fome narrow passage, betweene the River and their owne Battalions; did not flav to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell back behinde the Reare of his owne. and fetching about, came vp to the Numidians: with whom hee joyned, and gaue

vpon Terentius. This fearefull cloude, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other lide : fo did it prognosticate a difmall florme vnto those, vpon whom it was readie now to fall. Wherefore Terentius his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to fustaine; thought it the best way, to avoide the danger by prefent flight. The Conful was no leffe wife than they, in apprehending the great neffe of his owne perill, nor more desperate, in striuing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many arguke from him, to sustaine the impreffion alone, which he could not have endured with their affiftance. Now hee an found, that it was one thing to talke of Hannibal at Rome; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought elfe, excepting hastie slight, his present leisure would not ferne him to confider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light Numidians : appointed by Aldrubal vnto the pursuit, as fittelt for that service. As drubal himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backs of the Romans; that were ere this hardly diffreffed, and in a manner furrounded on all parts elfe. He brake them eafily; who before made ill refiftance, being inclosed, and laid at on every fide, not knowing which way to turne. Here beganne a pittifull flaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilest enery one sought to avoide 20 those enemies, whom hee saw nearest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about £milius, got vp to horse, and saucd themselves : which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeve it, than suppose that Linie so reporteth to grace thereby his Historic with this following tale. CN. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS, galloping along by a place, where he faw the Conful sitting all blondied upon a stone, entreated him to rife and faue himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But PAVLVS refused it; willing LENTVLVS to shift for himselfe, and not to loof time: faring. That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into judgement by the People, either as an acculer of his Colleague, or as guiltie bimfelfe of that dayes loffe. Further hee willed LENTVLVS to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to FABIVS: wil-20 live them to fortifie Rome, as fast and well as they could; and telling FABIVS, that Hee lived and died mindfull of his wholesome counsaile. These wordes (peraduenture) or some to like purpose, the Conful vttered to Lentulus, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or when hee beheld the first defeat of his Horse, at what time he put him selfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but Hannibal knew what he faid a good while before this; when he thought the Conful and his troupe, in little better case than if they had beene bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, vvas inclosed indeede as within a lack, vvhereof the African Battalions made the fides; the Spaniards, Gasles, and Hannibal with his Carthaginians, the bottome; and Afdrubal with his horse, closed up the mouth; in which part, they first 40 of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, vyherein all the rest followed-\*\*Emilius therefore, who could not fit his horse, whilest the battaile yet lasted, and vyhileft the spaces yvere somewhat open, by which hee might haue vvithdrawne himselfe; vvas now (had he neuer so vvell beene mounted) vnable to slie, having in his year to close a throng of his owne miterable followers, and to many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile hee fought no leffe valiantly, than hee had yvarily before, both abstained himselfe, and diffwaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day yvas ytterly loft, it had laine in his power to faue his owne life, vnto the good of his Countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that he either too much disestee-50 med himfelfe; or being too faintly minded, was vecarie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if fuch a resolution overe praise overthic in Amilius, as proceeding out of Roman valour; then was the English vertue of the Lord Iohn Talbot, Vicount Life, fonne to that famous Earle of Shrewesburie, who died in the Battaile of Chastillen, more highly to be honoured. For Amilius was old, gricuously, Liu. l. 19.

if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the ouerthrow received: Talkot was in the floure of his youth, vahurt, eafily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his father; who foreseeing the loffe of the bartaile, and not meaning to flaine his actions past by flying in his old

age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone, and leave him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, faue two or three thousand. who (as Linie faith) escaped into the leffer campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troups, 10. partly dispersed, into Cannusium : the next day, the Roman Camps, both leffe and greater, were yeelded vnto Hannibal by those that remained in them. Polybius hath no mention of this escape : only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom Emilius had left on the West side of Aufidus (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of Hannibal, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their defire, which they had well-neare done, the battaile was loft and Hannibal, comming over the water to them, draue them into their owne campe; which they quickly yeelded, having loft two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of Hannibal, comming upon them with his victorious Armie, a great number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, 20 retired into their campe, and held the Enemie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like ) that having ferued at Canna, were afterwards extremely difgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the Roman horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertaine: but very few they were that faued themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and Terentius the Conful recovered Venusia, with threescore and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no meruaile: for Fenusia lay many miles off to the Southward; fo that his nearest way thither, had been through the midst of Hannibals Armie, if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needes be, that 30 when once he got out of fight, he turned vp some by-way; so disappointing the Numidians that hunted contre. Of such as could not hold pace with the Conful, but tooke other waies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabouts, were gathered up by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all sauce three hundred; who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into fundric Townes. There died in this great Battaile of Canna, besides L. Amilius Paulus the Conful; two of the Roman Quastors or Treasurers, and one and twentie Colonells or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourfcore Senators, or fuch as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke, as having beene £diles, Prators, or Consuls: among whom was Cn. 40 Seruilus the last yeares Consul, and Minutius, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, Linie makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse : too few to have defended, for the space of one halfe houre, both the Roman camps; which yet the same Linie faith, to have beene onercowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to give credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth speaking in the Senate, and laying, That they were no leffe than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemic spared, when the furie of Execution was past: but to these must be added about fine thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their companie were either flaine or fled. So 50 the reckoning falls out right: which the Romans, especially the Consul Varre, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the fide of Hannibal there died some foure thousand Gaules, fisteene hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts; a losse

not sensible, in the joy of so great a victorie; which if he had pursued, as Maharbal aduifed him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome; it is little doubted but that the Warre had presently beene at an end. But hee believed not so farre in his owne prosperitie; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to vec, a victorie.

# ð. I X.

Of things following the battaile at Canna.

Ot without good cause doth Polybius reprehend those two Historians, Fabius the Roman, and Philinus the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their tra-uailes, than the truth of things, and information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites and Fathers conferint. No man of found judgement will condemne this libertic of centure, which Polyhins hath yfed. For, to recompence his junioritie, (fuch as it was) hee produceth fub-20 stantiall arguments, to justifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanitie of those former Authors, out of their owne writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines it is to bee suspected, that hee would not have taken, had hee beene borne in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and beene contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it descrued, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall have cause to wish, that either they were fomewhat leffe Roman, or elfe, that fome Workes of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake : being henceforth destitute of Polybius his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But fince this cannot be, we must be 30 sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentiue circumspection is needfull cuen at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulnesse, which we finde in the best Narration, of things following the Battaile of Canne. For it is faid, that foure thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Conful Terentius at Venulia; that others, to the number of ten thousand, got into Cannufum, choosing for their Captaines yong P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet that the Conful Terentius Varre, joyning his companie vnto those of Scipio at Cannusium, wrote vnto the Senate, that hee had now well-neare ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly 40 rifen, that had beene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from Capua (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with Hannibal) were sent vnto Terentius, and found him at Venusia, a pretie while before he wrote those letters, which ouer-tooke (in a manner) at Rome the first newes of the ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter enfuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of

When Hannibal had facked the Roman campe, and truffed up the spoiles, forth-50 with he diflodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to for lake the Roman partie, and make alliance with Carthage. The first Towne that opened the gates vnto him, was Coffa, where he laid up his baggage : and leaving his brother Mago to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The generall affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities

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of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not only in regard of their grieuous losses, suttained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselues, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Countrie, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesse (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto fuch of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victorie at Cann.s., He had louingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had fought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared hee to winne their loue with gifts; pretending, to admire their valour; but seeking indeede, by all waies and meanes, to make them his, whileft all other motiues were concurrent. At this time also hee beganne to deale kindly (though against his nature) with his Roman prisoners: telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by injuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare sourraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroicd. So he gaue them leave to choose ten of their number, that should bee sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome; and together with these, he sent Carthalo a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to feelethe disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersitie, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the Romans these artes prevailed not, as shall bee shewed in due an place. The people of Italie, all or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not only wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceineable hope, of changing their old Societic for a better. Wherefore not only the Sammites, Lucans, Bruttans, and Apulians, ancient enemies of Rome, and not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, beganne to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Halie most bound vnto the State of Rome, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as streightly conjoyned, as were any saue the Latines, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred; without any other cause found, than

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of Italie, if not (as somethen 20 thought) of all the Earth : and the Citie of Capua, answerable vnto the Countrie. whereof it was Head, fogreat, faire, and wealthie, that it feemed no leffe convenient a feat of the Empire, than wascither Rame or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauerie is the leaft requilite vnto foucraigne command. The Campan were luxurious, idle, and proud : and valuing themselues, like layes by their feathers, despited the vnfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons, and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the majestic of Rome, and could not endure to heare of Innovation. But the Plebeian faction had lately so prevailed within Capua, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of Pacavius Calanius an 40 ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was vp-held, by furthering all popular defires : whereof, the conjunction with Hannibal was not the leaft. Some of the Capuans had offered their Citie to the Carthaginian, shortly after the battaile of Thra-Symene: wherupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal made his journic into Campania; the Distator Fabius waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearnes of the Roman Armie, or some other searc of the Capuans, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leifure, to treat about any articles of new Confederacie: or had leisure served, yet were the Multitude ( whose inconstant love Hannibal had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vsage, and free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any fuch negotiation, without aduice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promifed to yeeld vp their towne to Hannibal & to meet him on the way, with some of their nobilitie, that should affure him of all faithfull meaning; were driven to fit still, in a great perplexitie: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered them-

Clues, to draw upon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate; on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The People, holding so tender a regard of libertie, that even the lawfull Governement of Magistrates grieued them, with an imaginarie oppression; had now good cause to searc, lest the Senators would become their Lords indeede, and, by helpe of the Romans, bring them under a more fireight subjection, than euer they had endured. This feare, being readie to breake into some outrage, Pacuvius made vse of, to ferue his owne ambition. He discoursed vnto the Senate, as they sate in Councell, to about these motions troubling the Citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a Roman; but, that the danger of forfaking the Roman partie was not now the greatest: for that the People were violently bent euen to murder all the Senate, and afterward to joyne themfelues with Hannibal; who should countenance the fact, and faue them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People and prinie ynto their designes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuerthelesse to deliuer them all, and to fetthings in quiet, if they would freely put themselues into his hands; offering his oath, or any other affurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iffue forth, without his leaue: Hee called the People to affembly; and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, hee told them, that these wicked Gouernours were furprised by his pollicie, and all fast, readie to abide what sentence they would lay woon them. Only thus much he adulfed them, as a thing which necessitie required. That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearling vnto them the names of one or two Senators, hee asked what their judgement was of those. Allcried out, that they were worthic of death. Choose then (faid he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the Mul-30 titude, vnprouided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men fo nominated, were vtterly difliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, basenesse, and infufficiencie; or else euen because they were vnknowne, and therefore held vnworthie, This difficultie in the new Election appearing more and more, whileft more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, having been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) Pacinim entreated, and easily prenailed with

the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleffe) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured Ao Pacuvius, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also, were gouerned by him: to whom they acknowledged themselues indebted, for sauing all their lines. Neither did the Senate faile after this, by all obsequiousnesse, to court the People. giuing the reines unto their lawlesse Will, who else were likely to cast them downe: All the Citie being thus of one minde; only feare of the Romans, kept them from opening their gates to Hannibal. But after the Battaile at Canne, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouthes to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the Campans, did then serue the Romans in the Isle of Sicil: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed fo farre, that Embaffadors were fent vnto Terentius the Conful; to fee 50 his present case, and what it could minister of Hopeor Feare. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weakein spirit, as in followers.

Yet they offered him formally the feruice of their State; and defired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them, the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: faying, that all was loft; and that the Campans must now.

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not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but, make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had somtimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Inuective against Hannibaland his Carthaginians: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of flaughtered carkafes, and to feede upon mans flesh; with fuch other stuffe, as only bewraied his owne feare. As for the Campans themselues. He put them in minde of their present strength : they having thirtie thousand foot. and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came : and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing 10 to secke their owne libertie. Having reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannibal, with whom they easily made Alliance, you these conditions; That the Campans should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizen of theirs should bee subject vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what case socuer, whether in Warre, or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliuer vnto the Campans three hundred Roman prisoners, such as they themfelues would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were

Against all this Negotiation, Decius Magius an honorable Citizen opposed himfelfe carneftly : vling, in vaine, many perswalions, to the wilfull and head-strong 20 Multitude; whom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, withing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were fending Embaffadors to Hannibal: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the Towne : at which time be gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and cut it in peeces, that, by such a notable peece of service, they might make amends vnto the

Romans, whom they had for faken.

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Aduertisement hereof was given to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farre off, lent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: alleaging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection vnto any 30 Carthaginian; and therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: forbearing to attempt any further vpon Naples; which he thought to haue taken in his way by Scalado, but found the walls too high, and was not well prouided, to lay fiege vnto it. At Capua hee was entertained with great folemnitie and pompe : all the people issuing forth of the Towne, to behold that great Commander, which had wonne so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the light of that goodly Citic, and passed ouer his first Entertainements: He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke; promifing, that ere long all Italie, and Rome it felfe, should bee driven to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for Decius Magius, who 40 openly tooke part with the Romans their enemies; Hee prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a Traitor to the State; and vie him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and Magins, deliuered vnto Hannibal; who vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first comming, by putting fo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might fue for his libertie, if hee kept him aline, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hamibal feeled his friend ship with the Campans: among whom, only this Deeius Magius had openly dared to speake against him; being affisted by Perolla the fonne of Paeuvius. This Perolla would have murdered Hannibal, whilest hee was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authoritie kept him 50 from making any fuch attempt. All the Towne (belides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are faid to have murdered all the Romans, vpon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bathe.

The same course of forcune, with those of Capua, ranne some other Townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Caliline, and Acerra, were the Cities next adjoyning, that flood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeede, though stoutly defended.

The Romans at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreme feare of Hannibals comming at the first report of the overthrow at Canne: and the griefe of that to loffe was fo generall, and immoderate, that it much diffurbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loffe alreadie received, or the feare of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to funt the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the fireets were full. Courriers were fent forth, to bring affured tidings how all went: whereof when letters from the Conful Varro had throughly informed them, they were fo amazed, that they ranne into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was faid) from their fatall bookes, buried aline two men and women Gaules and Greekes, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of Sibyl gaue them such instructions; we may justly thinke, that Sibyl herselfe was instructed by the Denill. Yet is it not 20 improbable, that extremitie of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Soothfavers; whosedetestable counsailes they afterwards, for their owne honour, (as alhamed of fuch Authors) imputed to the bookes of Sibyl. An Embaffadour was fent to Delphi, to confult the Oracle of apollo; and enquire, with what prayers and fundications they might pacific the Gods, and obtains an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnesse of their feare; though not serving to give remedie. At the same time came letters out of Sicil, from the Prætor Octacilius; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe ouer into Africk. In these were contained newes, of one Carthaginian fleet, that wasted the Kingdome of Hieron their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the 20 Iles Agateis, which was in readineffe to fet upon Lilybeum, and the rest of the Roman Prouince, if the Prætor stirred aside, to the rescue of Hieron.

In the middest of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home Terentius the Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to take four raigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessitie required. It must needes seeme strange, that all forts of people went forth to meet the Conful, and bid him welcome home, gining him thankes for that he had not despaired of the Weale publique. But this was done (as may feeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleffe) prouided wifely, for vp-holding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what elfe would have 40 followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subject vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeede he gaue it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thankes; they noised abroad a fame. which came perhaps vnto the cares of Hannibal, of their Magnanimitie and Confidence: that might feeme grounded on their remayning strength. This therefore was wifely done: But whereas Liuie would have vs thinke, that it was done generoully, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not. It was done fearefully, and to cover their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have ftruck off his head; as in few yeares after Cn. Faluius had his life brought Lin Lab. into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthic, for a smaller 50 offence. M. Junius, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and

T. Sempronius, Mafter of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raifed foure new Legions and a thousand horse; though with much 1:01,122, difficultie; as being faine to take vp fome, that were very Boics. These foure Le-Rions, are elsewhere forgotten, in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and

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two Legions only fet downe, that had beene enrolled in the beginning of the yeare for cultodie of the Citie. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawne into the field; foure new ones of Pratextati, or Striplings, were left in their places. In fuch raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to bee reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them eight thousand sturdie flaues, that were put in hope of libertie, if they should descrue it by manfull service. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, that who focuer ought monie and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith beedifcharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would ferue in the Warre. To armethefe Companies, they were faine to take downe, out of their Temples and Porches, the 10 spoiles of their enemies that had beene there set vp; among which, were fixe thoufand Armours of the Gaules, that had been carried in the Triumph of C. Flaminius. a little before the beginning of this Warre. To fuch mockerie had God brought the pride of the Romans, as a due reward of their infolent oppressions, that they were faine to iffue forth of their ownegates, in the habit of strangers, when Hannibal was readie to encounter them with his Africans, armed Roman-lake.

About the same time it was, that Carthalo, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at Canna, came to Rome. Carthalo was not admitted into the Citic, but commanded. whileft he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the Roman Territorie. To the Messengers of the captines, audience was given by the Senate. They made ear- 20 neft Petition, to be ranformed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poore kins-folke, but the great neede, wherein the Citie then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their fuit; which yet they obtayned not: Besides the generall custome of the Romans (held by long Tradition, and strengthned by a notable Precedent, when Regulus was overthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former warre) not to be too tender of fuch as had veelded to the Enemie: much was a leaged against these who now craued ransome; but the special point was, that they were wilfully loft, fince they might have faued them felues, as others did. It fufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Confuls they were told, that this was great prefumption. The truth was, the 30 State wanted monie : and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the difbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we finde recorded. Neither must wee regard it, that the flaues which were armed for the warre, are faid to have coft more, than the fumme did amount vnto, that would have ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale. denifed to countenance the Roman proceedings, as if they had beene feuere; when as indeede they were futeable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hercofit is no little proofe, That Hannibal valued those Roman flaues, whom he had taken in the campe among their Mafters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranfome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the 40 price, whereat he thought them current. But if wee should suppose, that by trading with Hannibal, a better bargaine for flaues might have beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withall consider, that these private mendid only lend these slaves for a while vnto the Common-wealth. and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchifed) untill the warre should be ended. If Hannibal would have given fuch long day of paiment; it is likely that the Romans would have beene his chapmen: but feeing he dealt only for readic monic, they chofe rather to fay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like aufteritie, vpon the fame reason. but contrarie pretence, was vied toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great 50 Battaile. These were charged, for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done fo. True it is, that in such cases (if ever ) that which they call raggione del Stato may ferue for an excuse : when the Common-wealth being driven to a miserable Exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing injuriesto

private men. And so dealt the Romans now : condemning all those that had served at Canna, to be transported into Suil; and there to serve, not as others did vntill they had fulfilled twentie yeares in the warres, or elfe were fiftie yeares of age ; but untill this warre should bee ended, how long soener it lasted, and that without reward. The same thriftie censure, was afterwards laid upon others, for their missehaulour: but never vpon any man of qualitie, fauc only (agood while after this, at better leifure) vpon Cacilius Metellus, and a few other hare-braind fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wits with the terrour of fo great a loffe, were deuiling, after the battaile, which way to runne out of Italie, when Hannibal as yet to had scarce one Towne within it. The inequalitie of this rigour grew shortly distast-

full to the Commonaltic; and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the People; neuer- Links theleffe it was quietly digefted, the excuse being no leffe apparent than the fault.

M. Iunius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie. tooke the field with five and twentie thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot finde : nor more of him, than this, That he spent the time about Campania; where (as may be prefumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be afcribed, that Hannibal did no greater cuill; for of any cuill done to Hannibal, by the Romans in this their weake chate, only Marcellus had the honour. Marcellus, being then one of the Prætors, lay at Offia with a fleet, readie to fet faile for Si-20 cil, having one Legion aboord his ships, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces he was to defend that lland, and doe what harme hee could in Africk. But hearing of the ouerthrow at Canna, hee fent thefe of his new Leuie to Rome, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward Cannusium: delivering the fleet, emptic of Souldiers, to P. Furius his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of Nola, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the rest of the Campans) to let in the Carthaginian; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by feeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacie. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the E-20 nemie. Many idle walkes Hannibal made, betwixt Nola and Naples : affaying by faire wordes, and terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. Naples was firong, and not infected with any the least touch of dissolatie : it had also a fure Hauen; whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustayning much inconvenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrie. But at Nolait was thought a valuable confideration, That Hannibal was Mafter of the field; which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude: and fuch talke vled fome, that had little feare of their owne private want or povertie, but a great defire to gratifie the Carthaginian. Of these, one L. Bantius was chiefe; a stout yong Gentleman. and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citic, and one that had done 40 good feruice to the Romans: but was found by Hannibal, halfe dead at Canna, and after much gentle vsage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thankes he could vnto so courteous an Enemie. Marcellus perceiuing this, wrought vpon the same case nature of the Gentleman; and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deferued of the Roman state, had not repaired unto him the Prator, who desired no. thing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and louing entertainement, being himfelfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this Bantius fo farre in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted 50 within Wola, against the Romans, whereof he had not presently aducttifement. At the comming of Marcellus, Hannibal removed from about Nola; and affaird, as formerly he had done, the Neapolitans : but they had lately taken in a Roman Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptoric answere, to his discontent.

Thence went he to Nuceria: which he tooke by composition; and so returned back

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againe to Nola. Hee was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of Nota bore vnto him: who although they durft not firre in his quarrell, being ouerawed by the Roman Garrison ; yet if they saw Marcellus hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies affailing him without, like enough it feemed, that they would not bee wanting vnto the accomplilhment of their owne defires. Hee therefore brought his Armie close to the Towne, and skirmished often with Marcellus: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which hee soughe in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night-time there paffed meffages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if 10 once Marcellus, with all his forces, could bee trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemie. Of this Negotiation Marcellus was advertised; and fearing left the Conspirators would shortly aduenture, even to finde him busied within the Citie, whileft the Carthaginians should scale the walls; he thought it the furest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and fend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three Companies, within three feuerall gates looking towards the Enemie: He gaue a fireight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus hee lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had enstomarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was 20 further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that furely all was discourred, and Marcellus now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon hee bad his men bring ladders, and make readie for the affault; which was done in all hafte. But when the Carthaginians were at the very walls, and thought nothing leffe, than that the Romans would meet them in the field: fuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat Marcellus, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected fallie the more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, much out of order, were fome of them flying before Marcellus, the rest making head against him : the other two gates opened, whereat in like fort iffued they of the new-leuied Companies, 20 vponthe enemies backs. The fudden terrour was more availeable vnto the Romans, than their force: yet the Execution was fo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the brauch Acts performed in all that warre; forafmuch as hereby it was first proued, that Hannibal might be ouer-come. After this, Marcellus, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of Nola: condemning about threefcore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the Towne in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about Sueffula. Hannibal in the meane feafon was gone to Acerra: where being excluded, he thought it no wildome to loofe time in perswasions, but laid siege vnto it, and beganne on all sides to close it vp. This ter- 40 rified the People, who knew themselves vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Towns emptie: which he facked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about Casiline, thither went Hannibal: as being vnwilling that an Enemie so neare should disquiet him at Capua; where hee meant to Winter. It feemes, or rather indeede it is plaine, that the late victorie of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit of the Carthaginian : who durst with a small part of his Armie seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman ftrength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thoufand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden 50 eruption; witneffeth chiefly, in what great feare they flood of Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were : that having three yeares since demanded at Carthage, the bodie of Hannibal, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not farre

from Rome he appeared to be a man, and not reliftlesse. At Casilinum the Dictator was not: but many Companies of Italians, Confederates of Rome, were gotten into the Towns, and held it. Five hundred of the Pranellines there were, and aboue foure hundred of Perulia, with some of the Latines. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battaile of Canna, being sent by their seuerall States to the campe: whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and fent them back forrowfull; for they loued well their Lords the Romans, vnder whose gouernement they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to Casiline, where they met and staied. Neither had they staied there long, 10 cre they heard newes from Capua, How that great Citie became the Ring-leader of all the Campans into rebellion. The people of Casiline were affected as they of Capua: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those Pranestines and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townssmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River Vulturnus) against the Enemie. If they had runne away with the goods, and pretended, that these of Casiline were, as the rest of the Campans, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the Mamertines. But their constancie in defence of the place with effeth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. Hannibal came thither. 20 thinking to have encountred with greater forces : but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers affaults hee gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many fallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemie mined; and they countermined: oppoling so much industrie to his force, that he was driven to close them vp, and seeke to winnethem by famine. T. Sempronius Gracehus, that was Mafter of the horse, lay with the Roman Armie higher vp the Riuer: who faine would haue relieued Casiline, but that the Dictator, being gone to Rome about some matters of Religion, had given him expressecharge not to sight till his returne. Marcellus from Suessula could not come: his way being stopped by the ouer-slowingsof Vulturnus; the Nolans also beseeching him not to seaue them, who were in danger of 20 the Campans, if he departed. Thus it is reported : but if the water staied his journie, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at Rome folong, as till extreme famine had confumed the Garrison in Cassline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loft, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrells of corne were sent by night, floting downe the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stuck among the Willowes on the banke, whereby this manner of reliefe was discourred and prevented; Gracehus cast a great quantitie of Nuts into the streame, which faintly fultained the poore belieged men. At length, when all foode was spent, and whatfocuer grew greene under the walls was gathered for fallets; the Carthaginians 40 ploughed up the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. Hannibal feeing this, admired their patience; and faid, That he meant not to stay at Cafiline, vntill the Rapes were growne. Wherefore, though hitherto hee had refuled to hearken vnto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacie; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ransome, which when they had paid, hee quietly dismissed them according to his promife. Seuen hundred Carthaginians hee placed in Casiline, as a Garrison for defence of the Campans; vnto whom he restored it. To the Prane. fine Souldiers great thankes were given, and louing rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of Rome. But their present so condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in Prenefte: which is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherin the Cities flourished, that were subject to the Roman Gouernement. This siege of Cassline was not a little beneficiall to the Romans; as having long detained Hannibal, and confumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue beene better spent. For Winter ouer-tooke

him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he refreshed his Armic, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the Romans in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be sent to HANNIBAL in Italie. 10 How by the malice of HANNO, and floath or parsimonie of the Carthaginians. the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of FABIVS and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.

Hen Magathe fonne of Amilear, had spent some time about the taking in of fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after the battaile at Canna; his brother Hannibal fent for him to Capua, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyfull message of Victorie. 20 He told the Carthaginian Senate, with how many Roman Generalls

his brother had fought; what Confuls he had chaced, wounded, or flaine; how the flout Romans, that in the former warre neuer shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator Fabius the only good Captaine, because he neuer durst aduenture to come to battaile; that, not without reafon, their spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had slaine of them about two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fiftie thousand prisoners. He further told them of the Brutians, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other people of Italie, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted vnto the Carthaginians. Among the rest he magnified Capua, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not only (as alreadie it was) 20 Head of all the Capuans, but the chiefe feat of their Dominion in Italie: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had beene entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the warre, He said it was euen at an end, if they would now purfue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselves, and repaire their broken forces. Hee willed them to confider, that the warre was farre from home, in the Enemies Countrie: that so many Battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie; that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberall rewards, and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with exactions of monie, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must bee sent from Carthage: 40 which the victoric would requite with large amends. Finally hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were flaine, to bee poured out openly in the Court : which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather haueit) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the Roman calamitie, for a much as none but the \* principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament,

Who so considers the former Punick Warre, may easily finde, that the State of Carthate neuer did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no meruaile, if the Errand of Mago found extraordinarie welcome. In the vehemencie of this joy, Himileo, a Senator 10 adverse to the faction of Hanne, is said to have demanded of that great perswader vnto peace with Rome, Whether he were fill of opinion, that Hannibal should bee veelded vp vnto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks vnto the Gods, for this their good fuccesse. Hereunto though it bee not likely that

Hanno made the same formall answere, which Liuie puts into his mouth, calling the Carthaginian Senators Patres conscripti, by a terme proper to the Romans, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull ouerthrow received at the llands Agateis: yet the summe of his speech appeares to have beene no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, for a fmuch as Hannibal himfelfe, at his departure out of Italie, exclaimed apainst the wickednesse of this Hanno; saying, that his hatred against the Barchines, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; faying, It ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the Romans, to call for 10 more helpe, as if he had beene beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled for footh with spoile, to make request for meat and monie. To these cauills, if anfwere were needfull, it might be faid, That other bootie than of horfes and flaues, little was to be found in the Roman campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few a filuer fluds in the bridles and trappings of a Lin. 1.22. their horses. If Hannibal had taken any maine convoy of monie and providions, going to supply all wants of a great Armie in some other Province, (as the two Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, when they wanne the campe of Aldrabal, that carried along with him all the wealth of Spaine, in his journie towards Hale) then might fuch an objection more juftly have beene made vnto his demand of a fupply. 20 But the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, and wherein hee best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to

feeke peace, whileft they had fo much the better in warre. What would have beene the iffue of this counfaile, if it had beene followed, it were not casie to say. For though it bee likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignitie, in freeing Italie from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would haue beene kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shamefull ouerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissione behauiour could preserve Carthage from ruine, longer 20 than vntill fuch time, as Rome was at leifure from all other warres. This counfaile therefore of Hanno, though it might feeme temperate, was indeede very pestilent;

and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that fortie thousand Numidians, fortie Elephants, and great abundance of filuer, should bee sent ouer to Hannibal: and that, belides these, twentie thousand foot, and soure thousand horse, should be levied in Spaine; not only to supply, as neede should require, the Armies in that Province. but to be transported into Itali.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully fent, as it was readily decreed, the Roman Historians would not have found cause; to taxe the rechlesse improvidence of 40 Hannibal, in forbearing to march directly from Canne to Rome, or in refreshing his Armicamong the delights of Capua: the next yeares worke would have finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the Campans, would have beene commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to bee imploied in the following warre. But either the too much carelefnesse of those, that were loth to make hafte in laying out their monie, before extreme necessitie required it; or the craftic malice of Hanne, and his fellowes, working vpon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commoditie, than fenfe of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the to order that had beene so well set downed. The b Elephants were sent : and some b Luclas. monie peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into Italie, till much was lost of that which alreadic had beene gotten, and a great part of the old Carthaeinian Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundrie accidents of warre. Only

reports it:and credible it is. that while Rome was poore, the braneric of prinate men was nor altogether fo great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise Iss Annal, The wearing of the King , was the

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fome small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into Spaine; and the journic of Afdrubal thence through France into Italie much talked of, but he not enabled therevnto, till many yeares were past, and the Romans had recovered their firength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the Carthaginians drew into their Citie. both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthie Tradeof merchandize. For it is not long, fince the warre of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious tyrannic of the Romans, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impourished Carthage: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of fo much monie, as was to bee difburfed for re- 10 deeming of peace, after the loffe at & gateis. Yet we fee, what great Armies of Numidians, and Spaniards, befides those alreadie on foot, are appointed to the service in Italie, and how little the Carthaginians feare the want of monie in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the Romans, on the other fide, having three or foure yeares together beene forced to some extraordinarie cost, are faine to goe vpon credit cuen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasurie, had the wealthie merchants of Carthage, trading in all parts of the Mediterran Sea, even from Tyrus their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the Romans : who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes 20 from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of Rome found leifure to flew it felfe, in the destruction of Carthage; the impudence of Roman fallhood, in feeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discourred plainely whence the jealousie was bred, that this mightie Citie would againe rebell. For the Carthaginians, having giuen vp hostages, euen before the Roman Armie did set forth, to performe whatsoeuer should bee enjoyned them, with condition that their Citic might not beedeftroied; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of warre; the Romans told them plainly, That the Citie of Carthage, which was the Bodie of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but 20 the Towns must needes be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (faid the Romans) this Trade of merchandize, by which yee now line, is not fo fit for peaceable men, fuch as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of husbandrie; an wholsome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the Romans, though fugred with glofing wordes, plainly shewes, what good observation the elder Cato had made of the haftie growth of Carthage in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatfocuer it were, added still this conclusion, Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroied; He may seeme, 40 not only to have had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the Citie, but much more vnto these times, and the great height whervnto it rofe, euen fuddenly as wee fee, out of many calamities, whileft the Romans thought, that it had not beene in case to dare so terrible a warre.

But as the Carthaginians, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the Ramans; so came they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good : having every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (belides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly, was ouer-past, goe more leifurely to worke, than had been erequifite in the execution. It was cafie for Hanne to perswade couctous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in Spaine. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was fecured, they might fend an Armie into Italie; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisedome, to commit

all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the Encmies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Gouernement of an ambitious man. and his brethren; who having once (if they could fo doe) finished the warre, might casily make \* Hannibal a King, and subdue Carthage, with the forces that shee had " Officham. given them to the conquest of Rome.

By fuch malicious working of Hanno, and by their owne flacknesse, incredulitie, sed Hannibal, dulnesse, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were perswaded rather to make small difbur sements in Spaine, than to set up all their rest at once in Italie. Yet was it indeede woon warre, impossible, to hold a Countrie of so large extent, and so open a coast, as that of that is her 10 Spaine, free from all incursion of the Enemie : especially the affection of the Natu- might line ralls being (as in a new Conquest) ill chablished. A better way therefore it had been with Legions, to make a running warre, by which the Romans might have beene found occupied, as knowing no euen with the ordinarie Carthaginian Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. otherway to For if it were thought meet, to deferre the profecution of their maine intendment a King, Lin. against Rome it selfe, vntill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the lib,21. fides of fo great a Prouince, then must Emporia have been belieged and forced; which by reason of alliance with the Masslians, gave vnto the Romans, at all times when they pleased, a readie and secure Harbour. But the Towns of Emperie was too firong to be wonne in hafte; it had long defended it felfe against the Barbarians; haon uing not about foure hundred paces of wall to the maine Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great Spanish Towne of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the Grecians, though not ouer-much trufted. Wherefore to force this Towne of Emporie, that was, befides the proper strength, like to be so well affished by the Massilians, Romans, and some Spaniards; would have been a worke of little leffe difficultie, than was the Roman warre (in appearance) after the battaile at Canna: yea it had beene in effect none other, than to alter the feat of the warre; which Hannibal had alreadie fixed, with better judgement, neare vnto the gates of Rome. The difficultie of this attempt being fuch, as caused it altogether to be forborne; great follie it was, to bee much on troubled about expelling the Romans veterly out of Spaine : whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong warre vpon their Citie. For even so the Romans afterwards removed Hannibal into Africk, by fending an Armic to Carthage; and by taking the like courfe. they now endeuoured to change the feat of the warre, transferring it out of Halie into Spaine. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwife, than as it is acceffarie to their owne purpofes, did make them eafily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it felfe, though they fet not to their helping hands. Hanno was a malicious wretch : yet they that thought him fo, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as lone 40 as they were plaulible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they fuffered Hannibal, and all the noble house of Amilear, to wearie themselves in trauaile for the Common-wealth: which all Carthage in generall highly commended, but weakely affifted; as if the industrie of these Barchines had beene some hat more than needfull. Surely the Carthaginians, in generall, were farre leffe honorable than the People of Rome: not only in gouernement of their fubject Provinces, but in administration of their owne Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike about their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parlimonic vled toward their owne Mercinaries, when the former Roman warre was finished: so the conclusion of this warre present, will make them complaine, with 50 feeling lighes, of their negligence in supplying Hannibal, after the victoric at Can-na; when gladly they would giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunitie, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into

That both the spanish businesse, and the state of Africk it selfe, depended whol-

ly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in Halie, the course of actions fol-

Pollib.t.

lowing will make manifelt. Particularly how matters were ordered in Spaine by the Carthaginian Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthic Historian Liuie, the tender loue of his owne Countrie, which made him give credit vnto Fabius and others : vet must we not, for his fake, beleeve those lies, which the vnpartiall judgement of Polybius hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needleffe to rehearfeall that may be found in Polybius, concerning the vntruth of that Roman Historian Fabius. One example may suffice. Hee faith of Amilear and his men at Eryx, in the former warre, That having cleane spent their strength, and being euen 10 broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves vnto the Romans. Contrarie hercunto we finde in the Life of AMILCAR, fet downe by Emilius Probus, That Eryx was in such fort held by the Carthaginians, that it seemed to bee in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any warre. These wordes, being referred to the braue resolution of the Carthaginian Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouer-liberall. For in the Treatic of peace betweene Amilear and Catulus, when the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Ergx should lay downetheir Armes, and for fake Siel, threatning, that otherwise he would not talke of any composition: Amilear boldly bad him choose, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the 20 Armes, which his Countrie had put into his handes to vie against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the Romans, contrarie to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let Amilear have his will, and not to fland with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their handes of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man confumed with miseries, as Fabius would have him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of Polybius: who flatly, and by name, chargeth Fabius with vntruth; faying, that how focuer Amilear, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselues as men that had no sense thereof; and were as farre from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference 20 betweene Fabius (as also perhaps betweene other old Writers of the Roman storie) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mightie Citie of Rome: we must take it in good part, that how soeuer Liuie introduceth Hanno, in one place, joyning very foolishly his owne shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands \* Egamagares in-fular, Ergeeng teis, with the great services of Amilear at Ergu, as if both of them had had a like event; yet a elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his owne vnhappie conduct) into the same Hanno his mouth, making him fay, That the affaires of Carthage went neuer better, than a

little before the loffe of their fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Ge-

that this Fabius, with Val. Antias, and others of the like stampe, had either written

(if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affe-

ction of Linie to his Rome, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations:

nerall. Now concerning the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine, there is cause to wish, 40

\* Azateis Inante oculos pro-ponite &c. Liu.

which are fuch as follow.

Ò. X I. 5°

Strangereports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before ASDRVBAL the Sonne of AMILCAR followed thence his brother HANNIBAL into Italie.



Thath beene shewed alreadie, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Conful, returning from Gaule into Italie, to encounter with Hannibal at his defcent from the Alpes, fent before him his brother Cneus, with part of his Fleet and Armie, into Spaine. Two Roman Legions, with foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse.

had beene alotted vnto this Gonful, therewith to make warre in Spaine against Hanno nibal; who fince he was marching into Italie with the strength of his Armie, P. Scipio beleeved, that a good part of these his owne forces might well bee spared from the Spanish Expedition; and therefore made bold to carrie some of the number back with him, fending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. Publius himselfe remayned in Italie all the time of his Confulfhip: which being expired, He was fent Proconful into Spaine by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a Acet of thirtie Gallics.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat meruailous. For they continually preuailed in Spaine, against the Carthaginians: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from on their Alliance fo many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that wee have cause to wonder, how the Enemic could so often finde meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliuer the Countrie from the tyrannic of Carthage, might casily winne vnto their Confederacie, as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durftadnenture to breake it : fo the ancient reputation of the first Conquerours, might serve to arme the Naturalls against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted vnto the Romans, were it only by the memorie of fuch ill fuccesse, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian treasure: which easily raifed fouldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirstic Na-20 tions. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinfmen, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Italian warres; or ferning the Carthaginians in Africk. And peraduenture, if we durft be bold to fay it; the victorics of the Scipio's were neither fo many, nor fo great, as they are fet out by Linie. This we may be bold to fay, That the great Captaine Fabius, or Linie in his person, maketh an objection vnto Scipie, which neither Scipie, nor Liuie for him, doth answer, That if A SDRVBAL were vanquished, as SCIPIO would say, by him in Spaines strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should inuade Italie. And it is indeede an incredible narra-

tion, That Adrubal being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape 40 out of a battaile, faue only by the fleepe descent of Rocks, ouer a great River that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monic, Elephants, and broken troups, ouer Tagus, directly toward the Pyrenees, and fo toward Italie; spon which hee fell with more than threefcore thousand armed fouldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a peece of ground very defencible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his monie and Elephants away before him; as not intending to abide the Enemie: Or how it could be true, that thefe his Elephants, being fo fent before, could hinder the Romans (for fo are they faid to have done in the last battaile betweene him and Scipio) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be forrie, that 50 all Carthaginian records of this warre, and Spanish, (if there were any) being vtterly

loft, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisdome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily runne ouer the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine; not greatly infifting on partiticulars, whereof there is no great certaintie.

1iu,l.21.

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Polyb.l.3.

retaining (till the fame name with little inflexion: That by the fame of his clemencie he allured many Nations to become subject vnto Rome, as the storie beginnes of him, I could easily beleeue, if I understood by what occasion they had neede to vse his elemencie, or he to give fuch famous example thereof, being a meere firanger. and having no jurisdiction in the Countrie, Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well infinuate himfelfe into the loue of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexteritie in practife had the better fuccesse, for that hee feemed to have none other errand, than fetting them at libertie. This pretext availed with fome : others were to bee hired with monie : and fome hee compelled to 10 yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had wonne a battaile against Hanno. In. to all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that hee remembred to infert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnleffe in long times past, and when they dealt with the Cartheginians, or their Superiours: Orat, pro com. Maieftatem Pop. Rom. comiter conferuent, which is, as Tullie interpretsit, That they (bould gently (or kindly) up-hold the Maiestie of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeede an obscure couenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became ditionis Romane; of the Roman iuri/diction; though hereafter they will fay, they had no fuch meaning. That part of the Countrie wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by 20 Hannibal in his passage toward Italie; and therefore the more casily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Bargutians, Hannibal had found, at his comming among them, fuch an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province betweene Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principalitie of their Countrie vnto Hanno and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall over them, in matters of warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be gouerned 30 by Hanno, at his diferetion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the comming of Scipio swith whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the age of our Grand-fathers, wearie by turnes of the Spaniards and French; as more sensible still of the prefent euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ranne by feeking to avoide it. This bad affection of his Province, would not fuffer Hanno to temporize. Tenthousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left unto him : belides which it is like, that some forces hee was able to raise out of his 40 Prouince. Therefore hecaduentured a battaile with Sopio; wherein hee was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victorie, Scipio befieged Stiffum, a Towne hard by, and wanne it. But Afarubal having passed therus, and comming too late to the reliefe of Hanno, with eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, sell vpon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not farre about Tarracon, whom he found careleffe, as after a victorie, rouing abroad in the Countrie; and with great flaughter draue them abourd their ships. This done, he ranne vp into the Countrie, where he with drew the Illergetes from the Roman partie, though they had given hoftages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane scason was gone to visit and aide his fleet : where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward Adnubal; who durst not abide his comming, but with drew himselfe againe operaberus. So the Illergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The Ausetani likewise, Consederates of the Carthaginians, were belieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirtie

daies: hoping in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell would have made the Romans to diflodge. But they were faine at length to weeld; and for this their obstinacie, they were amerced twentie talents of filter. During the fiege, the Lacetani came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving twelve thousand of their companie dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lacetani; that are said to bee the first which embraced the friendship of Scipie, should, without any cause remembred, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next newes that wee heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntari-

to ly ditionis Romana; Subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the storie, after a Linder few lines, hold warre against Scipio, without any affistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that Aldrubal, as it were by a charme, firred up the Illergetes, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take armes in his quarreil; whilest himselfe had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ranne away, and saued himselse beyond Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would haue told it thus: That Scipio adventuring too farre into the Countrie, was beaten by Afdrubal back to his ships, whence heedurst not sirre, vntill Wintercame on : at what time this Carthaginian returned into the heart of his Province, Icaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio wanne, by returning upon them, vnlooked for, through a deepe fnow. As for the Lacetani, Illergetes, and the reft, we may reasonably thinks, that they sought their owne benefit : helping them-

selues one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians; and contrariwise, vpon fense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grieuous tyrannie, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent toliue vnder their owne Countrie Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all Ages following may tellific : even from henceforth vnto the dayes of Augustus Cafaratill when they were neuer throughly conquered.

The yeare following this, Cn. Scipio had a vidorie against the Carthoginians, in fight at Sea; or rather came you them villochallor, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ranne not too far on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victorie, aboue one hundred and twentie Nations, or pettie Estates, in Spaine, are said to have submitted themselves vnto the Romans, and given Hostages: whereby Adrubal was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the Land, and hide himselfe in Lusitania. Yet it followes; that the Illergetes did againe rebell; that Aldrubal hereupon came ouer Iberus; and that Scipso (though having cafily vanquished the Illergetes) went 40 not forth to meet him, but firred vp against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects and had given him Hostages. These tooks from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquilhed him in two battailes; wherein they flue fifteen thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio, with the supply before mentioned : and henceforward the two brethren joyntly

administred the businesse in Spaine. The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian Warre; the two Scipio's did, hand cunctanter; without feare or doubt, passeouer Iberus, and beliege Sagantum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had alreadie subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same Celtiberians, that with their proper forces were able 50 to vanquish Afdrubal. Bostar, the Gouernour of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himselfe to be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, that the only way to get the fauour and heartie good will of the Countrie, was by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crastie Spamiard, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them

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all to the Roman Generalls: perfwading them, as hee had done Boltar, to make the Liberalitie their owne. Hereby the Romans purchased much loue : if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward and ere this we finde, that all the Spanish Hostages were left in new Carthage. I am wearie of rehearling so many particularities, whereof I can beleeue fo few. But fince wee finde no better certainties. we must content our selves with these.

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The yeare following was like vnto this: Adrubal must be beaten againe. The two Scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes warre by Land; P. by Sea. Aldrubal, with much labour and entreatie, hath gotten foure thouland foot, and fine hundred horse, out of Africk : Hee repaires his fleet; and prouides every way to make refistance. But all his chiefe Sca-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt vnto the Romans: because they had beene chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betraied the Nauie. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the Carpefians, or Carpetani, an In-land people about Toledo in the very Center of Spaine, Thefe doe much mischiefe, so that Astrabal is faine to make a journie to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly affaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to incampe himselfe strongly on an high peece of ground; whence hee dares not come forth to give them battaile. So they take a Towne by force, wherein hee had laid vp all his pronisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Countrie round 20 about. This good successe breedes negligence; for which they dearly pay. Aldrubal comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beates them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldesh to him the next day, Thencome directions from Carthage, that Aldrubal should leade his Armie forthwith into Italie: which we may wonder, why the Carthaginians would appoint him to doe, if they had beene informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had fo weakely supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus wee finde it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his journie, almost all Spaine was readie to fall to the Romans. Afarubal therefore fends word presently to Carthage, That this must not be fo : or, if they will needes i que it fo , that then they must fend him a Succession four, and well attended with a f g Armie, which to employ they should finde worke more than enough; fuch so table men were the Roman Generalls. But the Senate of Carthage is not much moved with this excuse: Astrubal must needes bee gone; and Himileo, with fuch forces as are thought expedient for that feruice, both by Land and Sea, is fent to take the charge of Spaine. Wherefore Aldrubal hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselse with store of monie, that hee might have wherewithall to winne the friendship of the Gaules; through whose Countries hee must passe, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly too blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he laies great Impositions vpon all the Spaniards his subjects: and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward therus. The Scipio's hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege ibera (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with Afdrubal: who thereupon steps aside to relieue it. The Romans meet him, and fight a battaile with him : which they winne the more casily. for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather bee vanquished at home; than get the victorie, and afterwards be haled into Italie. Great numbers are flaine : and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ranne away, ere the battailes were throughly joyned. Their campe the Romans take, and spoile: whereby (questionleffe) they are meruailoufly enriched; all the monie that could be raked together in spaine, being carried along in this Italian Expedition. This dayes euent joynes all Spaine to the Romans, if any part of the Countrie flood in doubt before; and puts Afdrubal fo farre from all thought of travailing into Italie, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himselse safe in Spaine. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to

Rome: and Letters to the Senate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Contents are: That they have neither monie, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to fustaine their Armie and Fleet; That all is wanting; so as vnlesse they may bee supplied from Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarrie any longer in the Prouince. These Letters come to Rome in an euill season; the State being scarcely able, after the loffe at Canna, to helpe it felfe at home. Yet reliefe is fent : how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the private Citizens of Rome bare vnto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is leffe questionable. At the comming of this fupply, the two Scipie's purfue Aldrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes.

What elfe can we thinke; that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his owne safetie? They finde him, and Mago, and Amilear the sonne of Bomilear, with an Armie of threefcore thousand men, befreging ilitures: (which the learned Ortelius, and others, probably conjecture to haue flood, where Carnnena is now, in the Kingdome of Aragon; for there was Illiturgis, afterward called Forum Iulii, quite another way) a Towne of the Illergetes their nearest Neighbours, for hauing renolted vnto the Romans. The Towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, with want of victuailes. The Romans therefore breake through betweene the Enemies camps, with terrible flaughter of all that refift them; and having victualled the

20 place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about fixteen thousand against threescore thousand; and killing more of the Linds. enemies, than themselves were in number, drive all the three Carthaginian Commanders, every one, out of his quarter; and take that day, belides priloners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes. The Carthaginian Armie, being thus beaten from Illiturgi, fall vpon Incibili, that flood a little Southward from the mouth of Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too greedie of earning monie by warre, for thus te-enforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondred, whence the Carthaginians had monie to pay them: fince Afdrubal was lately driven to poll the Coun-30 trie, wanting monie of his owne; and being beaten in this journie, had loft his

wealthie carriages, when his campe was taken after the battaile by Ibera. Howforuer it happens, the Carthagintans (according to their custome) are beaten againe at Incibili: where there are of them abone thirteene thousand flaine, and about three tin, last thousand taken; besides two and fortie Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of Spaine fell from them vnto the Romans. Thus could Fabius, Valerius Anties, or some other Historian, to whom Linie gaue credit, conquer all Spaine twice in one yeare, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps were not aware.

The Romans, notwithstanding this large accesse of Dominion, winter on their 40 ownefide of therus. In the beginning of the next yeare, great Armies of the Spaniards rife against Aldrubal; and are overthrowne by him. P. Scipio, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great halte over the River. At Caftrum altum, a place in the mid-way betweenenew Carthage and Saguntum, famous by the death of the great Amilear, P. Scipio incampeth; and flores the place with victuailes, being flrong and defencible; as intending to make it his feat for a while. But the Countrie round about is too full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have charged the Romans in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some stragiers, or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So Pub. 50 withdrawes himselfe vnto Mons Victoria: that riling somewhat Eastward from Inci-

bili, ouer-lookes the Southerne Out-let of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue him: His brother Cn. repaires vnto him; and Afdrubal the sonne of Gesco, with a full Armie, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neare incamped together, P. Scipio, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places therabouts,

Liu.l.34.

is discovered by the enemics : who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himfelfe to an high peece of ground; where they beliege him, vntill his brother Cn. fetch him off, After this (but I know not why) Castulo, a great citie of Spaine, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyneth with the Romans; though being farre diflant from them, and feated on the head of the River Batis. Neuertheleffe the Carthaginians passe ouer Iberus, to besiege Illiturgi againe, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison; hoping to winne it by famine. Wee may justly wonder, what should moue them to neglect the rebellion of Castule, yea and the Roman Armie lying so close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had beene so grieuously beaten the yeare before. But thither they goe : and thither fol- 10 lowes them Cn. Sapie with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out you them the next day, and in two battailes kills aboue twelue thou fand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirtie Ensignes. This victorie (doubtleffe) is remarkeable : confidering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians beliege Bigarra: but that fiege is also raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Cartha. ginians remove to Munda; where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Remans get a notable victorie; and a more notable would have gotten, had not Cn. Scipio beene wounded. Thirtie nine Elephants are killed; and twelve thousand men; three thou- 20 fand prisoners taken, and seuen and fiftie Ensignes. The Carthaginians flie to Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. Cn. Scipio in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe : but kills not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill up the broken troupes of Afdrubal: who having also hired some of the Gaules, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe, and loofeth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants. Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are cuen ashamed, to leave Saguntum enthralled vnto the Carthaginians; since, in behalfe of 20 that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may wee thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since wee may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrie once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now befieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appears) to goetheir way without it: fo as they neede not to blush, for having so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they winne Sagantum: and restore the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Countrie of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto Hannibal matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; 40 and wherein we may be affured, that the Carthaginians would have diffurbed them, if they had beene able.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Roman haue gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their braue exploits, were can perceiue none, than this recourier of sagantame: excepting the flooping of Aforabals journie; which was indeede of greateft importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at Emporta, an Hauen-towne, built and peopled by a Colonic of the Paecants, kinnet othe Chlaffilians, friends to the Romans; They haue cafily wonne to their partie, loft, recourted, and loft againe, fome pettic bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perfundion, other 50 whiles by force, and fometimes by their owner vincted paffons; and now finally they haue wonne a Towne, whereof the Carthagnians held entire poffeffion; who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may cafily belecue, that when they took & Seantim of they took it not by furprife; which is to be fulfoefted, fince

in this Action wee finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like fort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembred, after euery one of which Afdrubal fate downe before some place, that had rebelled or seemed readie to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carrie the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortific themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arrivall of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wanne Sagantum. 10 they would not have confumed a whole yeare following in practifing only with the Celtiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leffe than two yeares businesse. Of these Celiberians we heare before, That they have yeelded yo themselues vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, given Hostages to Scipio; and at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serve in the Roman Campe. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; vnleffe perhaps in those dayes it were the Roman custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom Linic followes, to call every Messenger, or stragler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of 20 that people from whom he came.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, fend an Armic of thirtie thouland to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fitteft men are chofen, and carried into Italie, there to deale with their Countrimen that follow Hamibals in his warres: Butifany of thefe three hundred returne back into Spaine, it is to be feared, that he brings with him fuch newes of the riches and welfare of Hamibals men, that all his fellowes at home are the leffe vnwilling to follow Afarbala, when he shall next have a defire to leade them into Italie. Hereof wee finde more than probabilitie, when these Mercinarie Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian Armie in the field. The two Seipis's, presuming on this accesse of thrength, divide their forces, 20 and seeke out the Enemies who lie not fair off with three Armies. Assume

to and fecke out the Enemies; who lie not farre off with three Armies. Aftendal, the fonne of Amilear, is neareft at hand; cuen among the Celiberians, at Amitorgis. With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being defiroid; Astega, and Aftendal the fonne of Gifea, hearing the newes, will make who of their diffance, which is fue daies march, and, by running into the furtheft parts of the Countrie, faue them fellues from being outertaken. Publim therefore mult make the more hafte, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Armie; leauning the third part, and all the Celiberians, to his brother. Hee that hath the longer journie to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his liues end. Maga, and Aftendal the Conne of

40 G/60, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessitie. They joyne their forces together; meet with P. Seipio; and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keepe himselfic close within his Trenches; wherein he thinkes himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by Ms/amis/a. Prince of the Ms/s/s/il, Numidians bordering youn Mauritania, in the Region called now. Tremizen: to whom the chiefe honour of this service is assured, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case P. Seipio gets intelligence, that Indivisio, a. Spanis Prince, is comming with seuen thousand and fine hundred of the Suesselfami, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut up;, and besinged, He issues of the sum of the

50 Lieutenant, with a fatall companie, to defend the campe. He meets with individual but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the Namidian horse appeare (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the Romans on all fides: neuther are the Civil Institution for the the Companies of the Companies.

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taine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where neede most requireth, is ftruck through with a lance, and flaine : very few of his Armie escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath Cn. Scipio within nine and twentie dayes after. At his meeting with Afarubal, the Celtiberian Mercinaries all forfake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Countrie. If Anitorgis, where Afdrubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it; a Celtiberian Towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleeue, that they were wonne by Afdrubal, and casily perswaded to take as much monie for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their liues. Cn. Scipio therefore being vnable to stay them; and no lesse vnable, without 10 their helpe, either to relift the Enemie, or to joyne with his Brother, makes a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plaine flight, that hee keepes his men together. Afdrubal presseth hard vpon him : and Mago, with Afdrubal the sonne of Gefco, having made an end of Publiss, haften to dispatch his brother after him. Scipio steales from themall, by night; but is ouer-taken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stonic ground, where growes not so much as a hrrub, vnfit for defence of his Legions against fuch enemies. Yet a little Hill hee findes, of eafic afcent on enery fide, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-faddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallifado. These weake defences the Carthaginians soone teare in funder : and, breaking 20 in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that faving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape vnto T. Fonteius, whom Publius had left in his camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they fay, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as affoorded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and shrowd themfelues within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteius is in P. Scipio's campe, on the North side of Iberus, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armic, had little hope to remaine long fafe within it. Thither comes L. Martius, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit: who ha- 30 uing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretic Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this L. Martius before Fonteius the Lieutenant; as well they may. For Afdrubal, the sonne of Gesco, comming vpon them; this L. Martius fo encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when hee led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately flaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessitie, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victorie per haps he might haue gotten, but that hee wifely founds the retrait; referring the furic of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately van- 40 quished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former securitie; and vtterly despising him, set neither Corps du gard, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemie were neare. Martius therefore animates his fouldiers with lively wordes; and tells them, That there is no adventure more fafe, than that which is furthest from suspition of being under-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate peece of service. So he leades them forth by night, and seales vpon the campe of Afdrabal: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast a-sleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without refiftance, fires their Cabbins, and giues a terrible alarme; fo that all afrighted, the Carthaginians runne head-long one vpon another, they know 10 not which way. All paffages out of their campe Martins hath prepoffeffed, fo that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and runne away toward the campe of Afdrubal the sonne of Amilear, that lay fixe miles off. But Martius bath way-laid them. In a Valley be-

rweene their two campes he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pecces. But left perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarme before his comming ; Martin hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speede, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe : which with no great difficultie he enters; and partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the Roman shields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can fave themselves from the furie of the fword. Thirtie feuen thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; befides a thousand eight hundred and thirtie, that are taken prisoners. Hercunto Valerius Antias addes, that the campe of Maga was also taken, and scuen thousand flaine : and that in another battaile with Aldrubal, there were flaine ten thousand more; besides soure thousand three hundred and thirtie, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. Linie therefore hath elsewhere well obserned. That there is none fo intemperate, as Valerius Antius, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilest Martius was making an Oration to his fouldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Liuie reporteth as a common tale. not giving thereto any credit : and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine Martius got a great name; which he might well doe, if with fo small forces, and in 20 fuch diftresse, He could clearely get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were farre leffe than that which is here fet downe.

Of these occurrents L. Martius sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owine good feruice, what source it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthie to hold the place of their Vicegerent in Spine: which the better to intimate vinto them. Hestilied himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse mode with the ridings, than the case required: and therefore tooke such careful order, for supplying their sorces in Spaine, that although Hamibal came to the gates of Rome, crethe Companies, leuied to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for desence of the Cicie it selse, but shipped them in all haste for 30 Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which Martius had assumed, they thought it toogreat for him, and were oftended at his presumption in surpring it: foreseing well, that it was a matter of ill confiquence, to have the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore C. Claudius Nero was dispatched away, with all conucnient haste, into Spaine: carrying with himsboat six ethouland of the Roman foot, and as many of

the Latines, with three hundred. Roman Horfe, and of the Latines right hundred.

It happened well, that about thefe times, the affaires of Rome beganne to prosper in Italie, and affoorded meanes of fending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of Martius would ill haue served, either to keepe stooting in Spaine, or to 40 stoop the Carthaginian Armies from marching towards the Aspes. For when Claudius, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Armie, which was vnder Martius and Fonteius, the sound supertokens of the overthrower received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof Martius had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The Roman partie was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly rowards Assumed the Control of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly rowards Assumed the Control of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly rowards Assumed the Control of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly rowards Assumed the Control of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily bee devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly rowards Assumed to the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it could not easily be devised. The standard advanced boldly rowards and such the beat of the Spanish friends in which there was no iffused by the the three of the Roman spiced at his first comming. What should have rempted any man of viders shared which sollowed, For it is faid, of one not find each the which sollowed. For it is faid, of one not find each that which sollowed, For it is faid,

o doe not finde: and as little reation can I finder in that Which followed: For its law;

That Affachd, feeing hinfelfe thus lock vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of
all Spaine, and quit the Province to the Romans, upon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence difmiffed; That he front many daies, in entertayning parlee
with Claudius about this buffineffe, That night by night hec conneied his foot-men

(a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a mistieday. Hee stole away with all his Horse and Elephants. leaving his campe emptie. If we confider, that there were at the same time, besides this Aldrubal, two other Carthaginian Generalls in Spaine; wee shall finde no leffe cause to wonder at the simplicitie of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for fo great a Countrie, with one of these three Chiestaines, than at the strange nature of those passages : through which the foot-men could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke mittee day. Wherefore in giving beliefe to fuch a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherin the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their fafe departure, to have beene of farre leffe value. How foeuer it was; neither this, nor ought elfe that the Romans could doe, ferued to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recouer the old which they had loft. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chofen Martius their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardleffe of their good deferts, had repealed their Election, and fent a Propretor whom they fancied not fo well. Some fuch occasion may have moved them to defire a Proconful, and (perhaps) yong Scipie by name : as if a title of greater dignitie, were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloued memorie of Cn. and Publius, likely to doe good, were it reviued in one of the same Familie. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; C. Claudius was recalled out of the Province; and Pablics the son of P. Scipio fent Proconful into Spaine.

This is that P. Scipio, who afterward transferred the warre into Africk : where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrie. He was a man of goodly prefence, and fingularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continencie, Bountie; and other Vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great vie he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great Alexanders vanitie; How he vied to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some fecret conference with Impiter; How a Dragon (which must have beene one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, Iupiter himselse) was thought to have conversed with his 20 Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfullansweres; I hold them no better than meere fables, deuised by Historians, who sought thereby to adde vnto the glorie of Rome: that this noble Citie might feeme, not only to have furpaffed other Nations in vertue of the generalitie, but also in great worth of one fingle man. To this end nothing is left out, that might ferue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of vinquestionable truth, That when a Proconful was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of Rome were much aftonished thereat; That 40 when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie flood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, that this P. Cornelius Scipio, being then about source and twentie yeares of age, getting vp on an high place where hee might be feene of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vp. on him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Martins no better than dreames; and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the Roman Captaines. who durst not follow Clandius N ero, that not long before was gone into Spaine Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which Afdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was readie to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the too partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willing-

P. Scipio was sent Proconful into Spaine; and with him was joyned M. Iunius Syllanus, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them tenthous and soot,

and a thousand horse, in thirtie Quinquereme Gallies. With these they landed at Emperie; and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of Scipio's arrivall, it is faid, that Embaffages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a majestie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and fo much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could give any reason of it. It wee must beleeue this, then must wee needes beleeue, that their teare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the same of so yong a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against new Carthage: vpon which he came vnexpected, with fine and twentie thousand foot, and two thousand fine hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. Hee affailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wanne it by affault the first day. The Carthaginians loft it, by their too much confidence vpon the ftrength of it : which caused them to manit more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have beene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discouered vnto Scipio, a secret pasfage vnto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselues were either ignorant, or 20 thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new Carthage, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing upon a demi-lland, betweene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher men of Tarracon had founded; and finding in some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deepe, or (at most) wading up to the Nauill, Scipio thrust thereinto fome Companies of his men; who recouered the top of the wals without refistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backs of the Carthaginians within the Citie; easily forced agate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Armie. What bootie was found 30 within the Towne, Liuie himselse cannot certainely affirme; but is saine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman Treasurie, we may easily perceive, how great a vanitie it was to say, That all the wealth of Africk and Spaine, was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom Scipio entreated with fingular courtesie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two pettie Kings of the Ilergeles and Lacetani, nearest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North side of Iberus; 40 for sooke the Carthaginian partie; and joyned with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, King of the Hergetes, is much commended; for that he did not vant himselfe, as commonly fugitiues vie, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians, and inuited by the honorable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeede no vnsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the llergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) for saken the Carthaginian partie, and floutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio; then could nothing have beene deuised more vaine, than this Oration of Indibilis their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same,

50 when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that how soure the two elder scipies had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the Roman neuer Masters of the Countrie, till this worthie Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and

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by his great munificence in fending them home, wanne vnto himfelfe the affured lone and affiltance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generalls, when they heard of this loffe, were very forrie; yet neuertheleffe they fet a good face on the matter; faying, That a yong man, having stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farretransported, and ouer-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vincle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to fav. That the Carthaginians were at this time bulie, in fetting forth towards Italie; and that Scipio, to direct them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vn- to on the like occasion, sate downe before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not beene much amiffe, if the paffage ouer the Lake had beene undifcouered, and the Towne held out fome longer while. For how foeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to fuch good iffue you the first day: yet in the generalitie of the businesse, betweene Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Aldrubal should bee staied from going into Italie, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his journie; Mago, and Afdrubal the sonne of Gifco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes. whileft the maine of the Carthaginian forces, under Afdrabal the sonne of Amilear, 20 went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in triall of the Empire. But the Roman Hiflorians tell this after another fashion; and say, That Asdrubal was beaten into Italie: whither hee ranne for feare, as thinking himfelfe ill affured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of Scipio. Scipio, fay they, comming your Afdrubal; his Vantcourrers charged fo luftily the Carthaginian horse, that they draue them into their Trenches : and made it apparent, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how dejected the Enemie. Aldrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steepe of ascent, and not case of accesse on the forefide; by which himfelfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans, On 20 the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly incamped himselfe; and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more your brauerie, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within his Trenches, than for that he durft aduenture his Armie to the hazard of a battaile. for which this was no equall ground. But fuch advantage of place could not faue him from the Romans. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hilltop: whither although the afcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beflowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approch; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their 40 way, where the Carthaginians had got up before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither : for it is faid, that there was no way to flie. Out of fuch a battaile, wherein he loft eight thousand men, As drubal is said to have cscaped; and gathering together his dispersed troups, to have marched towards the Pyrenees, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight beganne. Neuerthelesse Me. gs, and Afdrubal the fonne of Gifco, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needes must were it but to carrie all the Spaniards as farre as might be, from the name of Scipio, How likely this was to have been true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italia; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, have too long detained vs.

The great troubles that HANNIBAL raifed in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. POSTHVMIVS the Roman Generall, with his whole Armie, is flaine by the Gaules, PHILIP King of Macedon, enters into a League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Romans, joyning with the . Etolians, make warre voon PHILIP in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

E left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where hee and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may bee thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of fuch mightie aide, as was decreed to bee fent thence vnto him. In former times hee had found worke enough, to

carrie the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to drive away their Cattaile to Geryon : his victories affoording him little other profit, than fustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. Hee might perhaps have forc'd some walled Townes, in like fort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Canna: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended: the 20 hunger, that his Armie must have endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill corne were ripe, would have grieuoully punished him for such imploiment of the Sommer. This may have been ethe reason, why hee forbore to adventure vpon Rome after his victorie at Canna. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainetie) to carrie the Citie at his first comming; want of victuailes would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile; if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might feeme) from the walls of Rome, hee had prefented himfelfe unto 30 them with a leffened reputation, somewhat later in the yeare; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauaile was past, when so many States of Italie were become his; the yeare following, the Samnies, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to fecond the welcome report of those mightic forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promifed supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not : only we finde, that af-40 ter this he had aboue thirtie of them; whereas all, faue one, that hee brought ouer the Alpes, had beene loft in his journie through the marifhes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischieses the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a fafer, though a farther way about, to paffe along through Spaine and Gaule, as hee himselfe had done; and increase the Armie, by hyring the Barbarians in the journie; than to commit the maine ftrength of their Citie, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Hauen to receive the fleet that should carrie such a number of Men, Horses, and 50 Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeare ferued, He tookethe field: and having finished what rested to be done at Casilinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Hauen-towne thereabout; that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian fleet, or take from his SIIII

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Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the fame purpose, and to doe what else was needfull. He sent Himsto vinto the Locaians, and Hanno to the Lucauss: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of Italie, yeathe lise of Siela and Sardinie, tince the steep of Rome must needes bee deferred vinto another yeare. Hanno made an ill journie of it, being met, or oue-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slue about two thousand of his men; with the losse of sewer, than three houndred Romans, But Himsto sped faire better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, hee wanne Petellas or Petilus by sorce; after it had held out some moneths. Hee wanne skewise Consentia, and Croton, that was for saken by the Inhabitants. Also the Citie of Locai, which was of great importance, yeelded vinto to him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Towne of Khegium, ouer

The great faith of the Petilians is worthie to be recorded, as a notable testimonie of the good government, under which the Roman subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campans, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrarie; we are to confider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soueraignetic, and were now transported with ambition: which Reason can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did fend to Rome for helpe : where their Messengers received answere from the Senate. That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Affociates 20 that were fo farre diffant. The Petilian Meffengers (Embailadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely fent from Cities of the Roman Subjection, that had a priuate jurisdiction within themselues) fell downe to the ground, and humbly befought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiting to doe and fuffer what focuer was possible, in desence of their Towne against the Cartheginians. Hereupon the Senare fell to confultation againe: and having throughly confidered all their forces remaining, plainely confessed, that it was not in their power to give any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide h reafter for their owne fafetie; as having alreadie discharged their faith to the vimoft. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out 30 fome moneths; and having striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparant poffibilitie, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloudie victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Affailants.

The Romans at this time were indeede in fuch ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might have reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great braueric, before their loffe at Canne; they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warrethat lay upon them so neare at hand : it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. L. Polibumius Albinus their Pretor they had fent, with an Armie of fine and twentic thousand, into Gaule; 40 to the Illyrian King Pineus they had fent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he defired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedon they had fent, to require, that he should deliver up vnto them Demetrius Pharius, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little futeable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumius with all his Armie was cut in peaces by the Gaules, in fuch fort that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very firange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gaules, Litana; through which he was to passe. Against his comming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees fo farre, that a little force would ferue to cast them downe. When therefore Post humius, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gaules, that lay about the Wood, beganne to cast downethe Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were ouer-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wife, that no more escaped, than is said before.

How this tedious worke, of fawing fo many Trees, could take defired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuice was subject; I doe not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may have beene done; and what failed in the stratageme, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthie to be omitted, as a monument of the sanage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Countrie now so civill, was infected in elder times. That of Pollhumius his skull, being cleanfed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and confecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy 10 vessell, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no leffe than the calamitie. But forrow could give no remedie to the mischiefe; and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, and Scerdietus Illyrian Kings, as also with Gentius, who raigned within a few yeares following, the Romans dealt vpon even termes; entreating their affiltance against Philip and Perfeus; not commanding their dutie, as Vasfalls. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For having affured his affaires in Greece, and enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, Hee sent Embassadours to Hannibal: with 20 whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into Italie, and with all his forces, by Land and Sca, affift the Carthaginians in the Roman warre, untill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italie, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be eleft entire vnto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards Hannibal with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there asfist Philip, vntill he had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the Atolians, Thracians, King Antiochus, and others) leaving semblably vnto him the full possession of that Countrie, and the Iles adjoyning. But fuch predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes It selfs not (as therodotus fally termesit, and like an Atheif) enuous or malicious, 30 but very just and majesticall; in vp-holding that vnspeakable greatnesse of Soucraignetic, by which It rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that Philip sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their journic towards Hinnibal: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, faying, That they were fent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessistie. These newes were so wellcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquirie. So they were louingly feafted; and friendly difmiffed, with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to avoide the Carthagia mians. But they being thus instructed concerning their journie, fell wiifully into the 40 Campe of Hannibal: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe valuekily to bee descried by the Roman fleet; which, mistrusting them to bee of the Carthaginian partie, gaue them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being ouer-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it againe, That hauing beene sent from King Philip, to make a League with the People of Rome, they were not able, by reason of the Carthaginians lying betweene, to get any farther than to M. Valerius the Pretor, vnto whom they had fignified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: 50 and (which marred all) Gifco, Boftar, and Mago, with their followers, Carthaginians that were fent with them from Hannibal to ratific the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition served to finde all out : fo that at length Hannibals owne letters to King Philip were delivered ve and the whole bulinesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent SIIII 3

close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest fold for bond-flaues. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedon of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speede; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavie weight this Masedonian warre, in an euill houre, was likely to fall vpon them; when their shoulders were ouer burdened with the load of the Carthaginian. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and sutcable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beaten vpon them from Spaine. They judged it more easie, with small 10 forces to detaine Philip in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italie. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of Macedon, joyning with Hannibal in fuch a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegeance not only of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subjects, but even of the Roman Colonies that held all priviledges of the Citie, it will appeare by the following fuccesse of things. M. Valerius the Pretor, with twentic Quinquereme Gallics, was appointed to attend upon the Macedonian : and to fet on foot fome commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles alreadic therein begunne. Philip was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italie, fetting vpon Apollonia; and thence falling voon Oricum; Which he wanne, and foreturned to Apollonia againe. The E- 20 pirets craued helpe of M.Valerius: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that Philip had left in Oricem, was strong enough to hold the Townsmen in good order; but not to keepe out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, Philip as then had no suspition. Valerius therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand men, vnder Namu Crispus an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. These made a notable fallic; and brake into Philips Trenches with fo great flaughter, that they forced him to for fake his camp, and raife the fiege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but Falerius, comming with his feet from Orisum, flopped up the mouth of the Rivers 30 fo that hee was faine to burne his ships, (which belike were no better than long botes) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this, Valerius dealt with the Etolians, a Nation alwaies enemie to the Crowne of Macedon: and casily perfwaded them (being so affected, as hath escwhere beene shewed) to make strong warre on Philip; wherein he promifed them great affiliance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the Atolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the Roman was as liberall in making promise, asif alreadie it had beene his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward folemnely published at Olympia, by the Ætolsans; and by the Romans, in their Capitoll. The conditions were, That from Atolia to Coreyra, 40 in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrie should bee subdued, and left vnto the Etolians; the pillage only to be given to the Romans. And that if the Ætolians made peace with Philip, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer, than whilest he abstained from doing injurie to the Romans, or their Associates. This was indeede the only point, whereat Valerius aimed: who promifed as much on the Romans behalfe, That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, volesseit were with like condition of including the Ltolians. Into this League was place referred for the Lacedamonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or fauoured the fide of Cleomenes against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of Attalue, Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus: the first of which raigned at Pergamus, in 50 Asia the lesse, a Prince hereaster much to bee spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were fo farre from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Affociates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to give it countenance, than for any

readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The Atolians alone, and chiefly Scopus their Pretor, with Dorymachus and others, are yet awhile the only men. of whom the Roman Generalls must make much; as the late French King, Henrie the fourth, when he had only the title of Wanarre, was faid to court the Majors of Rochel. Philip was notidle, when he heard whereunto the Ltolians tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the Illyrians, and other his borderers. that were wont in times of danger to infelt the Kingdome of Macedon; wasted the Countrie about Oricum and Apollonia; and ouer-running the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into Thessalie, whence hee made to thew as if he would inuade Etolia. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to ftirre vp all the Greekes adjoyning, against the Etolians; whom they generally detetted as a neft of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the Atolians from breaking into Greece, He left Perfess his sonne and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him, He made a long journie into Thrace, against a people called the Medes; that were wont to fall vpon Macedon, when focuer the King was absent. The Etolians, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the Acarnanians ; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere hee should bee able to returne. Hereto it on much availed, that the Romans had alreadic taken Oeniada and Naxos, Acarnanian Townes, conveniently fituated to let in an Armie; and configned them vnto the Atolians, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the flout resolution of the Acarnanians, to die (as we say) every Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great hafte of the Macedonian (who laied aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the Atolians to for sake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the Romans and Atolians fell upon Anticyra, which they tooke : the Romans affailing it by Sca : the

CHAP.3. S.II. of the Historie of the World.

Ætolians by Land. The Ætolians had the Towne; and the Romans the spoile. For these good services M. Valerius was chosen Consul at Rome; and P. Sulpicius 20 fent in his freed, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe. Attalus out of Alacame ouer to affift the Etolians. Hee was chiefly moued, by his owne jealousie of Philips greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanitie, of being chosen by the Etolians their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titularic, he tooke in very louing part. Against the forces which Attalus and the Romans had sent, being joyned with the maine power of Atolia. Philip tried the fortune of two battailes : and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome Neighbours desired peace of him; and vsed their best meanes to get it. But when the day, appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadours, in stead of making submission, proposed vnto him such intollerable 40 conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testific, that their mindes were altered. It was not any love of peace, but seare of being besieged in their owne Townes, that had made them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce as euer: and thrust a Garrison of their owne, and some Roman friends, into Elis; which threatned Achaia, wherein Philip then lay. The Romans, making a cut ouer the streight from Naupactus, wasted the Countrie in a terrible braucrie: wherein Philip requited them; comming upon them in haste from the Nemean Games (which he was then celebrating) and fending them faster away, but no-

thing richer, than they came. In the heat of this contention, Prusias King of Bithynia, fearing the growth of Attalus, no lesse than Attalus held suspected the power of Philip; sent a Nauie into Greece, to affift the Macedonian partic. The like did the Carthaginians : and vpon greater reason; as being more interested in the successe of his affaires. Philip was too weake by Sea: and though he could man fome two hundred ships; yet the Vessells

The Lacedemonians, hearing certaine report of Cleomenes his death in Agypt, went about to choose two new Kings; and to conforme themselves to their old manner of Government. But their estate was so farre out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proued no lesse vnfortunate, than had beene to their attempts of recouring a large Dominion abroad. Lyeurgus a Tyrantrose vp. among them : vnto whom succeeded this Machanidas; and shortly after came Nabis, that was worse than both of them. They held on the Atolian and Roman side, for feare of the Achains; that were the chiefe Confederates of Philip, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and of Lacedamonian. But of these wee shall focake more hereafter.

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Philip entring into Achaia, and feeing his presence had brought the contentment of affurance to that Countrie; spake braue wordes to the Assembly of their States. faving. That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to Chalcis, to Oreum, to Opus, and now into Achaia: but could no where finde them; fuch hafte they made, for feare of being ouer-taken. But flight, He faid, was not alwaies prosperous: He should one day light upon them; as ere this hee fundric times had done, and still to their loffe. The Achaians were glad to heare these wordes; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deedes accompanying them. For he reftored vnto their Nation fome Townes, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewife to the Megalopolitans their Confederates, He rendred Aliphera. The Dymeans, that had beene taken by the Romans, and fold for flaues, He fought out, ranfomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing over the Corinthian Guife, Hec fell vpon the Liolians: whom he draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their ftrongest holds; and wasted their Countrie. This done, Hee tooke leave of the Acheans and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them fo well, that they refted feareleffe of any threatning do danger. Then had heleifure to make warre vpon the Dardanians, ill Neighbours to Micedon: with whom nevertheleffe he was not fo farre occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himfelfe Mafter of the Sea; the Romans (fince the departure of Attalus) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them

This good fucceffe added much reputation to the Macedonian; and emboldened him to make strong warre vpon the Etolians, at their owne doores. As for the Romans; either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates; or some feare of danger at home, when Afdrubal was readie to fall vpon Italie; caused them to give ouer the care of things in Greece, and leave their friends there to their owne fortunes.

The Atolians therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to fue for peace vnto Philip; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no fooner made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirtie fine Gallies, came our ingreat haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in Etolia, hee turned aside to Dyrrachium, and Apollonia; making a great noise as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long, ere Philip came to visit him; and found him tame gnough. The King presented him battaile; but he refused it; and suffering the Macedonians to waste the Countrie round about, before his eies, kept himselfe close with 40 in the walls of Apollonia; making some Ouertures of peace; which caused Philip to

returne home quietly. The Romans had not so great cause to be displeased with the Ætolians, as had Philip, to take in cuill part the demeanour of the Carthaginians. For notwithstanding the Royall offer that he made them, to serve their turne in Italie. and affilt them in getting their hearts defire, before he would expect any requitall : they had not fent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of fufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to fecure the transportation of his Armie, or to free his coast from the Roman and Ltolian Pyracies, Only once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last journicinto Achaia. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing; and pretending feare of 50 being taken by the Romans, even at such time as Philip, with his owne Nauie, durst boldly paffe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This rechleffe dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to have been one of Hanno his tricks; whereof Hannibal fo bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly; to heare, that so great King made offer to serve in person vnder

Hannibal, and required the affiftance of the same Hannibal, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the World at his pleasure. Therefore hee had reason, such as Enuie could suggest, to perswade the Carthagintans vnto a safe and thriftie course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian warres so mightie a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto Hannibal, more dangerous to their libertie. Rather they should doe well to faue charges; and feede the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promifes of fending a fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serve to terrifie the Romans, and compell them to send part of their forces from home; that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should to the Roman Armies be leffened in Italie; and Philip, when once he was engaged in the warre, be viged vnto the profecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthagimians to little or no charges; yea scarce to the labour of gining him thankes. Now if it might come to passe, as Hannibal cuery day did promise, that Rome, and all Italie, should within a while becat the deuotion of Carthage: better it were that the Citie should be free, so as the troublesome Greekes might addresse their complaints vnto the Carthaginians, as competent Judges betweene them and the Macedonian, than that Hannibal, with the power of Africk, should wait vpon Philip, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleafure, in doing fuch injuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hatefull in Greece, and oblige Philip to be no leffe impudent, in ful- 20 filling all requests of Hannibal. Whether the counsaile of Hanno and his fellowes. were fuch as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned Philip) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good : but rather dodged with him; even in that little courtese which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee begunne the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainely given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Ætolians had submitted themselves alreadie : and when the Romans desired his friendthip, as might be thought, for very feare of him; with reputation enough, and 20 not as a forfaken Client of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessitie, He might give over the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselues. For hee had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and hee vnable to manage it. The vanitie of which their conceits would appeare vnto them : when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeare following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans should retain three or source Townes of Illyria, which they had recourred in this warre, being part of their old Illyrian Conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macedonian; and therefore per- 40 haps inferted into the couenants, that fomewhat might feeme to have been gotten. On the other fide, the Atintanes were appointed to returne under the obedience of Philip: who, if they were (as Ortelius probably conjectures) the people of the Coun-

cepiced it, yon conditions somewhat to their sosse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were Prussas King of Bithynia, the Abhans, Ravitans, Thessains, Acarmanian, and Epirots. On the Roman side were named, first, the People of Ilium, as an honorable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, Astalus King of Pergamus; Pleuratus, an Illyrian Prince; and Nabis, the Tyrant of Lacedonom; together with the Eleans, Messains, and Athenians. The Atolians were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messains, solowers of the Atolians, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with Phila)

trie about Apollonia, then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby

it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would feeme to have done, but ac-

CHAP.3. S.13. of the Historie of the World.

were also inferted by the \*Remans; that were neuer flow in offering their friendflip to fimall and feeble Nations. As for the \*Athenians: they flood much wpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the fetting downe of their name in this Treatie, served the \*Remans\* to good purpose: foratimuch as they were a busine people; and ministed occasion to renew the Warre, when meanes did better ferue to follow it.

## ð. XIII.

How the Romans beganne to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affe-Etion of the Romans, in relicuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale...



T was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing fo many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and wasted more men and monie to no purpose, than would have ferued (if good order had beene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space, and make themselues Lords of all that the Roman held. This errour

had beene the leffe harmefull, if their care of Italie had beene fuch as it ought. But they suffered Hannibal, to wearie himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to yeare, caused as great opportunities to be loft, as a Conquerour could have defired. The death of Posthumins, and defiruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begunne rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of Hiero their friend in Syracufe; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole He of Sicil; as also that Warre, of which we last spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible ouerthrow at Canne, among fo many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would vtterly haue funke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yeare, yet 20 at least the second, sent ouer to Hannibal the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter vnto Hanno, or such as Hanno was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italie : yet could not that proportion hold, when fo many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their feuerall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly profequited though it flood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of Hannibal in his Italian warre, should have beene strengthred; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slen-40 der troupes, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they fent, to vp-hold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was alreadie well-neare beaten downe; their triffling with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastic catching at Sicil: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, confidered apart by it felfe, was no otherwife to be allowed as differently vnder-taken, or substantially followed, than by making supposition, That the care of Italie, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things elfe. Yet if these allega-tions would not serve to content Hannibal; then must be patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with of fo much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

What sourche heard or thought, Hannibal was glad to apply him selfe to Necessitie, to seede his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about  $\mathcal{N}_{\mathcal{O}}$ —la, Naples, Cuma, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard slege, that was to be referred for a worke of more importance. Many offers hee made

ypon Nola: but alwaies with bad fuccesse. Once Marcellus fought a battaile with him there : yet under the very walls of the Towne; having the affiltance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman fide, fince the Heads, that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouland men Hannibal in that fight loft: which was no great meruaile; his forces being then divided, and imploied in fundric parts of Italie at once. Naples was, euen in those daies, a strong Citie: and required a yeares worke to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest defire of Hannibal toget it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the Towne of Cuma they of Capua had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They fent to the chiefe Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring them (as being also Campans) to be present at a fo- 10 lemne facrifice of the Nation, where they would confult about their generall good: promifing to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly, from any danger that might come by the Romans. This motion the Cumans made shew to entertaine; but privily fent word of all to T. Sempronius Gracebus the Roman

Gracehus was a very good man of warre; and happily chosen Conful in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have beene Posthumius Albinus, that was lately flaine by the Gaules: after whose death Marcellus was chosen; as being judged the fittest man to encounter with Hannibal. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment, that nullified the election of Marcellus; or at least they fai- 20 ned fo to have done: because this was the first time, that ever two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. Marcellus therefore gaue ouer the place: and Q. Fabius Maximus the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But Fabius was detained in the Citie, about matters of Religion, or Superstition : wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Confular Armie, waited upon Hannibal among the Campans: not able to meet the Enemie in field; yet intentine to all occasions, that should be presented. The Volones, or Slaues, that lately had been earmed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men. Hee continually trained : and had not a greater care, to make his Armie skilfull in the exercises of warre; than to keepe 20 it from quarrells, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base condition.

Whilest the Conful was thus busied at Linternum; the Senators of Cuma sent him word, of all that had passed between them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. Gracehus therefore put himselfe into Cuma: whence he islued at fach time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called Hama, three miles from Cume. There lay Marius Alfius the chiefe Magistrate of Capua, with fourteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any dan- 40 ger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surprise others, than fearing him (elfe to be affailed. The Conful therefore, fuffering none to goe forth of Cuma, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, iffued out of the Towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with ment and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came you the Capuans vnawares: and flew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander: loofing not about an hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of Hannibal; who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, He escaped agreater loffe, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when Hannibal was informed how things went at Hama; forthwith he marched so thither: hoping to finde those yong souldiers, and slaves, busied in making spoile, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within Cuma; which partly for anger, partly for defire of gaining it, and partly at the vigent entreatic of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe,

the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent, about this Towne. They raised a wooden Tower against it : which they brought close vnto the walls ; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the infide of the wall, raifed against this an higher Tower: whence they made refistance; and found meanes at length, to confume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the Carthaginians were buffe in quenching the fire; the Romans, fallying out of the Towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their Trenches, with the flaughter of about fourteene hundred. The Conful wifely founded the Retreat; ere his men were too farre engaged, and Hannibal in a readinesse to requite their service. Neither would He, in the pride of this good fuccesse, adventure forth against the Enemie; who presented him battaile the day following, neare vnto the walls. Hannibal therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the fiege; and returned to his old Campe at Tifata. About these times, and shortly after, when Fabiss the other Conful had taken the field; fome fmall Townes were recovered by the Romans, and the people feuerely punished for their revolt.

The Carthaginian Armie was too small, to fill with Garrisons all places that had yeilded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore Hannibal, attending the supplie from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it felfe, was driven in the meanetime to alter his course of warre : and, in stead of ma-20 king (as formerly he had done) a generall invalion vpon the whole Country to paffe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemie, than to him. The Gountrey of the Hirpines and Samnites was grieuoufly walted by Marcellus, in the absence of Hannibal: as also was Campania, by Fabius the Conful; when Hannibal having followed Marcellus to Nola, and received there the loffe before mentioned, was gone to Winter in Julia. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire. as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalfe, to get the Sourreigntic. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they 30 ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intentine, as necessitic constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued Fabius in his Confulfhip: and joyned with him M. Claudius Marcellus; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeare before. Of these two, Fabius was called the Sheild; and Marcellus, the Roman Sword. In Fabius it was highly, and vpon inftreason, commended. That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formalitie, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to be chosen with Marcellus; knowing in what need the Citie stood of able Comman-40 ders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the Ros mans made; ferued to put the Campans in feare, that Capua it felfe should be belieged. To prevent this, Hannibal at their earnest entreatie came from Arvi; (where he lay, hearkening after newes from Tarentum) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fellon the sudden vpon Puteoli, a Sea towne of Campania; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to have wonne it. The Garrison in Puteoli was fixe thou fand firong: and did their duetic fo well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good fuccesse, could onely shew his anger voon the fields there, and about Naples; which having done, and once more (with as ill fucceffe as before) affaied Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum: wherin he had veriegreat intelligence. 50 Whilest he was in his progresse thither; Hanno made a journic against Beneuentum: and T. Graechus the last yeares Conful, hasting from Nuceria, met him there; and

fought with him a battaile. Hanno had with him about seventeene thousand Foot, Brutians and Lucans for the most part: besides twelve hundred Horse; verie few of Ttttt

which were Italians, all the rest, Numidians and Moores. He held the Roman worke foure houres; ere it could be perceived, to which fide the victorie would incline. But Gracehus his fouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed flaues, had received from their Generall a peremptorie denunciation; That this day, or neuer. they must purchase their libertic, bringing enery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of libertie was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it : howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the flaine Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the feruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. Gracehus therefore finding his owne errour, wifely corrected it: proclayming a- 10 loude, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting of any more; for that all should have libertic immediatly after the batiaile, if they wanne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their desperate surie had soone ouerthrowne, if the Roman Horse could have made their part good against the Numidian. But though Hanno did what hee could, and pressed so hard you the Roman battaile, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which Gracehus had threatned before the battaile, vnto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired vnto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by slight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedie the losse. Leauing the field, hee 20 was accompanied by no more than two thousand : most of which were Horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his fouldiers that reward of libertie, which hee had promifed : but vnto those foure thousand. which had recoiled vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the warres, they should neither eate nor drinke other wise than standing, valeffe fickeneffe forced them to breake his Order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchifed fouldiers were feafted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, & all of them having their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumised) with Caps, or white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthie of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in 20 a Table by Gracehus, in the Temple of Libertie; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeede the first Battaile, worthie of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost fince the comming of Hannibal into Italic: the victories of Marcellus at Nola, and of this Gracehus before at Hama, being things of small im-

Thus the Romans through industrie, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which Hannibal had made at Canna, But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feede their Townes and Armies; without any furplufage, that might be exchanged for other 40 needfull commodities. Few they were in Italie, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as living vpon the same Trade, and fubiect to the same inconveniences, which enseebled Rome it selfe. Sicil and Sardinia, that were wont to yeild great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, every one of them fuffered his part of the detriment, which the Commonwealth fultained and could now doe least for his Countrie, when most need was : as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the poll, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently confidering the greatnes of the war within the bowels of Italie, that so could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein sicil and Sardinia stood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of Rome; the threats

of the Macedonian, readie to land in the Easterne parts of Italie, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of Adrabal, to follow his brother over the Alpes, as foone as he could rid himselfe of the Scipio's in Spaine; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not monie for any one of these mortall dangers: were driven almost even to extreme want of counsaile. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two Scipie's from Spaine; they refolued upon the only course, without which the Citie could not have fublisted.

They called the people to Affembly: wherein Q. Fuluius the Pretor laide to open the publique wants; and plainely faid, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of monie for victuaile, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needefull to the Souldiers: but that fuch as had stuffe, or were artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours, vntill the Warre were ended. Hercunto hee so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Reuennues, that the charge was under-taken by private men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasure had beene full. Shortly after this, M. Atilius Regulus, and P. Furius Philus the Roman Cenfors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentine to the cor-20 rection of those, that had mil behaued themselves in this present warre. They beganne with L. Cacilius Metellus : , who, after the battaile at Canna, had held difcourse with some of his companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome. and all Italie, had beene no better than loft. After him they tooke in hand those, that having brought to Rome the meffage of their fellowes made prisoners at Canna, returned not back to Hannibal, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselues thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captines names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Cenfors; as also were a great many more; euen wholoeuer had not ferued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes 30 appointed. Neither was the note of the Cenfors at this time (as otherwife it had vied to bee) hurtfull only in reputation : but greater weight was added therevnto, by this Decree of the Senate following; That all futh as were noted with infamie by thefe Cenfors, should bee transported into Sicil, there to serve untill the end of the Warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Canna. The Office of the Cenfors was to take the Lift and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of differace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnhonest or vnseemely behauiour fell not within compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the Roman Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publike Horses of 40 feruice, vitto fuch as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their milbehaniour. Generally, they had the ouer-fight of mens lines and manners; and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie. from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this general! Taxe. and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publike Workes; as mending of high waies, bridges, and water-courses, the reparations of Temples. Porches, and fuch other buildings. If any man encroched upon the streets, highwaics, or other places that ought to bee common; the Cenfors compelled him to 50 make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Gustomes, and other publike Revenues, to farme : fo that most of the Cirizens of Rome were beholding vnto this Office; as maintayning themselues by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserve the dignitic of the Senate : the

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commonaltie being obnoxious vnto the Cenfors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impourrished by warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Cuttomes that were worth the farming; Regulus and Philus troubled not themsclues much with pervsing the Temples, or other decaied Places, that needed reparations: or if they tooke a view of what was requifite to be done in this kinde: yet for bore they to fet any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generofitie of the Romans. They that had beene accustomed, in more happie times, to vindertake such peeces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had beene no such to want : promiting liberally their coft and trauaile; without expectation of any paiment, before the end of the warre. In like fort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had beene enfranchifed by Gracebus, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as every one was able, the common necessitie; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widdowes lining under Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Quastor kept a booke, of all that was laied out for the sustenance of these Widdowes and Orphans : whilest the whole flock was yfed by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: fo that (the poorer fort ex- 20 cepted) they refused to take pay; and called those Mercinaries, that did accept it. when their countrie was in fo great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commoditie, as might bee laied in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuerthelesse if wee consider thinges aright; the calamities of this Warre did rather enable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom shee forth-with vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto shee attained, ere the yongest of those men was dead, whose names wee haue alreadie mentioned. For by this 10 hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and folide : and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of Athens; when Xerxes had burnt the Towne to albes, and taken from enery particular Citizen all hope of other felicitie, than that which refled in the common happinesse of the visiuersalitie. Certaine it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State whose dimension or stemme is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchie : which chiefly comes to paffe, where all regard of domesticall prosperitie is laid aside; and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his countrie. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath scene a great example, in the vnited Provinces in the Netherlands; 40 whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Townes, or all most of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the Generalitie was oppressed by the Duke of Ava; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselues to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthie, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their feruices by Land. Wherefore if wee valew at fuch a rate as we ought, the patient Refolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, about all other, the great love of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times ; we may truly fay, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Nei- 50 ther can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason have been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not

infected them with fenfualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures. wherein they thought their well-being to confift; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of Rome, could have believed their owne interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their desence, as in these which were managed by the Confuls: the Empire, founded vpon fo great vertue, could not have beene throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer fo many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though hee hath given vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their to times appointed.

## d. XIIII.

The Romans winne Come Townes back from HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of HANNIBAL. The journie of HANNIBAL to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the



S the People of Rome strained themselves to the vtmost, for maintayning the warre: fo their Generals abroad omitted no part of industric, in seeking to recover what had beene lost. The Towne of Casiline, Fabius belieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian Garrison; and likely to have beene relieued by those of Capqa, if Marcellus from Wolshad not come to the affiftance of his Colleague. Neuerth leffe the place held

out so obstinately, that Fabius was purposed to give it ouer: faying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as athing of more importance. But Marcellus was of a contrarie opinion. He faid, That many fuch things, as were not at first to 20 have beene under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to bee prosequuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on and the Towne was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew searefull, and craued parlee; offering to give it vp, fo as all might have leave to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions : or whilest they were iffuing forth, according to the composition alreadic made; (for it is diuerfly reported) Marcellus, seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to fword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ranne to Fabius the Conful: wo faued them, and fent them to Capua in safetie; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If Fabius deserved commendations, by hol-40 ding his word good vnto these fiftie; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as scaped the heat of execution, could be excused by Marcellus. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman falhion, with some æquiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like fort was Mount Mar am in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall Monlue, when I was a yong manin France. For whilest he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their feuerall guards, vpon haftie defire of being acquainted with the conditions propofed. The Marshall therefore discourring a part of the walls vnguarded, entred by Scalado; and put all faue the Gouernour vnto the fword. Herein that Gouernour of Mount Marsam committed two groffe errours; the one; in that hee gaue no or-50 der for the Captaines and Companies; to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for affurance given and received. Some such ouer-sight, the Gouernour of Cassline seemeth to have committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by Marcellus, or by Monluc, was very honourable. When this worke was ended, many small Townes of the Sammites, and some of the Ttttt 2

Lucans and Apulians, were recoursed: wherein were taken, or flaine, about five and twentie thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrie gricuously wasted by Fabius. Marcellus lying fick at Wola.

Hannibal in the meane while was about Tarentum; waiting to heare from those, that had promifed to give vp the Towne. But M. Valerius, the Roman Propretor, had thrult fo many men into it, that the Traitors durft not flirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian was faine to depart; having wearied himfelfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrie; but contented himselfe with hope, that they would pleafe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which he chose for his wintring place; and beganne to victuaile it, when Sommer to was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in loue with a yong Wench in that towne: in which regard if he beganne his Winter more timely, than otherwise neede required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessitie enforced, to make their Sommer last as long, as they were able to traugile vp and downe the Countrie.

About this time beganne great troubles in Sicil; whither Marcellus the Conful was fent, to take fuch order for the Prouince, as neede should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Confulfhip, we will speake hereafter.

The new Confuls, chosen at Rome, were O. Fabius the sonne of the present Conful, and T. Sempronius Gracehus the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publike feruice, to imploy often-times their bestable men: and therefore made 20 it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwife required. The old Fabrils became Lieutenant vnto his fonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted. That when the old man came into the campe, and his fonne rode forth to meet him : eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried each an axe with a bundle of rods before the Conful, fuffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse back; which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bad the old Fabius alight. and come to the Conful on his feet. The father chearefully did fo; faying, It was 20 my minde, some, to make triall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to bee Consul. Cafins Atinius a wealthie Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battaile at Canna, had holpen the Carthaginian into that Towne, feeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came privily to this Conful Fabius, and offered to render it back vnto him. if he might bee therefore well rewarded. The Conful purposed to follow old examples : and to make this Altinius a patterne to all Traitors; vling him, as Camillus and Fabricus had done those, that offered their vnfaithfull service against the Falisci, and King Pyrrhus. But Q. Fabius the father, was of another opinion : and faid, it was a matter of dangerous confequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the Romans, than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee 40 should be sent to the Towne of Cales, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. Hannibal, vnderstanding that Altinius was gone, and among the Romans, tooke it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet, that he might seeme rather seuere, than couctous, He sent for the wife and children of Altinius into his campe: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about hisriches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the Treason, to be burnt aline; and tooke all their goods ynto himfelfe. Fabius the Conful shortly after came to Arpi: which he wanne by Scalado, in a 50 formie and rainie night. Five thousand of Hannibals Souldiers lay in the Towne; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the Carthaginian Garrison; when it was understood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the fouldiers held the town fmen fuspected;

CHAP.3. S.14. of the Historie of the World. suspected; and therefore thought it no wisedome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little relistance, the Arpines gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans: protesting, that they had beene betraied by their Princes, and were hecome subject to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In processe of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor went vnto the Roman Conful: and receiping his faith for fecuritie of the Towne, prefently made head against the Garrison. This not with landing; like it is, that Hannibals men continued to make good refiftance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leaue their companions, and serve on the Roman fide; it was yet couenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to passe forth quietly, and returne to Hannibal. This was performed : and so Arps became Roman againe; with little other loffe, than of him that had betraied it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tuditanus, one of the Pretors : and vnto Cneius Faluius, another of the Pretors, an hundred and twelue Gentlemen of Capua offered their feruice; vpon no other condition, than to have their goods restored vnto them, when their Citie should bee recoursed by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance : but considering the generall hatred of the Cambans toward Rome, it served to discover the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from Hannibal, when there was no appearance of those mightie succours, that had beene promised from Carthage. The 20 Confentines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, that had yeelded themfelues to Hannibal; returned againe to their old allegeance. Others would have followed their example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of a Publican had made himselfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some pettie exploits in forraging the countrie, was flaine by Hanno, with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibal in the meane while had all his care bent voon Tarentum; which if hee could take it feemed that it would fland him in good flead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Macedon, which his Carthaginians failed to fend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his defire to paffe; and being loth to hazard his forces, where hee hoped to prenaile by intelligence: He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore Townes of the 30 Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at Rome as Embaffador, practifing with the Hoftages of the Tarentines, and fuch as had the keeping of them, conucighed them by night out of the Citic. But hee and his companie were the next day fo closely purfued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to Rome; where they suffered death, as Traitors. By reason of this crueltie, or feueritie, the people of Twentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent against to Hannibal: and ac-40 quainting him with the manner of their plot, made the fame composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. Nice and Philomenes, two the chiefe among them, vied much to goe forth of the Towns on hunting by night, as if they durft not take their pleasure by day, for seare of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their handes, that they might not seeme to have been abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of Hannibal, it was about three daies journie to Tarentum, if hee should have marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place the leffe to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure, He caufed it to be given out, that he was fick. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were 50 growne careleffe of fuch his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their bufinesse in order: He tooke with him ten thousand, the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before breake of day, made all speede thitherward. Fourescore light

horse of the Numidians ranne a great way before him, beating all the waies, and kil-

ling any that they met, for feare left he and his troupe following him should be dif-

conered. It had beene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the Roman Gouernour, when he heard tell in the cuening, that fome Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a figne, that Hannibal was not as yet diflodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be fent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; Hannibal, guided by Philomenes, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arrivall: Nico, that was within the Towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was readic. Presently Nico beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. Philomenes went toward another gate; and whiftling (as was his man- 10 ner) called up the Porter; bidding him make hafte, for that hee had killed a great Bore, so heavie, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two yong men, loaden with the Bore; which Hannibal had prepared large enough, to bee worthie the looking on. While the Porter flood wondring at the largeneffe of the beaft, Philomenes ranne him through with his Bore-speare; and letting in some thirtie armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had flaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of Hannibal, entring Tarentum at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the Citic, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the Ro- 20 mans; and not to burt the Citizens. For better performance hereof Hannibal willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an vprore : but few could tell what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was vnskilfully founded by a Greeke in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the Tarentines, that the Romans were about to fooile the Towne; and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Cournour fled into the Port : and taking boat , got into the Citadell, that flood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence hee might ealily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. Hannibal, assembling the Tarentines, gaue them to vinderstand, what good affection hee bore them; inueighed bitterly against 20 the Romans, as tyrannous oppreffors; and spake what else he thought fit for the prefent. This done; and having gotten fuch spoile as was to bee had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, He addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fallie out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Peece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he beganne to make his approches, the Romans in a brauerie fallying forth, gaue charge you his men; who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and fo farre from their strength, as they durst aduenture. Then gaue Hannibal a signe to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared readie for the purpose : and fiercely setting vpon the Enemie, draue him back with great 40 flaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not iffue forth. The Citadell flood youn a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified only with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawfey Hannibal intended to fortifie in like fort against the Citadell; to the end that the Tarentines might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselues from all danger thence. His worke in few daies went fo well forward, without impediment from the belieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Peece it felfe, by taking a little more paines. Wherefore he made readicall forts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his workes, there came by Scaa strong supply from Metapontum: which tooke away all hope of prenailing; and made him returne to his 50 former counsaile. Now for a fmuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the Hauen, and could not passe forth, whilest the Romans held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the Towne would fuffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea; whileft the Roman Garrison, by helpe of their shipping, might easily be re-

lieued, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience, it was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their sife eccouldge out of the Hauen; to guard the mouth offic, and cut off all supply from the Enemic. Hambal told then; that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would been ohard matter to draw the Galiles ouer Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook and essentially with the Roman Garrison was reduced into great necessitie; though with much patience it held out, and found Hambal often-times otherwise busited, than his affiliers required.

Thus with mutuall loffe on both fides, the time passed : and the Roman forces, growing daily stronger, Q. Fulvius Flaceus, with Appius Claudius, lately chosen Confuls, prepared to beliege the great Citic of Capua. Three and twentie Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and haltie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at Canna had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder seuenteene yeares of age: and to fend Commissioners aboue fiftie miles round, for the feeking out of fuch Lads as might appeare serviceable, and pressing them to the warres; making vet a Law, That their yeares of feruice, whereunto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning 20 fo yong, as if they had beene of lawfull age. Before the Roman Armie drew neare. the Campans felt great want of victuailes, as if they had alreadie beene belieged. This happened partly by floth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoile, which the Romans had in foregoing yeares made vpon their grounds. They fent therefore Embaffadours to Hannibal's desiring him to succourthem ere they were closed up, as they feared to bee shortly. Hee gaue them comfortable wordes; and fent Hanne with an Armie to supply their wants. Hanne appointed them a day: against which they should be readie with all manner of carriages, to store themselues with victuailes, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more, than he performed. For heccaused great quantitie of graine, that had beene laied yo in Cities 20 round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from Beneuentum. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packhorses: as it this had beene enough to victuaile Capuir. Such was the rechlesnesse of the Campans. Hanno was exceeding angrie hereat : and told them they were worfe than very beafts; fince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore hee gaue them a longer day; against which hee made provision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the Roman Confuls, from the Citizens of Beneventum. Therefore Q. Fulvius the Conful, taking with him fuch strength as hee thought needfull for the service, came into Beneventum by night; where with diligence he made inquirie into the behaulour of the Enemie. He lear-40 ned, that Hanno with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make provisions; that fometwo thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; fo that little good order was kept : all thought being set vpon a great Haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves, to assaile the Enemies campe: and leaving all his impediments within Beneventum, He marched thitherward fo early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, Hee had well-neare forced the campe on the fudden. But it was very firong, and very well defended: fo that the longer the fight continued, the leffe defire had Fulsius to loofe more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing

50 good. Therefore he faid, that it were better to goo more leftirely and dubfiantially to worke; to fend for his fellow-Gonful with the reft of their Armie; and to lie between Hanne and home; that neither the Cambaus: fhould depart thence, nor the Caribagain he balbe to relieue them. Being thus diffeouring; and shout to found the retrait; hee faw, that fome of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart.

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There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the fouldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Enfignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, valeffe they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie. than which none could bee greater, made the Souldiers aduenture fo desperately; that Fuluus, perceiving the heat of his men, changed purpose, and encouraged those that were (omewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had alreadic porten over the Trenches. Thus the campe was wonne : in which were flaine aboue tixe thousand; and taken, aboue seven thousand; besides all the store of victuailes, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that Hanno had lately gotten from the Ro- 10 man Confederates. This misadmenture, and the nearer approach of both the Confuls, made them of Capua fend a pittifull Embassage to Hannibal: putting him in minde of all the love, that he was wont to proteft vnto their Citie; and how he had made thewato affect it no leffe than Carthage. But now, they faid, it would be loft, as Arpi was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedie succour. Hannibal answered with comfortable wordes; and fent away two thousand horse, to keepe their grounds from spoile; whilest hee himselfe was detained about Tarensum, partly by hope of winning the citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adjoyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the Hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and, being ouer-taken, fuffered death for their attempt; were some of 20 the Metapontines, and other Cities of the Greekes, inhabiting that Eafterne part of Italie, which was called of old Magna Gracia. These people tooke to heart the death of their Hostages; and thought the punishment greater, than the offence. Wherefore the Metapontines, as foone as the Roman Garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadell of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to Hannibal. The Thurines would have done the like, vpon the like reason; had not some companies laine in their Towne; which they feared that they should not bee able to mafter. Neuertheleffe they helped themselves by cunning : inviting to their gates Hanno and Migo, that were peare at hand; against whom whilest they proffered their feruice to Atinius, the Roman captaine, they drew him forth to fight; and recovling from him, closed up their gates. A little formalitie they yled, in pretending feare, left the Enemie should breake in together with the Romans; in saving Atinius himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practife) whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, calily prevailed in the rest; and deliuered up the Towne to Hanno and Mago. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained Hannibal in those quarters; whilest the Confuls, fortifying Beneventum to secure their backs, addressed themselves vnto the siege of Capua.

Many difasters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. T. Sem- 40 proning Gracehus, a very good man of warre, that had of late beene twice Conful, was flaine either by trecherie of fome Lucans, that drew him into an ambush; or by some Carthaginian stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His bodie, or his head, was very honorably interred, either by Hannibal himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans; to whom Hannibal fent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneventum, there to secure the back of the Armie that should besiege Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time; to the great hindrance of that bufineffe. The Volones or Slaves lately manumifed, forfooke their Enfignes, and went enery one whither hee thought good, as if they had beene discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked fome labour to feeke them out, and bring them back into their campe. Neuerthe- 50 leffe the Confuls went forward with their worke: and drawing neare to Capua, did all acts of hostilitie which they could. Mago the Carthaginian, and the Citizens of Capua, coaue them an hard welcome; wherein aboue fifteene hundred Romans were loft. Neither was it long, ere Hannibal came thither; who fought with the Confuls,

and had the better; insomuch that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went feuerall waies : Fuluius toward Cuma; Claudius, into Lucania, Hannibal followed after Claudius: who having led him a great walke, fetcht a compaffe about, and returned to Capua. It so fellout, that one M. Centenius Penula a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Armie not farre from thence, where Hannibal refled, when hee was wearie of hunting after Claudius. This Penula had made great vants to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trufted with the leading of fine thousand men. The Fathers were vinwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier; how meane focuer his condition were. Wherfore they gave him the charge of eight thousand; and he himselfe, being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered up fo many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with Hannibal, he gaue proofe of the difference, betweene a front Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. Hee and his fellowes were all (in a manner) flaine; scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this Hannibal had word, that Cn. Fuluius, a Roman Pretor with eighteene thousand men, was in Apulia, very careleffe, and a man infufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore hafied to visit him : hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces about vnder men of small abilitie. Comming vpon Fuluius, He found him and his men fo jollie, that needes they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So hee bestowed Mago with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battaile to Fuluius, Hee foone had him in the trap: whence hee made him glad to escape aline; leaving all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behinde him.

These two great blowes, received one presently after the other, much assonished the Romans. Neuerthelelic all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armics: and that the Confuls should goe substantially forwards with the no fiege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls fate downe before the towne : and C. Claudius Nero, one of the Pretors, came with his Armie from Sueffula to their affiftance. They made Proclamation, That who focuer would iffue forth of Capua before a certaineday prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumelionfly rejected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the fuccours attended from Hannibal. Before the citie was closed vp, they fent Messengers to the Carthaginian; which found him at Brundusium. He had made a long journie, in hope of gaining the Tarentine citadell : of which expectation failing, He turned to Brundusium; vpon advertisement that he should be let in. There the Capuans methim; told him of their danger with earnest wordes; and were with wordes as braue recomforted. He bad them confider how a few daies fince he had chased the Confuls out of their fields; and told them, that we would prefently come thither againe, and fend the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answere the Mcffengers returned : and hardly could get back into the citie; which the Romans had almost entrenched round. As for Hannibal himselfe; He was of opinion, that Capua, being very well manned, and heartily denoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time: and thereby giue him leifure, to doe what he thought requifite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italie; whilst the Roman armie spent it 50 felfe in a tedious fiege. Thus he lingred : and thereby gaue the Confuls time, both to fortifie themselves at Capua, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in Rome; whilest he himselfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and Fuluius, when their terme of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the fiege at Capua; retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The townes-

men often fallied out; rather in a brauerie, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemie lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the Romans yied to thrust out some troups, that should hold them skirmilly. In these exercises the Campans vivally had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemie; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebells. It was therefore denifed, that fome actine and couragious yong men, should learne to ride behinde the Roman men at armes; leaping vp, and againe difmounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the Velites, having each of them three or foure small darts; which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon to the Enemies horse: whom vanquilling in this kinde of service, they much disheartned in the maine. The time thus palling, and faminedaily increasing within the Citie; Hannibal came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called Galatia, fell youn their campe. At the same time the Capuans issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of unferuiceable people on the walls; which, with a loud noise of Pannes and Bafons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. Appius Claudius opposing himselfe to the Campans, cassly defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he draue them at length back into their Citie. Neuerthelesse, in pursuing them to their gates, He received a wound, that accompanied him in short space 20 after to his graue. Q. Fuluius was held harder to his taske, by Hannibal and the Carthaginian Armic. The Roman campe was even at point to have beene loft and Hannibal his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirtie, were either gotten within the rampart, or elfe (for the report varies) being some of them flaine ypon it, fell into the ditch; and filled it up in fuch fort, that their bodies ferued as a bridge vnto the Affailants. It is faid, that Hannibal in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake Latine well, to proclaime aloud, as it were in the Confuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next Hills, for a fmuch as the campe was alreadie loft. But all would not ferue. The fraud was detected: and the Armie, having fitten there fo long, had at 20 good leifure strongly entrenched it selfe; so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplexe the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome it felfe: and now his defire of winning the Tarentine Citadell, had well neare lost Capus; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor Citic of Tarentum, were to have beene much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vie; on the fudden he entertained an haughtierefolution, euen to fet vpon Rome; and carrie to the walls of that proud Citie, the danger of warre that threatned Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to 40 draw the Roman Generalls, or one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they role from the fiege with their whole Armie; then had he his defire: If they divided their forces; then was it likely, that either he, or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despaire, that the terror of his comming might fo aftonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the Citie. His only feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had for saken them; and therupon for thwith yeeld themselues to the Enemie. To prevent this danger, He sent letters to Capua by a subtile Numidian: who running as a fugitive into the Roman campe, conveighed himfelfe thence over the innermost Trenches into the Gitic. The journie to Rome, was 50 to be performed with great celeritie: no fmall hope of good fuccesse, resting in the suddennesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to have in a readinesse ten daies victuailes; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the River of Vulturnus. This could not be done so closely, but

that the Roman Generalls by fome fugitiues had notice of his purpole. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Seriate: which was therewith affected, according to the diverlitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counfaile to let alone Capua, yea and all places elfe, rather then to put the Towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the Enemie. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that Hamibal, being vnable to relieue Capua, should indge himselfe strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore floutly faid, That, those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the Citic, would ferue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and fend him thence; if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that letters should be sent to Fuluius and Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the prefent were in Rome: who, fince they knew belt, what the strength was which Hannibal could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generalls at Capua, to doe as they thought behouefull : and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the Citic of Rome into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, Q. Fuluius tooke fifteene thouland foote, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Armie: with which he halted toward Rome; leaving App. Claudins, who could not travell by reason of his wound, to continue 20 the fiege at Capua.

Hannibal, having passed over Vulturnus, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might serue to transport the Enemie, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hafted he away toward Rome; flaying no longer in any one place, then he needs must. Yet found he the bridges ouer Liris broken downe, by the people of Fregella: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grienoully to spoile their lands, whiles the bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to Rome, the greater waste he made: his Numidians running before him: driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all forts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, 20 one after another, into the Citie; some few bringing true aductifements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were peffered with women, crying and praying; and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senatours were all in the great Market, or place of Assemblie; readic to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates, All places of most importance were fluffed with fouldiers: it being vncertaine, ypon which part Hampibal would fall. In the middest of this trepidation, there came newes that Q. Fuluins, with part of the Armie from Capus, was hasting to defence of the Citic. The Office of a Proconful did expire, at his returne home, and entricinto the Gates of Rome. Where-40 fore, that Fulnius might lose nothing by comming into the Citie in time of such need, an Act was passed, That He should have equall power with the Confuls, during his abode there. He and Hannibal arrived at Rome, one foone after another: Fuluius having beenelong held occupied in passing over Fuluinus; and Hannibal receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Countrey was able to give. The Confuls, and Fuluius, incamped without the Gates of Rome; attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate; and as the danger grew nearer and greater; fo tooke they more carefull and especiall order, against all occurrences. Hannibal came to the River Anio or Anien, three miles from the Towner whence He advanced with two thousand Horse, and rode along agreat way under the walls; viewing

50 the firethereof, and confidering how he might beft approch it. But He either went, or (as the Roman Storic faith) was driven aways without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rofe in this while among the people; but were fupperfield by care and diligence of the Senators. Aboue the reft, one accident was both troublefome, and not without perill. Of Namidians that had fhifted fide, and fallen (vpon Vuluu men and the senators).

fome displeasures) from Hannibal to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in Rome: which were appointed by the Confuls, to passe through the Towne. from the Mount Auentine to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their fernice might be viefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the fuburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of Hannibal; bred fuch mistaking, as caused a great vprore among the people : all crying out, that Auentine was taken, and the enemie gotten within the wals. The noise was such that men could not be informed of the truth : and the streetes were so full of cattaile, and husbandmen, which were fledde thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt vp: and the poore Numidians pittifully to beaten from the house-toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand by the defocrate multitude, that would have run out at the gates, had it not beene certaine who lay under the walls. To remedie the like inconveniences, it was ordained. That all which had beene Dictators, Confuls, or Cenfors, should have authoritie as Magistrates, till the Enemie departed. The day following, Hannibal passed ouer Anien, and presented battaile to the Romans, who did not wisely if they undertooke it. It is faid, that a terrible showre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their fenerall Camps: and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking vp, and clearing, as soone as they were departed a funder. Certaine it is, that Hannibal, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies prouision, could not endure to flay there, vntill his victuals were all fpent. In which regard, the Romans, if they fuffered him to wast his time and provisions, knowing that hee could not abide there long, did as became well-aduised men : if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is faid) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terrour of Hannibals comming to the Citie, how great focuer it was at the first, yet after fome leifure, and better notice taken of his forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and foone abated. Hercunto it helped well, that at the fame time, the supplie appointed for Spaine, after the death of the two Scipio's, was fent out of the towne, & went forth at one gate, whileft the Carthaginian ay before another. In all Panick terrours, as they are called, wherof there is either no cause known or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedie, to doe somewhat quite contrarie to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men haue fashioned it in their amaled conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they knew not what. And thus did Clearchus pacifie a foolish vprore in his Armie, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had fent the Affe into the Campe. But in this present example of the Romans, appeares withall a great magnanimitie: whereby they fustained their reputation, and augmented it no leffe, than by this bolde attempt of Hannibal it might feeme to have beene diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceipts of their Enemies, and taken away the difgrace of that feare, which clowded their valour at his first comming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recouered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that veric piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay incamped, was folde in Rome : and folde it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had beene in time of peace. This indignitie comming to his eare, incenfed Hannibal fo much, that he made Portfale of the Siluer-smithes shops, which were neare about the Market or Common place in Rome; as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne, were no whit worse, then any Roman Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, whereon he raifed his Tent. Butthis counter-practife was nothing worth. The Romans did feeke to manifest that assurance, which they justly had conceived; Hannibal, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was alreadic past. His victuailes were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed vnto himselfe, this journey had brought

forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake vp his campe: and doing what fpoile he could in the Roman Territorie, without fparing religious places, wherein wealth was to begotten. He passed like a Tempelt ouer the Countrie; and ranne toward the Easterne Sea so fast that hee had atmost taken the Citic of Rogium before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for Capus hee gaue it lost sand is likely to haue cured the whole faction of Hanne, which thus difabled him to relieve that faire Citic; since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fuluing returning back to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that who fo would veeld, before a certaineday, might fafely doe it. This, and the very returne of 10 Fuluius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gave the Capuans to vinderstand. that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every mans confeience of his owne enill deferts, told him that it was a vanitie: and some faint hope was given, by Hanno and Bostar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could only be found, how to conuey fuch letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the letters was undertaken, by some Numidians: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne, into the Roman campe, waited fit opportunitie to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned creethey could conneigh themfelues away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Towne; and the letters of Bostar and Hanno, were taken and opened; containing a vehement entreatie vnto Hannibal, that he would not thus for fake the Capuans and them. For (faid they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium and Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lie, there also should the Carthaginian Armic be readic to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canna. In fine. they befought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view : promiting, to make a desperate fallie, if he would once more aduenture to fet vpon the Roman camp. Such were the hopes of Boffar and his 20 fellow. But Hannibal had alreadie done his best : and now beganne to faint under the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Hanno and his Partifans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capua, had beene fent ouer by the Hannonians, to observe the doings of Hannibal, and to check his proceedings. If this were fo; juffly might they curfe their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedilesse necessitie. Howsocuerit were, the letters directed vnto Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Reman Proconfuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all fuch counterfait fugitiues, as carried fuch messages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake 40 the hearts of the Campans: fo that the Multitude crying out your the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding up of Capua vnto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeares since had beene most forward in joyning with Hannibal, vnderstood well enough wherevnto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them inuited the rest home to supper : telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them fuch an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemie fought vpon their bodies. About feuen and twentie of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lines together, by drinking poifon. All the reft, hoping for more mercie than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion. 50 So one of the Towne-gates was fet open: whereat a Roman Legion with some other companies, entring, difarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian Garrifon; and commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe. Attheir comming thither, the Proconfuls laid yrons vpon them all : and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe Vunun 2

custodic: some to Cales; others to Theanum. Touching the generall Multitude: they were referred vnto the diferetion of the Senate : yet so hardly vsed by Fuluius in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersitie. Ap, Claudius was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was hee not inexorable to the Campans; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his daughter in marriage to that Pacuvius. of whom we spake before. But this facilitie of his Colleague, made Fuluius the more haltie in taking vengeance: for feare, left, vpon the like respects, the Roman Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common safetie, and honour of their state. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto Theanum, and from thence to Gales: where hee caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death; binding them to flakes, and foourging them first agood while with rods; after which he ftruck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder. made all Townes of Italie the leffe apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans: and bred a generall inclination, to returne vpon good conditions to the Roman lide. The Atellans, Calatines, and Sabatines, people of the Campans, that in the former change had followed the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submission, for very fear, and want of abilitie to refift. They were therefore vsed with the like rigour, by Fuluim: who dealt fo extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their yong Gentlemen, burning with fire of reuenge, got into Rome: where they found meanes by night-time, to fet on fire fo many houses, that a great part of the Citie was like to have beene confumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no cafualitie. Wherefore libertie was proclaimed vnto any flaue, and other fufficient reward vnto any free man, that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out : and the Campans, being detected by a flaue of their owne (to whom, aboue his libertic promifed, was given about the fumme of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deferts. Fulging hereby being more and more incenfed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prifoners within their walls: and this extreme feueri-tic caufed them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that fome period might be fet vnto their miferies. That whereupon the Senators refolued in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poore women in Capua (of which one had beene an Harlot) were found not guiltie of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for flaues, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further defolation: but the generalitie of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day; and confined vnto feuerall places, as best liked the angrie Victors. As for the Towne of Capna, it was fuffered to fland, in regard of the beautic and commodious fite: but no corporation, or forme of politic, was allowed to be therein: only a Roman Prouest was euerie yeare sent, to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it, and to doc justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great loffes in the present warre. After this, the glorie of Hannibal beganne to shine with a more dimme light, than before : his oile being farre spent, and that, which should have revived his slame, being vnfortunately flied: as shall be told in place convenient.

à. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil, held warr against the Romans in those Hands; and were ouer-come.



Hileft things paffed thus in Italie; the commotions raised in Sardinia and Sicil by the Carthaginians and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happie end, by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardimian rebellion was great and fudden; about thirtie thousand being vo in armes, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppresse it. One

Hir/icor as with his sonne Hiostus, mightie men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by Hannoa Carthaginian, that promifed the affiliance of his Countrie. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine undertakings, about the fame time. Yet it had beene better, if their care had beene directed vnto the profecution of that maine bufineffe in Italie; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would have fufficed, if they could have hindred the Romans from fending an Armie into Sardinia. Harfeor as with his followers might well enough have ferued to drive out Q. Matius the Pretor; who lay fick no in the Province; and not more weake in his owne bodie, than in his traine. But whileft they fought reuenge of that particular injurie, whereof the fenfe was most grieuous; they neglected the opportunitie of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such; as may seeme to hade discouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For where as they sent ouer Aldrubal, Surnamed the bald, with a competent fleet and armie; affifted in this Expedition by Hanno the Author of the rebellion, and by Margo a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neare kinsman to Hannibal: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremitie of foule weather was cast upon the Baleares; so beaten, and in such euill 20 plight, that the Sardinians had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite

vanguished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them. Titus Manlius was fent from Rome with two and twentie thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Hand, which he had taken in, and annexed vnto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Confulfnip. It was a laudable cuftome of the Romans, to preferue and vp-hold in their feuerall Provinces. the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Prouince had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any injurie were done vnto the Provincialls; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatfoener accident required the affiftance of a Patron: the first Conqueror, and his race after 40 him, were the most readie and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very sure intelligence in enery Province, and had alwaies in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subjects, if they fell into any fuch diforder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of Manlius, retayned in obedience all that were not alreadic broken too farre out. Yet was Harficor as fo strong in field, that Manlius was compelled to arme his Marriners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twentie thousand, whereof we have spoken before: He landed at Calaris or Carallis. where mooring his ships, he passed vp into the Countrie, and sought out the Enemie. Hyestus, the sonne of Harsicoras, had then the command of the Sardinian Ar-50 mie left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrie, to draw in more friends to their fide. This yong Gentleman would needes adventure to get honor, by giving battaile to the Romans at his owne diferetion. So bee rafhly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and loft in one day about thirtie thousand of his followers. Hyostus himselfe, with

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à. XV.

the rest of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither Manlius pursued them. Very soone after this defeature came Astrabal with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia, in fuch hafte as he might have done. if the tempest had not hindred his voiage; yet some enough, and strong enough to faue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebells. Manlius herevpon with-drew himselfe back to Calaris: where he had not staied long, ere the Sardinians (fuch of them as adhered to the Roman partie) craued his affiftance; their Countrie being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebells, with whom they had refused to joyne. This drew Manlius forth of Calaris: where if he had staied a little longer. Marubal would have fought him out with fome blemish to his reputation. In But the fame of Afdrubal and his companie, appeares to have been greater than was their firength. For after some trial made of them in a few skirmishes; Manlius aduentured all to the hazard of a battaile: wherein he flew twelue thousand of the enemics: and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians three thousand. Foure houres the battaile lasted : and victorie at length fell to the Romans, by the flight of the Islanders; whose courages had beene broken in their unprosperous fight, not many daies before. The death of yong Hyoftue, and of his father Harficorus, that flew himselfe for griefe, together with the captivitie of Afdrubal himselfe, with Mago and Hanno the Carthaginians; made the victoric the more famous. The vanquished Armie fledinto Cornus: whither Manlius followed them; and in fhort space wanne 20 the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of Cornus, and yeelded vnto the Roman: who impoling vpon them fuch increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best forted with the nature of their seuerall offences, or their abilitie to pay, returned back to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence

to Rome: leaving Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicil: was of greater length, and every way more burdensometo Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit; for that the Romans became thereby not only fauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrie; by annexing the Citie and Dominion of Syracufe, to that which they enjoyed before. Sooneafter the battaile of Canne, the old King of Syracuse died: who had continued long a ftedfast friend vnto the Romans; and greatly relieued them in this present warre. He left his Kingdome to Hieronymus his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeares of age; Gelo his fonne, that should have beene his heire, being dead before. To this yong King his fuccesfor, Hiero appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principall were Andronodorus, Zoilus, and Themistius; who had maried his daughters, or the daughters of Gelo. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdome, by the same arte, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while; Andronodorus, waxing wearie of fo many Coadjutors, beganne to commend the sufficiencie of the yong Prince, as extraordinarie in one of his yeares; and faid, that he was able to rule the Kingdome without helpe of any Protector. Thus by giving over his owne charge, he caused others to doe the like : hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands ; which came to passe in a fort as hee defired. For Hieronymus, laying afide all care of gouernement, gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitic, it was only in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diademe with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people; that had neuer feene the like in Hiere, or in Gelo his fonne. But much more he offended them, when by his infolent behauiour, futable to his outward pompe, he gaue proofe, that, in course of life, he would reviue the memorie of Tyrants deadlong face, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. Hee grew proud, 50 luftfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him : fo that fuch of his late Tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to line in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe.

Only Andronodorus, Zoilus, and one Thrafe continued in grace with him, and were his Counfailers, but not of his Cabinet. Thefe, howfocuer they agreed in other points, were at fome diffension about that maine point, of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleafures, which was fet on change; but Thrafo, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilest as vet it remained fomewhat doubtfull, which way the King would incline : a confoiracie against his Person, was detected by a groome of his; to whom, one Theodorus had broken the matter. Theodorus hereupon, was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practife, and the names of the vidertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing; but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end. vntothe extremitie of the torture; he confessed, that he had beene set on by Thraso: whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neare in loue or place vnto Hieronymus. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeede the Confoirators, walked boldly in the ftreets, and neuer farunke for the matter; affuring themselues, that the resolution of Theodorus would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himfelfe, when Thrase was taken out of the way, quickly resolued upon siding with the Carthaginians; whereto he was very inclinable before. Yong men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, loue to seeme wifer than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberalitie of Hiero to the Romans, in their great neceffitie, had of late beene fuch, as might have beene termed excessive; were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein hee tooke order for his owneestate, that depended ypon theirs. But the yong Nephew, taking little heede of dangers farre off; regarded only the things present; the weakenesse of Rome; the prevalent fortunes of Carthage; and the much monie that his grand-father had laied out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hannibal: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by Hippocrates & Epicides, 20 Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syracusian. These grew into fuch favour with Hieronymus, that they drew him whither they lifted. So that when Applus Claudius the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the People of Rome and the King of Syracule; his Mellengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For Hieronymus would needes have them tell him, the order of the fight at Canna; that hee might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe: saying, That he could hardly beleeve the Carthaginians; fo wonderfull was the victorie as they reported it. Haujng thus dismissed the Romans, he fent Embaffadors to Carthage, where hee concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Domini-40 on; but afterward, that hee should raigne over all Sicil; and the Carthaginians rest fatisfied, with what they could get in Italie. At these doings Ap. Clandius did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued northe Romans, to entertaine more quarrells, then were enforced upon them by neceffitie; and partly (as may feeme) for that the reputation, both of himfelfe, and of his Citic, had received fuch blemish, by that which hapned vnto him in his journie, as much discountenanced him when he came into Sicil, and forbad him to looke big. The money that Hiero had bestowed upon the Romans, wherewith to relieue them in their necessitie, this Appius was to carrie back vnto him: it being resused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauerie than their present fortune would allow. But to in fleed of returning the monie with thanks, as he had beene directed, and as it had beene noised abroad that hee should doe : the warre against Philip King of Macedon (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside their vaine glorie, and fend word after him, that he should configne that monie over to Marcus

Valerius; of whose voiage into Greece, the Citic had not otherwise wherewith to

beare the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby Claudius (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious often atton of the Roman magnanimitie; into fuch a pittrull tume of thank fgiuing, as must needes have bred for row and commisseration, in so true a friend as Hiero; or, if it were deliuncted after his death, matter of pastime and scorne, in Meropyman the new King.

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But whilest Hieronymus was more desirous of warre, than well resoluted how to beginne it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innouation in the state of Syracuse; which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it beene wifely governed. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom we spake before, 10 were fent about the Countrie with two thousand men; to follicite the Townes, and perfwade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thousand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a Citic of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all halte, and accept him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as hee was passing through a narrow street; and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith libertie was proclaimed: and the found of that word fo joy fully answered by the Leontines, that the guard of Hieronymus, had little courage to reuenge their Masters death. Yet for scare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers, with rewards vnto their 20 Captaines; which wrought foeffectually; that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up; the Armie, as in detellation of his bad life, suffered his carkaffe to lie vnburied. These newes, ranne quickly to Syracuse: whither some of the Conspirators, taking the Kingshorses, posted away; to signific all that had paffed; to flirre vp the people to libertie; and to prenent Andronodoris, if he, or his fellowes would make offer to vourpe a Tyrannie. The Syraenfians hercupon presently tooke Armes; and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. Andronodorus on the other fide fortified the Palace, and the Ifland : being yet vncertaine what to doe; betweene delire of making himselfe a soucraigne Lord, and seare of suffering punishment, as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife Demarata, that was 30 the daughter of Hiero, cherished him in his hopes; putting him in minde of that well knowne Prouerbe, which Dionysius had vsed; That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horfe-back. But feare, and better counfaile prevailed fo farre: that Andronodorus, having flept vpon the matter; diffembled his affections, and deferred his hope, vnto better opportunitie. The next day he came forth, and made a speech vnto the People : telling them; That hee was glad to fee, how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had flood in feare, leaft they would not have contained them felues within bounds of discretion; but rather have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that fince he beheld their order- 40 ly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their libertie perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendred vp the charge, committed vnto him, by one that had beene an euill Master, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made; and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie; of which Andronodorus was one, and the chiefe. But fuch was his defire of Soueraignetie: and so vehement were the infligations of his wife; that shortly he beganne to practife with Hippocrates, Epicides, and other Captaines of the Mercinaries: hoping to make himselfe strong, by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. Hippoerates and Epicides, had beene with the Syracustan Pretors, and told them, that, being fent from Hannibal to Hieronymus, they according to to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he lived, what service they could; and that now they were defirous to returne home. They requested thereforethat they might be friendly dismissed and with a convoy; that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and fet them fafe at Locri. This was cafily

eafily granted: both for that the Syracufian Magistrates were well contented to earne thankes of Hannibal, with fuch a little curtefie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple; which were good fouldiers, and gratious with the Armie, but otherwise lewed men. It was not the defire of these two Sicilians, to be gone so hastily as they made shew: they were more mindfull of the businesse, for which Hannibal had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the armie with tumult: especially of the Roman fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the Romans and Syracusians were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had great neede of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found Themistius, that had married Harmonia the fifter of Hieronymus, readie to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents; he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretorsa Hereupon it followed, that he, and Themistius, entring into the Senate, were flaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the cuill which they had done, whilest Hieronymus lived, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in feeking to viurpe the tyrannie themselves. It was also declared that the daughters of Hiero and Gelo, were accessarie to this dangerous treason: and that the viquiet spirits of these women, would neuer cease to worke, vitill they had recouered those Royall ornaments, and Soucraigne power, whereof their familie was now disposses These daughters therefore of Hiero and Gelo, were also condemned to die and executioners prefently fent by the enraged people to take away their lines. Demarata, and Harmonia, had perhaps deferued this heavie fentence : but Heraclea, the daughter of Hiero, and wife of Solippus, being altogether innocent; was murdered together with her two yong daughters, in the haltie execution of this rash judgement. Her husband Solippus was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that refrect to hated by Hieronymus, that being fent Embaffador to King Ptolemie, &c. he durst not returne home: but staied in Egypt as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with fome other pittiful accidents accompanying the flaughters of affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselves) all cryed out vpon the auchors of fo foule a butcherie. Being thus incenfed against the Scnate: and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger; they called for an ele-Aion of new Pretors, in the roome of Andronodorus and Theraistius, that were lately flaine; meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of fouldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named Epicides Pretor: another named Hippocrates: and the leffe that the old Pretors and Senators approved this nomination, the more cager was the multitude; and by a generall 40 crie forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the Syracustans and the Romans. But having striven in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in searc of Ap. Claudius, and of Marcellus, that was lately come into Sicil; they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of Hiero to be reconfirmed; which afterward they purposed to diffolue by practife. The Leontines had fome neede of a Garrison: and to them was fent Hippocrates the Pretor sattended, by fuch fugitives, and mercinarie fouldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, hee beganne to doe many acts of hostilitie against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent 50 word vnto the Syracusians, that they had alreadic broken the league; and that the peace would neuer be kept fincerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. Episides, fearing to fustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more defirous to fet forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the Leantines, whom he perswaded to rebell against the Syracu-

fans. For he faid, that fince they had all of late ferued one Mafter; there was little reason why the Leantines should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the Syracustans; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was flaine, and libertic first proclaimed. Wherefore, fince they of Syracuse were not contented, to enjoy the freedome purchased among the Leantines; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion oner those that had broken the chaine, wher with both the one, and the other were bound : his aduice was, that fuch their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the league. made of late by the Romans and Syracusians. For it was agreed, That all which had been 10 Subject to HIERO and HIERONYMVS, Should henceforth, be Vassals unto the State of Syracu/e. Against this article, if the Leantines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; Epicides told then, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had loft not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this craftie Carthaginian propounded; if the Leontines had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the Syracustans. But seeing they had long since yeelded vnto Syracuse, and been fubject vnto that Citie, by what forme focuer it was governed; this claime of libertie was rather scasonable than just. Neuerthelesse the motion of Epicides was highly approved in fo much that when meffengers came foone after from Syracufe, 20 to rebuke the Leontines, for that which they had done against the Romans; and to denounce vnto Hippocrates and Epicides, that they should get them gone either to Locri. or whither elfe they lifted, fo that they staied not in Sicil: word was returned. That they of Leantium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptoric answere, was forth-with reported vnto Marcellus by the Syraculians: who offered him their affistance in doing justice vpon the Leontines their Rebells; with condition that when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. Marcellus required no better fatisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand; which he dispatched in one 20 day. At the first affault, Leontium was taken; all faue the Castle, hybereinto Hippoerates and Epicides fled; and stealing thence away by night conveice themselves into the Towne of Herbesus. The first thing that Marcellus did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other Roman Captaines ysed after victorie; to fecke out the fugitive Roman flaves and renegados, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he tooke to mercie; for bearing also to thrip or spoile them. But the same of his doings was bruted after a contrarie fort. It was faid, that he had flaine, Man, Woman, and Ghild, and put the Towneto fack. These newes met the Syracusian Armie vpon the way, as it was going to joyne with Marcellus, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercinaries 40 there were, that had beene sent forth of Syracuse, under Sosis and Dinomenes two of the Protors, to forue against the Leontines and other Robells. These Captaines were honest men, and well affected to their Countrie; but the fouldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercinaries are commonly infected. They tooke the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-fouldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene so cruelly butchered and hereupon they fell to mutinie; though what to demand, or with whom to be angrie, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vinquiet thoughts another way, and let them aworke in some place elfe; for as much as at Leontium there was no neede of their feruice. So toward Herbefus they marched: where lay 50 Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects of all this mischiefe, denising what further harme they might doe; but now fo weakely accompanied, that they feemed vnable to cleape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two bretheren were no leffe well aware ; and therefore adventured you a remedie litle leffe desperate

desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbesus ynarmed, with oline branches in their hands, in manner of suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Armie. Sixe hundred men of Creete were in the vantguard; that had been well vied by Hieronymus; and some of them greatly bound vnto Hannibal; who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These cretans therefore welcomed the two bretheren, and bad them be of good cheare; faving, that no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vie their weapons. Herewithall the Armie was at a stand; and the rumor of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by feueritie; which would not ferue. For when they commanded thefe two Traitors to be laid in yrons: the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto Megara; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, Hippocrates denifed a trick; whereby to helpe himfelfercand better the vncertaine cafe wherein he stood. He caused letters of his owne perming, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretans; directed (as they made shew) from the Syracusian Pretors, to Marcellus. The contents hereof were. That Mircellus had well done, in committing all to the fword among the Leontines: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the Mercinaries belonging to Syracuse; which were offentiue, all of them in generall, to the libertie of the Citic, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfait Epiftle was openly rehearfed the vprore was fuch. that Solis and his fellow Pretor, were glad to for fake the campe, and flie for their lines. All the Syracusians remayning behinde, had been cut in pecces by the enraged fouldiers, if the two artificers of the fedition had not faued their lives; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perfwaded also a mischiguous knaue that had setued among the Leontines, to justifie the bruit of Marcellus his crucitie; and to carrie home the newes to Syracule, as an eve-witnesse. This incensed not only the multitude, but fome of the Senate: and filled the whole Towne with causelesse indignation. In a good time (faid fome) was the auarice and crueltie of the Romans detected who had they in like fort gotten into Syracufe, would have dealt much worfe; where their greedic appetites might have beene tempted with a farre greater bootic. Whilest they were thus discourling, and deuiling how to keepe out the wicked Romans, Hippocrates with his Armie came to the gates's exhorting the Citizens to let him in vnleffe for want of helpe, they would be betraied to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wifest of the Senate, would faine have kept him out; but the violence of the fouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong furie of those within the Towne; that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors; whom (being for faken by all men) he put to the fword, and 40 made flaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day he went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue libertie to all flaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest fort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of Syracule. า ได้ที่ประกอบ เป็นสายเป็น When Marcellus was advertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time

CHAP. 2. S.15. of the Historie of the World.

When Morellus was aductified of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to it fill, and attend the further titlie: He first Embaffadours to Syneighes; that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chafed out as enemies. Then drew hee neare with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a ball for the Towns, fort bee fore him, fome to require a parke. These were entertained without the walls by not two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the Romans were come thicher, not with purpofe to doe burr, but in fauout of the Syzaulifans, which were oppressed by Tyrauts; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthiemen, their Confederates, which were chafed our of the Towne, might be fusfered to returne and

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enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great flaughter lately committed. might be delinered vp. Hereto Epicides briefly answered, That if their errand had beene to him, he could have told what to fay to them: but fince it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were fent, had the government in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned hee told them, they should finde by experience, that to besiege Syracule was an other manner of worke, than to take Leontium: Thus hee fent them gone; and returned back into the Citic. Immediately beganne the fiege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quick and easie winning of Leontium did put Marcellus in hope, that follong a circuit of walls, as compaffed Syracule, being manned with re no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom hee had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best, both by Land and Sea. Neuertheleffe all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of haltie victorie. But there lived at that time in Syracuse, Archimedes the noble Mathematician : who at the request of Hierothe late King, that was his kinsman, had framed fuch engines of warre, as being in this extremitie put in vie, did more mischiese to the Romans than could have beene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This Archimedes discoursing once with Hiero, maintained, That it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a man might fland. For proofe of this bold affertion, he performed fome strange workes; which made the King entreat him to connert his studie vnto things of vie; that might preserve the Citie from danger of enemies. To fuch Mechanicall workes, Archimedes, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injurie done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propolitions, vnto the workemanship, and gaine, of base handicrasts men. And of this opinion Plate was an author: who greatly blamed fome Geometricians, that 20 feemed vnto him to profane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must wee rashly taske a man so wise as Plato, with the imputation of supercilious austeritie, or affected fingularitie in his reprehension. For it hath beene the vnhappie fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published; and being once made knowne, to bee under-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit; and things, that every one, could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of Columbus his discoucrie, with the much different forts of neglect, which hee vnder-went before and after it,) in a familiar and most homely example, we may fee most apparent proofe. He that lookes vpon our Englifb Brewers, and their Servants that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke 40 it ridiculous to heare one fay, that the making of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinarie knowledge in natural Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leffe, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be faid of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wife men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practise fell; that is, by fuch, as could flubber things eafily ouer, and feede their workemen at the cheapeftrate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that baue, or would sceme to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might doc good ento mankinde, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a 50 kinde of injuffice, that the long travells of an understanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away you men of no worth; or yeeld leffe benefit ento the Author of a great worke, than to meere firangers; and perhaps his enemies. And furely, if the passion of Enuie, have in it any thing allowable

and naturall, as have Anger, Feare, and other the like Affections : it is in some such case as this; and serveth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Neuertheleffe if we have regard vnto common charitie; and the great affection that enery one ought to beare vnto the generalitie of mankinde, after the example of him that suffereth his Sunne to fine won the init and uninst: it will appeare more commendable in wife men, to enlarge themfelnes, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lye buried in their own bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it fome dangerous cunning; that may bee peruerted by cuill men to a mischieuousvie. For if the fecret of any rure Antidot, contained in it the skill of gining fome deadly and irrecoverable poyfon: better it were, that such a jewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common bind all men to y fe the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which Archimedes published, were such as tended to very commendable ends. They were engins, feruing vnto the defence of Syracufe; not fit for the Syraculians to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vie them, but referred so much to his own direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the Romans. It fufficed vnto this worthy man, 20 that hee had approved, even vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit vnto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the

art of murdering men, it was belides his purpole.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his Quinquereme Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these, Archimedes had fundrie deuices; of which any one fort might have repelled the affavlants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heavie stones and long peeces of timber, like vnto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual voly of thot, which 20 they could not endure. Some with an yrongraple were taken by the prow and hoifted vp; shaking out all the men; and afterward falling downcinto the water. Some by strange engins were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls, or cast vpon the rockes : and all of them were so beat ten, that they durft neuer come to any second affault. In like fort was the Land-armic handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like Haile; did not onely ouerwhelme the men, but brake downe the Roman engins of battery; and forced Marcellus to give over the affault. For remedie hereof it was conceived, that if the Romans could earely before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) under the point blanck, and receive no hurt by these terrible Infiruments; which 40 were woond up hard to shoote a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the affavlants lines. For the shot came downe right upon them; and beating them. from all parts of the wall, made a great flaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to flay by it) even till they were gotten very farre off. This did fo terrific the Romans; that if they perceived any peece of timber, or aropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that Archimedes his engins were readie to discharge. Neither knew Marcellus how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare; against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engins had stood vpon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some deuice, to make them vnserso niceable. But all or the most of them were out of fight; being erected in the streets behinde the walls; where Archimedes gaue directions how to vie them. Wherefore the Roman had none other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouifion of victualls, both by Land and by Sea. This was a desperate peece of worke,

For the enemies hauing 60 goodly an Hauen; the Sea in a manner free; and the Carthagnians: that were fitting by Sea, willing to fupply them: were not likely fo foone to be confumed with famine; as the beficegers to be wearied our; by lying in Leaguer before fo fitting a Citie; hauing no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counfell to follow, this was thought the beft, and most honourable counfe.

In the meane while, Himileo, Admirall of a Carthaginian fleet, that had waited long about Sicil, being by Hippocrates aduertifed of these passages, went home to Carthage; and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twentie thousand foot, threethousand horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge; 10 wherewith to make warre voon the Romans in Sicil by Land. Hee tooke many Townes: and many, that had anciently belonged vnto the Carthaginians, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiese, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the Carthaginians; Marcellus with a great part of his Armie, role from Syracule, and went from place to place about the Island. Hee tooke Pelorus and Herbesus, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also Megara by force and sackt it: either to terrific others that were obftinate, especially the Syracusians; or else because Rome was at this time poore, and his Armic must have somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to have faued Agrigentum: whither hee came too late; for Himileo had gotten it before. 20 Therefore he returned back toward Syracufe; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the Carthaginian that was too firing for him. The circumfpe-Ction that he vsed, in regard of Himileo; stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For Hippocrates, leaving the charge of Syracuse vnto his brother, had lately iffued out of the Citic, with ten thousand foot and fine hundred horse; intending to joyne his forces with Himileo. Marcellus fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the Romans, being in good order, got an easie victoric, against the dispersed and halfe vnarmed Syracusians. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the Sicilians from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere Himileo. joyning with Hippocrates, ranne over all the Island at his pleasure; and presented battaile to Marcellus, euen at his Trenches, but the Roman wifely refused it. Bomilear alfo a Carthaginian, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of Syracufe; and victuailed the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe; that although another Legion was come from Rome, which escaped from Himileo, and fafely arrived at Marcellus his campe: yet many places revolted vnto the Carthaginians; and flue or betraied the Roman Garrisons.

In the midft of these troubles. Winter enforced both parts to take breath awhile: and Marcellus leaving some of his Armie before Syracule, that he might not seeme to have given over the fiege, went vnto Leontium; where he lay intentine to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to 40 continue the laborious worke of belieging Syracufe; or to turne all his forces to A-grigentum, against Himileo and Hippocrates. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from Syracufe, as vnable to prevaile: and he himfelfe was of an eager disposition, euer viwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not faisible, an enterprise, that he had once taken in hand. Hee came therefore to Syracuse: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his defire. Especially hee affaied to prevaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the Syracufian Gentlemen that were in his campe; exhorting them to 50 practife with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not calie for them to doe; because the towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into Syracuse;

where he talked in private with some few, as he had beene instructed. Thus beganne Marcellus to have intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators yied to fend him aduertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: But when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance : all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while; one Damasippus a Lacedamonian, that had beene fent out of the Towne as an Embaffadour to Philip King of Macedon, was fallen into the hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpole, nor farre from the walls. There, one of the Romans, looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious arte of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones; and, making an estimate of the height, judged it leffe than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith hee acquainted Marcelluse who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinarie length would reach it; made all things readic, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly garded : neither was there hope to prenaile by force against Archimedes if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto Diana, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citic, as in foron mertimes, Epicides, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wished. Wherefore Marcellus, in the dead of the festivall night, came vnto the walls; which he tooke by Scalado. Syracuse was divided into foure parts (or five, if Epipele were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diffinet Gities. When therefore Marcellus had gotten some pecces, he had the commoditie of a better and fafe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in Acradinia and the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were alreadie in the hands of Marcellus, that beganne to hearken vnto composition; as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the Romans o had taken and fackt. As for the weapons of Archimedes, little harme, or none they did, vnto those, that were sheltred vnder strong houses: although it may seeme that the inner walls were not altogether vnfurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The Roman fugitiues, and Renegados, were more carefull than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with a cruell death, if Marcellus could preuaile. Hippocrates and Himileo, were daily expected; and Bomilear was fent away to Carthage, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere Hippocrates and Himileo came : who fell vpon the old camp of the Romans, whilest Epicides fallied out of Acradina vpon Marcellus. But the Romans made such desence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Neuerthelesse, 40 they continued to befet Marcellus: whom they held in a manner as streightly befieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to diflodge. The Romans were (though fomewhat leffe) afflicted with the fame peftilence, in so much that Bomilear died put the Citie of Carthage in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wanted no desire to doe his Countrie service : but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at Pachynus with a ftrong fleet : where he staied; being loath to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serue the enemie than him-Thither failed Epicides out of Syracufe: to acquaint him with the necessities of the 50 Citie; and to draw him on, With much intreatie, at length hee came forward: but meeting with the Roman fleet, that was readic for him, he flood off into the deepe; and failed away to Tarentum, bidding Sicil farewell. Then durft not Epicides returne into Syracufe, but went to Agrigentum: where he expected the iffue; with a

very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The Sicilian fouldiers, that remained aline of Hippocrates his Armie, lay as neare as they could fafely, vnto Marcellus; and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to Syracuse, by doing what hart they could vnto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the state of Sicil was given as desperate by the Carthaginians: they sent Embassadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselues, and for the Towne: Hereunto Marcellus willingly gaue care : for he had staied there long enough; and had cause to seare, that after a little while, the Carthaginians might come thither ftrong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their libertie and proper lawes; yet fuffering the Romans to possesse, whatsoever had belonged vnto the Kings. Hercupon they, to whom Epicides had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen readie to be opened vnto Marcellus: when fuddenly the Roman fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiuing their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercinarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betraied the Armie to the Romans. Wherefore they prefently tooke armes, and fell upon the new-chosen Pretors: whom they flue; and made election of fixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The treatie therefore was againe fet on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some scare of the Citizens, that had feene (as they thought) proofe of the Roman avarice in the fack of Epipole, Tyche, and Neapolis, the parts alreadic taken; or by some defire of Marcellus to get the Towne by force, that hee might vie the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject vnto Rome. Mericus a Spaniard was one of the fixe Captaines . that had beene chosen in the late commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercinaries : bolding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, Marcellus dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation.one Belligenes; that went in companie with the Roman Embassadours, daily passing too and fro. This craftic Agent, per fwaded Mericus, That the Romans had alreadic gothome in Spaine, or any where elfe; it was now the only time to doe it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the Roman Generall. By such hopes the Spanish Captaine was easily wonne : and sent forth his owne brother among the Syracusian Em-

baffadours, to ratifie the couenant with Marcellus. This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the Syracusians, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approued at his comming to Rome. For the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had beene fuch, as deferued not to be required with the ruine of his Countrie: much leffe, that the miferies of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Armie of Mercinaries, should minister vnto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of Hieronymus; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicides : it had been their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of Rome. They had lately flaine many the principall of Epicides his followers; and many of themselves had also been flaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascalitie, and some ill aduised Persons, joyned with the Souldiers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of the slaughter which they so heard to be done at Leontium, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the Syracufians, to make a bargaine under-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercinaries ? These things were objected against Marcellus, at his re-

turne home. But the Senators, thought it a great dealebetter, to comfort the Senators culians with gentle wordes, and promifes of good viage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and give over the Dominion of a Citie, fo great, wealthie, strong, and many waies important. Neuertheleffeif we confider the many incommences and great mischiefes, whereunto Syracuse was obnoxious; both by cuill neighbours. and by that very forme of politie, after which it was governed; wee may truly affirme. That it received no small benefit, by becomming subject vnto Rome. For thereby it was not only affured against all forraine enemies, domesticall conforracies. and fuch T yrants as of old had raigned therein : but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthie Citizens, as also from all factions, intesting feditions, and a thouland the like miferies; that were wont to grow our of the icalousie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enjoyed that Citie, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished. when it refted fecure vider the protection of Rome; and was no more molefled, by the disease of ambition; whereof by Marcellus his victorie it was throughly cured. But fuch benefit, arifing from wrongs done, ferues not to make injuffice the more excufable : vnleffe we should approve the answere of that Theefe, who being found to have follen a filter cup from a fick man, faid, He never leaves drinking.

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By the treason of Mericus, the Roman Armie was let into possession of all Syracuse: no wherein, the bootie that it found, was faid to have beene no leffe, than could have beene hoped for, if they had taken Carthageat felfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith Syracule was miruailoufly adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left vintouched; faue only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from Hippocrates and Epicides, into the Roman campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of Archimedes, was greatly lamented even by Marcellus himfelfe. He was fo buffe about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he hearkned not to the noise, and appropriette the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him! Marcellus tooke heavily the death of him; and caused his body to bee honourably 20 buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life time) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an infeription of the proportion betweene them; which hee first found out. An Invention of solittle vie, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artift better, than the deuiling of all those engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is betweene the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For many an one would thinke the monie loft, that had been frent young fonne, whose fludies, in the Vniuerlitic had brought forth fuch fruit, as the proportion betweene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of Syracufe, all the Townes in Sicil yeelded vnto the Romans; except Agricentum and a few places thereabout. At Agrigentum lay Epicides with 40 one Hanno a Carthaginian, and Mutines an African, that was lately fent from Hannibal. This Mutines, by many good peeces of feruice, had added some credit to the beaten Carthaginian fide; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, Hanno and Epicides adventured to meet Marcellar without the Towne, and not behaue themselves as men expecting to be besitged. Neither was hee more valiant in counfell, than in execution. Onceand againe he fet vpon the Romans, where they lay encamped ; and droue them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in Epicides and Hanno: especially in Hanno, that having been clately sent from Carthage, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by Hannibal; in that he had fent onto him this Mutines, to be his Companion, and to take vpon him, like as good a man as himfelfer. The indignitic feemed the greater, when Mutines, being to frep afide vnto Heraelea, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the Numidians; advised (as directing Hanno and Epicides) not to meddle with the enemic, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would Hanno fight: and offered battell vinto Marcellus, before be fought it. It is like, that a great Xxxxx 3

part of the Roman Armie was left behinde in Syratufe, as neede required : which made the Carthaginians the better able to deale with those that came against them. But what soeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farregreater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For howfoeuer the people of Carthage would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth, and abilitie, in matter of warre. The Numidians, having before conceived some displeasure against their Cantaines : and being therefore some of them gone away to Heraelen ; were much more offended, when they faw that the vaine-glorious enuic of Hanno carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish defire to get victories, without the helpe of Mutines their Countriman. Wherefore they fent vnto the Roman Generall, and bad him be confident : for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day : but only looke on, and see the proud Carthaginians well beaten, by whom they had beene missed. They made good their promise; and had their desire. For Marcellus, finding likelihood of truth in their meffage, did folluftily fet vpon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands.

droue them back into Agrigentum.

If Hanne could have beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of warre than himselfe, and not have hazarded a battaile without nee de: the Romans would shortly have been reduced into termes of great difficultie in their Sicilian warre: For Marcellus, was shortly after to leave the Province; and soone 20 vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foot . and three thousand Numidian horse, that were sent from Carthage. The same of this new Armie drew many of the Sicilians into rebellion. The Roman Armie, consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of Canne, tooke it very hainously, that no good feruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as ba nished men, they were fent farre from home, and not fuffered to returne back to Ronze with their Generall. Mutines had pacified his Countrimen the Numidians, and, like an honest man, did the best that he could for those whom he scrued, without contending against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding that there was a greataker ation; and a greater might have beene, if the Armielately ouerthrowne had beene entire. 20 M. Cornelius, the Roman Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his owne: men. and to hinder the Carthaginians. He recovered those inland Townes that had rebelled : and though he could not hinder Mutines from ouer-running all the Countrie; vet hee hindred the Countrie from revolting vnto Mutines. Aboue threescore Townes, great and small, the Carthaginians held in Sicil: of which, Agrigentum was the principall; and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued Mutines as often as he pleased, in despight of the Romans: not only to the succour of his owne adherents; but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But Hanno, in stead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instru-Ctions from old Hanno at Carthage; not to fuffer Hannibal, or any Hannibalian, to have thare in the honour of these Sicilian warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest Italie was neglected, that should have beene regarded more then all the rest. Wherefore, to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of Hannibal, to appoint vnto him an Affistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from Mutines his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among his Numidians. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the loffe of what societhe Carthaginians held in Sicil. For the Namidians were so incenfed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being such a braue Com- 50 mander, that they offered him their feruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. M. Valerius Lauinus, the Roman Consul. was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out : and with him did Mutines enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these indignities: but being,

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neither a Carthaginian, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in Carthage; He thought it the wifest way, to play the best of his owne game, and for fake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himfelfe to fee his Aduerfaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening; and to fuffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them, to deliuer vp Agrigoniup, and to helpe to expell them viterly out of Sieil. The Conful was glad of hisfriendship; and earefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which Mutines to had under-taken. For he with his Numidians did forcibly feize vpon a gate : whereatthey let in some Roman Companies, that lay neare in a readinesse for the purpose. Hanno, when first he heard the noise, thought it had beene no worse matter, than fome fuch rumult of the Numidians, as hee had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making hafte to pacifie the trouble, he faw and heard, the Romans intermixed, among those discontented followers of Matines, forth with he betooke himfelfeto flight : and fatting him felfe, with Epitides, in a small Barke, fet faile for Afrike; leaving all his Armie and Adherents in Siell to the mercie of the Romans, that henceforward continued mafters of the whole Iland.

Lauinus the Conful having taken Agrigentum, did sharpe execution of justice 20 vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them hee fcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the Romans : all the rest of them he fold for flaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to Rome the monie that was raifed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein Rome flood in no leffe necessitic of gold, than of feele: which may have beene the reason, why Leilinus dealt so cruelly with the Agrigentines. Neuertheleffe the fame of fuch seueritie bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the Carthaginians; fo that in great hafte they fought to make their peace. About fourtie Townes yeelded themselves quickly vnto the Romans: twentie were delivered up by Treason; and fixe only staied to be wonne by force. These things done, Leninus returned home to Rome : carrying 20 with him about foure thousand men from Agairma; that were a companie of outlawes, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoile of others, in these troublesometimes. He bestowed them about Rhigiam in Italie, where they might exercise their occupation against the Brutians; a thecuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of Rhegium, and to the Rhimans. As for Mutines , hee was well rewarded, and made Citizen of Rome: where hee lived in good accompt; accompanying the two Scipioes in their journie against Antiochus, and therein doing (as it is faid) very especial feruice. So by this enterprise of Sicil, the Carthaginians wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been emploied in Italie : leaving yet vnto the Romans, in the end of this warre, the entire poffellion 40 of this Iland; which they wanted when it beganne.

# į. XVI.

How the warre paffed betweene the Romans and H ANN I BAL in Italie, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Methorns.

Hortly after the winning of Capus, Mareellus came to Rome: where, for his good feruices done in the fland of Sieil, hee had granted vinto him the honour of the leffer Triumph; which was called Ovation. The greater Triumph was denied him : because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leave his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. Heeftaied not long in Rome, before hee was againe chosen Consul together

with M. Valerius Lauinus, who succeeded him in the gouernement of Sicil, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King Philip in Greece. Great complaint was made against the Conful Marcellus, by the Syraculians, for that which he had done vnto them : they alledging their great friendship to the people of Rome, in the time of their late King Hiero; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to Rome, than to all good men that lived in Syracuse. The Conful, on the other fide, reckoned up the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him : willing them to bemoane themselves to the Carthaginians that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the Romans whom they had kept out. 10 Thus each part having fome good matter to alleage, the Senate made fuch an end of the controuerfic, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Commonwealth: blaming the too much rigour of Marcellus; yet not reftoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the Syracusans free from their subjection; but comforting them. with gentle wordes, and hopefull promifes, as hath been shewed before. The two new Confuls, Marcellus and Levinus, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in Italie; the other in Sicil. The Isle of Sicil, fell vnto Marcellus: which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the Syraculians (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his bu- 20 finefle with them was dispatcht, hee gently, undertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie; to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So Valerius, the other Conful, was fent into Sicil, whose doings there haue beene alreadie rehearled : but Marcellus was emploied against Hannibal.

Before the Confuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with preffing of Souldiers to the warre; and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Nanie. They were all of the poorer fort, that yied to be emploied in Sea-fervices; efpecially in rowing. These could not live without present wages : neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to give them pay: Wherefore, it was ordained that they should be set out at the expense of pringte men; who, in this necessitie of the state, were driven to suitaine all publike charges. Hereat the People murmured: and were readie to fall into fedition; had not the Gonfuls deferred the matter vnto further confideration. The Senate could illtell, what to determine or doc, in a cafe of such extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had alreadic endured so much, as well it could vnder-goe; and formewhat more, than could with honeflie haue been imposed upon it. Neuerthelesse it was impossible to maintaine the warre. against the Carthaginians, or to keepe the Macedonian out of Italie, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That; since the common Treasure was fo emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Confuls beganne to say, That no perswasions would be so effectue at all with the people, as good examples and that if the Senators would follow the Confuls, like it was, that the Peoplealfo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the monie that be had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one salt-seller, and a bonle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the Gods: as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as cuerie one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate athan the readie performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of Rome. Neither did the Commonaltierefuseto doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For fince the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his private effate should runne the same fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it suffered wrack, in vaine could any particular

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man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper fubstance. This magnanimitie described well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: Marcellus went forth of the Citic against Hannibal; and Lauinus toward Sicil. The armie of Hannibal was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his Carthaginians seeme to remember him, and thinke your fending the promifed supply, or any such proporrion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakned, by the loffe of Capua: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselues; as it in his helpe there were little truft to be reposed, when they should fland in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedie. Either he must thrust Garrison; into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not becable to keepe the field for elfe hee must leave them to their owne sidelitie. which now beganne to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outragious, that he facked, and watted, those places that he was vnable to defend : thinking that the belt way to enrich himselse; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The towne of Salapia yeelded vnto Marcellus: and betraied vnto him agallant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best of all that served under Hannibal; which was a greater losse, then the Towne it felfe, Blassus the author of this rebellion; could not bring his defire to effect: without getting the confent of one Dafina, that was his bitter enemie. Wherefore he brake the matter to this Dasius in private; and was by him accused vnto Hannibal. But when he was convented, and charged of Treason, he so south denied it, and by way of recrimination, to vehemently preffed his accuser with the same fault; that Hannibal thought it a matter deuised out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and feeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This not with standing, Blafius did not cease to presse his aduerfarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with fuch lively reasons; that hee who could not be believed by Hannibal, was contented at length to winne the favour 20 of Marcellus. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, Maronea and Meles, Townes of the Samnites: wherein hee flew about three thousand of Hannibal

Hannibal could not looke to all at once : but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than hee. The best was, that his Carthaginians, having wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid afide all this while the care of Italie, to follow busineffe of farreleffe importance; had now at length refolued, to fend prefently the great fupply, that had beene so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better leason; Rome it selfe might haue beene strucken downe, the next yeare af-40 ter that great blow received at Canna. But fince that which is past cannot be amended: Hannibal must force himselfeto make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightic succour would come time enough. For Masanissa was at Carthage with five thousand Numidians, readie to set saile for Spaine : whither when hee came, it was appointed, that Afdrubal should forthwith take his journie into Italie: of which there had beene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort Hannibal and his followers, than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best: the Romans to preuent the threatning mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon Hannibal, before the comming of his brother; Hannibal, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence. that Cn. Fuluius, a Roman Pretor, lay neare unto Herdonea to get the Towne by praclife. It was not long, fince, neare vnto the fame place, another Cn. Fuluius had lost his armie. Therefore Hannibal made great marches thitherward; and came to Herdonea ere Fuluius heard newes of his approch. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Pretor: who accepted it with more halte than good speede. The

Roman Legions made good refistance awhile, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rowt; and great flaughter was made of them. Fuluius himselfe, with twelve Tribunes or Coronells, were lost: of the common fouldiers that were flaine, the number is vncertaine; fome reporting feuen, others thirreene thousand. The Towne of Herdones, because it was at point to have yeelded vnto Fuluius, Hannibal did fet on fire: and putting those to death that had practifed with the Enemie, carried away the multitude; whom hee bestowed among the Thurians and Metapontines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate; and exhorted them to be of a good cheare; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the Carthaginan apace : and ouer-taking him at 10 Numifire in the countrie of the Lucans, fought with him a battaile: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkneffe, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward Hannibal departed thence into Apulia, whither Marcellus followed him. At Venusia they met, and had many skirmilhes; but none of importance. Hannibal remoued often; and fought to bring the enemic within danger of some ambush. But Marcellus, though he was very cager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light and voon faire-

ground. Thus passed the time away, vntill Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fuluius, he that lately had taken Capua, were chosen Consuls. Fabius, considering how much the Reman 20 affaires were bettered by the taking of Capua, purposed that yeare to besiege Tarentum: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Collegeue. and Marcellus, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the yeare before) to preffe the Carthaginian fo hard, as he might have no leisure to helpe Tarentum. Marcellus was very glad of this charge: for hee thought no Roman fitter than himselfe, to deale with Hannibal in open field. Hee followed him therefore to Cannussium, and thence from place to place : desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equal termes. The Carthaginian had not minde to hazard much in fight ; but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmilh ; as 20 being desirous to keepe his Armiestrong untill the comming of Afdrubal. Yet could he not avoide the importunitie of Marcellus; nor brooke the indignitic of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be luftie, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would neuer fuffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile: wherein Hannibas had the victorie; tooke fixe Enfignes; and flue of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. Marcellus was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had beene beaten by Hannibal, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any fira- 40 tageme. With these, and many other the like wordes, which they were ashamed to heare, he did fo vexe them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemie, than fuch displeasure of their Generall; they befought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once agains to fight. He did fo : and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victorie; whereof the newes might be at Rome, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. Hannibal was angrie, to see that nothing could make this Enemie quiet : and therefore was readie to fight againe, fince all other motiues continued the same, and his men had beene heartned by the late victorie. But the Romans were stirred up with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor 50 loft, which affections gave a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by feeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemie, not with standing their late victorie, as readie to molest them as before. In this second battaile Marcellus got the victorie : which hee purchased at so

deare a rate; that neither he; nor Hannibal, had great cause to yount, the second night. For if eight thousand of the Carthaginians were flaine, and three thousand of the Roman fide, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompence the late received overthrow: especially fince the number of the Romans that were wounded, was fo great, as disabled Marcellus from pursuing Hannibal; who dislodged by night. Neuerthelesse it sufficed, that Fabius the Consul hereby gor leisure, to follow his businesse at Tarentum without any disturbance. Q. Fuluius the other Conful, about the same time, tooke in many of the Hirpines, Lucans, and Valleenies, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betraied the Garrisons of Hannibal that lay in their Townes: whom Fuluius entertained in louing fort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had been authors. or buffe doers in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian theeues, which Leuinus had lately brought from Agaterna, was then also set on worke to be siege Caulonia, a towne of the Brutians : and nothing was omitted, that might ferue to divert Hannibal, from the fuccour of Tarentum.

CHAP.3. S.16. of the Hiftorie of the World.

Q. Fabius the Conful, having taken Manduria a Towne of the Salentines, fate downe before Tarentum: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carrie it, either by affault or long fiege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne a good part were Brutians, placed there by Hannibal, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a Tarentine wench; whose brother served vnder Fabius. Hereof, thee gaue notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the Roman fide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Conful acquainted with these newes : and faid, that if the Brutian were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreatie of his Miltris, to doe what shee would have him. The Gonsul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his fouldier to convey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and trie what good might be done. It fell out, according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this Brutian Captaine : and partly by his owne perswasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his fifter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the Romans. When they had agreed upon the bulinefle, and resolued how to order it; the same souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Gonfal with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that Bruthan kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, Fabris gave an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make refistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But Pabius himselfe, with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the Brutians : who being wrought by their Captaine , helped the Romans to get vp, and breake open the next gate; whereat the Armie was let in. The An Tarentines, and Carthaginian fouldiers, made head against Fabius in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is alreadie taken away) not very obstinately. Nico, Democrates, and Philemenes, with those that before had let in Hannibal, vied now the last of their courage in dying against the Romans. Carthalo, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner : hoping to be well vied, because of hospitalitic that had passed betweene his Father and the Conful. But he was flaine by the way, ere he could come at Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword in fuch fort; that they spared few of the Brutians. This flaughter of the Brutians, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Conful, to the end that he might feeme to have wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glorie which he expected, non preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in Tarentum was very great : whereof the Roman Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiofities that were in the Citie, Fabius was contented to let them alone : and

being told of some Idolls, that seemed worthie to be carried away, being very goodly peeces, in fuch habit and posture as if they were fighting; he faid, let vs leaue vnto the Tarentines their angric Gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from Marcellus, fell vpon those that belieged Canlonia. They fled at his comming : but he was so neare, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill; which ferued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a litle while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, he hasted away to relieve Tarentum. But when hee came within fine miles of the Citic, he had newes that it was loft. This griened him : vet he faid no more than this ? The Romans have also their HANNIBAL; wee have loft Tarentam in fuch fort as we got it. That he might not feeme to turne back amafed. or in any feare of the victorious Conful; he incamped a few daies together, so neare as he was vnto Tarentum : and thence departing to Metapontum, bethought himselfe how to take Fabius in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the Metapontines to write vnto Fabius, and offer to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were fent by two yong men of the fame Citie; who did their errand fo well. that the Conful wrote back by them vnto the Metapontines, and appointed the day. when they should expect him. Hereof Hannibal was exceeding glad; and at good leifure, made readic his ambulhes for the warie Fabins. But whether fome fecret no- 20 tice of the plot were ginen; or whether indeede (asit is related) fome tokens in facrificing, terrified the superstitious Roman; the journie to Metapontum was deferred. Hercupon the same two Messengers were emploied againe; but being apprehended. and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeare was happie to the Romans, in all their warres : for they got every where; faue only at Caulonia; where they loft a companie of fuch lewd fellowes, that it may feeme good fortune, to have so beene rid of them. But their common pouertie, and disabilitie to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirtie Roman Colonies were then in Italie : of which , twelue refufed to contribute any longer to the warres. For it was confidered; that the Le- 20 gions of Canna, and those vnhappie Companies, that had beene beaten under the one and the other Cn. Fuluius; were transported into Sicil; where they lived, in a fort, as banished men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeares together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of monie; inenery of which yeares, they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best which they could hope; was, to fall into the hands of the Enemie to be made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send home their people that was taken by him : whereas the Romans did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe with- 40 in awhile, that they should be all confumed : since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones never did returne. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into Sicil, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of Ardea, Sutrium, Alba, and other good Townes, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly denie vnto the Romans, their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as Hannibal lined. When the Confuls heard the Embaffadors of these townes make fuch declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amased. They willed the Embassadours to returne home, and bring a 50 better answere, for a smuch as this, was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that their people were not Campans, or Tarentines, but the off-spring of the Romans; and no leffe partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not ferue: the Embaffadours continuing to proteft, that

they had already done what they could; and that they had remayning, neither men, nor money. It was well for the Romans, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to vodergoe whatsoever should be laved voon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Affembly of the people; where, with commemoration of all their former good feruices this their present lone vnto the State was magnified, and thankes accordingly bestowed vnon them; with promife, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to difmiffe them, nor to take any notice of them arall tout leave them to their owne confideration of their ill deferuing.

CHAP. 2. S.16. of the Historie of the World.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve People would have wrought, in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if Afdrubal had beene then comming into Italie. For then must the Romans have betaken themselves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of Italie, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuerthelesse, they were faine to open their most privie treasurie; and thence take out the golde, that had beene layed up to ferue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to Fabius the Conful, to fet him well out against the Tarentines; all the rest, was sent into Spaine to Scipio, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that Afdrudal might not passe from thence into Italie. It is likelie that Fabius did not spend all his money; finding such easic successe at Tarentum as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of Aldrubal, neither the money fent into Spaine, nor any victories wonne by Scipio could fuffice. Neuerthelesse it fell out happily for the People of Rome, that this yeare, and the next, were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiffe to note, That fince the Romans, being in so great necessitie of money, were driven to surnish on the Armie in Spaine, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left : it must needes be that either the bootie taken in new Carthage, was farre leffe then fame had reported it; or else that Scipio had not as yet wonne it: how so euer Liuie rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arrivall.

M.Claudius Marcellus, and T.Quintius Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius and Fuluius. In their yeare it was, that Afdrubal tooke his journey out of Spaine, though he came not into Italie vntill the yeare following. After the great battaile at Canne. Hannibal had loft much time about Cume and Naples, in feeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promifed from Carthage. The hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to turne his printo cipall care to the Easterne parts of Italie; where he made readie a faire entrance for the Macedonian if he had been ereadic to come. But fince this hope was vanished. and the long promised succour of Astrabal was (though farre later than had beene expedient) readie to arrive: he began to deale with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein hee might make a partie against the Romans. The losse of Capua, Tarentum, and many other Townes, might have terrified all other of the Italian Townes, from hearkening to any follicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the pouertie of the Romans, and the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Armie comming, than that which Hannibal brought into Italie; did embolden many of the Hetrurians, especially the Aretines, to take fuch counfell as they thought most expedient for themselves; without regard of their fidelitie to Rome. The Roman Senat, hearing the rumour of their conspiracie, lant Marcellus the new chosen Consul into Hetruria: whose comming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were

denifing how to breake out : as contrariwife the Roman Propretors ; partly by terror of feuere judgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills; and tooke many Hoftages for better affurance. The two Confuls had an carneft defire, to make firong warre upon Hannibal without more temporifing; perswading themselves, that in battaile they should bee too strong for him. Criffi-200 had further his particular defire, to make his Confulfhip notable by the winning of some good Towne : as Fuluius and Fabius had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. Therefore he went about the fiege of Louri; one of the best Cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italie and brought thither all forts of engines; fen- 10 ding for a fleet out of Sicil to helpe him. But Hannibal was not flow to relieue the Citie: the fame of whose approch, made Criffinus desist from his enterprise, and retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at Venusia. Thither followed Hannibal; to whom the Confuls daily offered battaile. This great man of Warre had no neede to fland vpon his reputation: which was alreadie fo confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be afcribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wildome. He entertained the Confuls with many light skirmilhes, and fought to take them at fome advantage; referuing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater emploiment. In this lingring manner of Warre, Charcellus tooke no pleafure: but fought to compell the Enemie to battaile; whether he would or no. The 20 Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, L. Cincius, was commanded againe to affaile the Towne of Locri: which might well enough be forced, if Hannibal continued as he beganne, to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to goe by Land to the affishance of Cincius. But Hannibal had an cic behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, betweene Tarentum and Local, whereinto the Romans fell; and having loft about three thousand of their companie, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprife, and faue their owne lines within Tarentum, As for the Confuls, it was the defire of Hannibal, to waite their Armie by little and little; which to doe, hee neeleeted no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillock, ouer-growne with wood, that feemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vindifcerned, might fall vpon fuch, as should straggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of Manidians: whom he willed to keepe themselues close, and attend their best advantage. To this peece of ground, the Confuls thought it fit to remove their campe: Marcellus thinking that he neuer lay neare enough vnto Hannibal. Thither therefore both of them rode, to view the place, accompanied with the fonne of Marsellus, a few Colonells, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinell gave warning of their approch to his fellowes: who discouered not themselves, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls 40 and their traine. The Confuls, as necessitie compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to bee quickly relieued from their campe that was neare at hand. But the Hetrurians ranne away from them, at the first : and left them in that great danger, to the weake affiftance of no more than fortie horse-men, that were of the Colonie of Fregelle. These Fregellans abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to have brought them fafe off. But when Marcellus was stricken through with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then beganne every one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. Crispinus the other Conful, had his deaths wound, being ftricken with two Darts; and yong Marcellus was likewife wounded; yet thefe two recovered their campe: The rest of the Colonells and Officers; together with the Lictors that carried the bundells of Rods and Axes before the Confuls, were all flaine or taken. To the dead bodie of the Conful Marcellus, Hannibal gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times; and bestowing

bestowing his ashes in a siluer pot, couered it with a crowne of gold; and so sent them to yong Mareellus, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

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Presently after this, Crispinus bethought himselfe, how that the signer Ring of Marcellus, was fallen into the custodic of Hannibal; who might vie it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore hee lent word vnto all the Townes about; that his Colleague was flaine, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: wilhing them in that regard, to give no credit vnto any letters therewithall figned. This prouidence of Criffinus, was not more than requifite. For his Meffenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another Melfenger arrived there fent from Hannibal, bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and sealed with the captine Ring: whereof the contents were, That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such emploiment as hee should thinke needfull. The device was plaine; and no leffe plaine was the revengefull minde. which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein beene betraied. The Salapians hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemie in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger which was a Roman fugitive; without letting him perceive any figne of diffrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainement of such and a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues, armed Roman like, leading the way. These all talking Latin together, called ynto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conful was there. The gate was opened, faire and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needes it must be, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were gotten in a downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselves; being laied at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an end with

Hamileal being thus ouer reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Loci; whereun to Cimein the Admirall of the Roman steet about Sicil, did lay hard siege. 30 The first appearance of the Namidian, Hamileal his Vanteur rors, made the Romans, in all confused haste, runne to their ships: leaving all their engines, and what ouer

was in their campe, to the enemics disposition. The Roman Senate, hearing of thele accidents, fent vnto Criffinus the furtiuing Conful, and requested him to name a Dictator: that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. Hee did so : and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Confuls should be chosen out of hand: forafmuch as two Roman Armies, lay fo neare vnto the Enemic, without any Generall. Especially it was defired, that election should be made of such men, as were 40 not only valiant, but well admied; fince the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, M. Marcellus, by loofing himfelfe fo strangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that sood for the Consulship, C. Claudius Nero was the most eminent. Hee was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he feemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staied wit. The Fathers therefore endeuoured to joyne vnto him in the Confulfhip M. Liuius : one that had borne the same Office, long before. This M. Liuius had beene Gonful with L. Emylius Paulus, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Confulthip, wherein they did to good feruice, they had both of them been called into judgement by the People : and this Liuius condemned; Æmylius hardly escaping. Though it hath been oncealreadie noted: yet I cannot for beare to remember it againe: how it pleafed God, to vpbraid the vnthankefull Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude voon honorable men. For in the battaile of Canna, it was apparant, what lamentable

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effects, the memorie of their injuffice wrought; when L. Amylius rather chofetoyeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatell ouerthrow, that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by relifting the pernicious courses of Terentius Varro, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for M. Liuius, he is even now readie, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a divers manner. Eight yeares together after his condemnation had hee beene absent out of the Citic, and lived in his Countrie Grange: vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. Marcellus and Lauinus, being Confuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into Rome : where he liued private, in discontented fort, as might appeare, both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vied to fit filent, and fignifie his affent or diflike to what was proposed; either in short formall wordes, or in passing from fide to fide, when the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinfman, he flood vp, and made a fet speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them inquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered fince he had left it: many braue men were loft; new ones were chofen; fuch as rather ferued to fill vp the number, than to answere to the dignitic of the place: 20 and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all beganne to fay; that it was great pittie, so worthie and able a man, as this Linius, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth flood in great neede, yet had not yied, in this dangerous warre. Now feeing that the Confuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian: and since, neither Fabius, nor Valerius Lauinus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: enery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than C. Claudius. and this Marcus Liuius. But Liuie would not endure to heare of this. He faid it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen 30 Ruler of the Citic. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases hee relisted their delires : till by perswasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the People, and repaied good for cuill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: refembling himfelfe to a Piane tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but runne vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-deserving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of Philip the fecond King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alva. For although he had committed the Duke to prilon, vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deferts; yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the feruice of a man, more then ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but emploied the same Duke, whom he had newly diferaced. Thus is wisdome often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when C. Claudius Nero, and M. Liuius were chofen Confuls. A [drubal was alreadie come into France, and waited only, to have the waies of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italie. The Romans vsed at this time the service of three and twentie Legions: and wanted not employ- 50 ment, for many more, if they had knowne how to lenie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure served in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of Italie, where need seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were men of

execution; and would not be tied to the punctuall observance of what the Senate thought fit. M. Liuius would not firre out of Rome, against so mightie a power as followed Aldrubal; untill hee had first obtained, that hee might carrie with him as many as could well be spared from other emploiments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies: It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue under Lucius Porcius a Pretor of that yeare, among the Cifalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of Liuing; to whom the warre against Aidrubal was alotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines, neare unto Tarentum, under another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of Claudius his Armie; that was fent against Hannibal. Neverthelesse the Consuls, by the especiall instance of Linie, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that Aldrubal was alreadie passing the Alpes; the Ligarians, who dwelt in the Countrie about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joyne with him; and L. Porcius fent word, that he would adventure no further, than hee fafely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each, his feuerall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwise affected, than they had beene, when L. Amylius Paulus, and C. Tegentius Varra, were fent against Hannibal. They did no longer take you them, to direft their Generalls; or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes : but rather they flood in scare; least all diligence, wisdome, and valour, should proue too little. For fince few yeares had paffed, wherein some one of their Generalls had not beene flaine; and fince it was manifelt, that if either of these present Confuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith joyne, and make (hort worke with the other: it seemed agreater happinesse than could bee expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from fuch mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficultie had Rome heid up her head, ever fince the battaile of Canna: though it were fo, that Hannibal alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the warre in Italic. But there was now arrived another sonne of Amilear; and one, that in his present Expean dition, had feemed, a man of more fufficiencie than Hannibal himselfe. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, ouer great Riners, and Mountaines, that were thought vnpaffeable, Hannibal had loft a great part of his Armie: this Afdrubal, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow ball, farre greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like, of which scare presented many vnto rhem; caused the People of Rome, to wait vpon their Confuls out of the Towne; like a pensine traine of Mourners: thinking vpon Marcellus and Crispines, vpon whom in the like fort they had given attendance the last years; but faw neither of them re-40 turne alive, from a leffe dangerous warre. Particularly, old Q. Fabius gave his accufromed adulfe to M. Liuius, that he should abstaine from giving, or taking battaile, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Conful made him a froward answere, and faid, That he would fight the very first day : for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victorie; or by feeing the ouerthrow of his owne vnjust Citizens, satisfic himselfe with the joy of a great, though

not an honest, reuenge. But his meaning was better than his wordes. Of the overthrow that A drubal received in Spaine, by Scipio, a little before hee tooke his journie into Italie; fuch mention hath alreadie beene made, as agreed with thereport of that noble Historian Linie. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this 50 place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of Polybius his historie; Except. E. concerning that accident. Aldrubal had wrollled with many difficulties in Spaine; Polyb. bifl. 1,10. by reason of those Captaines that were sent from the citie of Carthage, to jovne with him in the administration of that Province : they being, as it may seeme, of the Hannonian faction; which is to fay, thus farre forth Traitors, that they preferred the ad-

uantage of their owne fide, before the good of their Commonwealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthie fonne of Amilear, and how they hindered his courfes vndertaken, it can not be knowne: fince of those bookes, wherein Polybius hath exactly handled these matters; there are to vs remaining, only a few broken peeces. But by the spightfull dealing of Hanno in Sicil with Mutines, a better man of warre than himfelie, whom Hannibal had fent into the Iland: we may conceine. that against the brother of Hannibal it was thought needfull, by these mischieuous Partilans of Hanno, to vie the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheleffe Aldrubal was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently fuch indignities. as Mutines could not long digeft. His journie into Italie being resolued vpon: he lay 10 with part of the Armie at Betula, not faire from the mines of filuer; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came Scipio: and draue him out of his Campe. though he were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could. or would, come to his affiftance. The onerthrow feemes not to have beene fo great. as it must have beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares, that Aldrubal dealt like a provident man: and feeing that his Campe was likely to bee forced, fent away all his monie, with his Elephants before him : but staied behinde him selfe to sustaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might bee out of danger. Herein he had his defire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retired in such fort, that Scipio thought it not good to pursue him, and 20 fo paffed ouer Tagus. Then taking vnto him the forces affigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leauing the care of Spaine vnto his brother Mago, and to Aldrubal the sonne of Gelco; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would Scipio have stopped him on his journic.bv fending to defend against him the ordinarie way of the Mountaines. But whether Aldrubal tooke another way, or whether he forced the guards that Scipio had let to keepe the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voiage by any fuch impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother Hannibal: hee found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his monie, that no passages were defended against him, nor any fort of resistance made; but he, and his Armic, well entertained, and their numbers much increased; by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that hee was driven to Winter in their Countrie; whileft that the paffages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountaines likewife, that had fo greatly molefted Hannibal in his journie ouer the Alpes; were easily wonne to take part with Afdrubal, when he trauailed through their Countrie. For these poore men, at the first comming of Hannibal. were verily perfuaded, that it was his purpofe to robbe them of their cattaile; and to make spoile of that little wealth, which they had paincfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mightie Cities, farre disloyned afunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land, and Sea; and that the Alpes did only lie in their way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cifalpine Gaules. The Ligarians also joyned with Afdrubal : and so would the Hetrurians have done; if he had arrived in their Countrie. There was no other Roman Armie neare, than L. Porcius with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did Afdrubal fet vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible; by the destruction of that Towne. But there hee loft a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by vnderta- so king which, he gaue the Roman Confuls leifure, to make readie for him; and caused his brother Hannibal (who upon the first bruit of Afdrubal his so timely, and easily paffing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintring camps, and goe forth to meet with him) to fit ftill awhile, as well aware, that Placentia would not be taken in halte.

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made what speeds hee could, to meet with Hannibal, and ftop him from joyning with his brother. He had about fortie thoufand foot, and fine hundred horse; with which he daily offered battaile to the Curtheginian; and had of him the better in many skirmillies. Hannibal was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Applians, into the Countrie of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weake for the journie intended. Afterward comming to Grumentum, a Towne of the Lucans; he there fought ynprosperously with Aero the Conful. Neuerthelesse he got off, and marched away to Kenusia. But Nero followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore hee was driven to return to Metapontum: where toyning with Hanno, that had made readie a good Armie; hee affaied againg to make way by force to his brother. So he paffed on ward, and came againe to Venulla, having Nore still at his heeles. Thence went he over the River Aufidius to Canulium, where he fate downe, not farre from the place in which he had obtained, his most memorable victorie. There also did Were sit downe by him; and both of them refted, without making offer to fight. It feemed perhaps vnto Hannibal, who knew the Gountrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, over-come the way to Capulium: where if he could once againe deale with both the Confuls. and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victorie. as once he had gotten in the fame open Countrie. If this had fo fallen out; Rome would have beene vindone for euer. But the Carthaginians should not have needed to with any fecond victorie, in the naked Champans about Canna; if fuch an armie. as this which Adrubal now brings, had come to second Hannibal, when hee was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherefore this worthie Generall had good reason afterward to say, that Hanno was the man, who by delaying the fupply, did beat him out of Italie; which elfe no power of the Romans could have done.

Whilest Nero waited vpon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their fuccour: he was ad-20 uertifed of Afdrubal his approch; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to Hannibal. These gaue notice, that Afdrubal had left the siege of Placentia, and drew onwards apace: being alreadie come within two laundred miles of bis brother: notwithstanding all opposition that could bee made by Linie the Conful. Of these newes Claudius Nero was nothing toyfull. For if Hannibal could once be joyned as head, vnto that great bodie of an Armie, which Afdrubal brought with him; it was most apparant, that how soeuer the fortune of Rome should avoid, for the prefent, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Affociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirtie Roman Colonies had alreadie done. Wherefore he 40 refolued, that it were better to make any desperate aduenture, than to suffer the coninnction of two fuch malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the suddaine, yet within few yeares, was like to worke most lamentable effect. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of Astrabal: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe service in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were alreadie emploied under the two Consuls. Herevpon hee concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against Hannibal : but rather that it behould him , to helpe where more necessitie required; and to carrie part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet fince the meeting of the two Carthaginian bretheren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the leffe importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Armie: and making flew, as if he would only ftep aside, to doe some small peece of service neare at hand; away hee posted as fast as hee could, to 536

affift his fellow Conful. His Mellengers ranne before him, to give warning to all Townes by which he was to passe, that they should be readie to meet him, with vi-Quaills, and all other necessaries for his Armie. Linius the other Consultat that time. lay incamped, neare vnto Sena Gallica; and Afdrubal within halfe a mile of him. In fixe daies Nero had finished his journic thither; and when he drew neare, sent Meffengers before him, to give notice of his comming. Livie thought it fittest that hee should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe : least the Enemie, perceiuing this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counfailes. This was done : and a token given, that the Colonells, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that Nero had brought with him; to should bee lodged and entertained by men of their owne fort. Their Companie was formwhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Neuertheleffe, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which received them, should be enlarged; fince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counfaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies, to refresh themselves a few daies after their wearie iournie, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, Nero was very earnest: and befought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere Hannibal should have notice of his absence. The souldiers also of Nero, were full of spirit; perceiping that the honour 20 of the victoric was like to be theirs; for a finish as the battaile would not have been vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counfaile brake vp, that the figne of battaile should be hung out; which was com-

monly a purple coate ouer the Generalls paulion.

Adrubal was no leffe willing than the Romans to come to battaile: having long defired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses, looked as though they had wanted dreffing, after a long iournie. Hereupon he beganne to with draw his Armie back into the Campe : and 30 gaue order, that if no prisoners could bee taken, by whom he might bee certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whither the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might flew their forces to be increased. The campe, as hath beene said, was not extended : but the trumpet, that founded only once in the quarter of L. Porcius the Pretor, did now, contrarie to former custome, found twice in the quarter of Liuius the Conful, Hereat Afdrubal greatly mufed; and being well acquainted with the Roman orders; held this for a fure token, that the other Conful, was there arrived. How this might be, if Hannibal were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke; till he might be better informed. Vpon 40 confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neare hee lay to the Romans; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when hee now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation: he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night : intending to get ouer the Riner Metaurus; whereby to keepe himfelfeas long as he could, from necessitie of battaile. But whether it were fo, that his guides did steale away from him in the darke, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too hear vie, and hindred his speede : farre hee had not gone, ere the Consul Nero was at his heeles with all the Roman horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone aster came L. Porcius with the light armature : whom the other Conful followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and readic for battaile. Afdrabal, seeing himfelfe ouer-taken with necessitie to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill,

which the Enemie should not, without much difficultie, bee able to climbe; in the right wing he stood himselfe, with his Africans and Spaniards; his Liquians her placed in the midit; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman lide, Nero had the leading of the right wing; Linius of the left; and Porcius of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of fafetie there was unto the vanquished. Only the Romans herein seemed to have had the better in conceipt, and opinion; That they were to fight with men defirous to have fled from them. And, according to this prefumption, came Liuius the Conful with a proud brauerie. to give charge on the Africans: by whom he was fo sharply entertained that the victorie scemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout souldiers; and well acquainted with the manner of the Roman fight. The Ligarians also were a hardie Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the leffe, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. Linius therefore, and Porcius, found ftrong opposition and with great flaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Belides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first rankes; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes were driven to fall back. All this while Claudius Nero, Jabouring much in vaine as gainst a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes with the Gaules; that stood opno polite vnto him, but out of danger. This made Afdrubal the more confident; who feeing his owne left wing fafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other fide, upon the left wing of the Romans. But Nero, perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended : tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of Porcius and Livius: which having compassed, he fell upon Asdrubal, and charged him in the flanke. Here beganne the victorie to be manifest on the Roman side. For Nero, finding none to relift him in front, ranne all along the depth of Aldrubal his battaile: and falling upon the skirts thereof, difordered the Enemies, and put all to rowt. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on enery fide, the greatest part was flaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and saued themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aline : the rest were slaine; fome by the Enemies weapons; others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, begannetto wexe vnruly, and rush back vpon their owne battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gaue them a stroke betweene the cares, in the joynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith hee killed the beaft upon the fuddaine. This speedie way of preuenting such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the fquadrons following them; is faid to have beene the device of Afdrubal himselfe; who died in this battaile.

Great commendations are given to Afdrabal, both by Polybius, and by Linie. He is faid at all times to have showed himselfe worthic of Amilear his father, and Hannibal his brother; to have firiuen with great patience, against many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the meanes of those Captaines, that were sent from Carthage into Spaine; to have performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthie Generall; and finally when hee faw the loffe irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting brauely, hee was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of Liuie, and of Polybius, doe very much difagree. For Livie faith, that the Carthaginians had no leffe an overthrow, than was that, which they gave to the Romans at Canne; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were flaine, fine thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and aboue four thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captines with them, delinered, and set at libertie. He faith alfo, that of the Romans and their Affociates there were flaine eight thousand : and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes. but in gold and filuer. Concerning the bootie; Polybins hath no mention of it,

Likely it is to have been east ich as Linie reportechtit; for Afanbal came well flored with monie. But Polybins (who had no defire to make this battaile of Metamru, a parallel vinto that of Cames) reports no more than about tenthousand of the Cantaggians side, and two thousand of the Reman, to have been slaine. The tumber of the prisoners he doeth not mention; but only saith. That some of the Carthaginian Princes were taken aline; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Whereby it may seeme, that they were all Barchmes: for asmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Countrie, aboue their lives.

The joy of this victorie, was no leffe in Rome, than had beene the feare of the euent, For euer fince it was knowne in what fort 2 ere had left his Armie; the whole to Gitie was troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Conful should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one halfe of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if Hannibal should chance to have notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set ypon the Armie that staied behinde, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet referuing their censure vnto the successe; with libertie to approue or condemne, according to the iffue. In the meane while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Pravers and the Senators were daily in counfaile, waiting still readie at hand vpon the Magiftrates: as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every 20 ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholie, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed; there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all forts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the Citie was altered; and men from thenceforth beganne to follow their private businesse; making contracts one with another ( which they had long forborne to doe) and attending their owne affaires in fuch wife, as if Hannibal were alreadie driven out of Italie.

Were returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of Aldrubal before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them 20 loofe to give Hannibal notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners, might have ferued well enough to certific Hannibal of this mifaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of Afdrubal: especially since Hannibal, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuon buriall to Gracebus and Marcellus; yea to all the Roman Generalls, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howfocuer the People of Carthage, wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their love vnto the Commonweale; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were farre more civill, and leffe prone to the infolencie of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by Nero, is, that hee hoped much more by the fudden terrour of fuch a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that 40 which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot him selfe, being over-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperitie. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. Hannibal having lost in this vnhappie fight (besides that worthic Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in Italie; with-drew himselfe into the Countrie of the Brutians : and thither hee caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leffer compaffe in the vtmoft corner of Italie; it being a Countrie of much faltnesse, and the people exceedingly denoted to his feruice. In this bufineffe Nero gaue him no memorable impediment: either because Hannibal was too strong for him, having all his forces vnited; or because it is

likely that this remoue of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not before the end of Sommer, when their haruest was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. M. Linius the other Conful tarried among the Cifalpine Gaules yntill the end of Sommer; there to fet things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, hee wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more neede of him and his Armie in that Province; but that L. Porcius, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, hee desired leane to returne home; and that he might bring his Armic with him. The Senate well vnderstood bis meaning: which was to have the honour of a triumph, as he well deferued. But forafmuch as it was well knowne, what interest Nero had in the late viftorie : order was given, that not only Livie with his Armie should come home : but likewise Nere; though leaning his Armie, behinde him, to confront Hannibal. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both; in the pompe whereof Linie made the greater flew, as riding in a Charlot, and followed by his Souldiers: because in his Province, and vpon his day of command, the victoric was gotten; his Armicalso being present at the triumph. But Were that rode on horse back, and without fuch attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers. by whom, the victoric was in a manner wholly afcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted L. Veturtus Philo, and Q. C. ecilius Metellus, Lieutenants to the Generalls, 20 the due acknowledgement of their good feruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthie to bee chosen Gonfuls; and Confuls they were chosen for the yeare following. But nothing was done by them, worthie of memorie, in their Consulship. Neither indeede from this yeare, which was the thirteenth of the prefent warre, untill the eighteenth yeare wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italie; faue only the taking of Locri from the Carthagimians by furprise. For Hannibal wanted firength, wherewith to make any oreat offer : and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him ; but thought it well that hee was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him; that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold him-20 selfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations given vnto him by Polybius; whom Linie therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, hee obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Armie, compounded of so many sundrie Nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greekes; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; hee held them all in fuch good order, that they never fell to fedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which Liuie addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Armic, without helpe from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungric foile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in 40 time of peace, could hardly fuffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in fuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of As a made no invasion vpon the wealthier parts of Italie; but held himselfe still among the poore Brutians. Where we must leave him vntill he be drawne into Africk by Scipio; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

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#### A. XVII

How P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.

#### t. I.

How the Carthaginians were driuen by SCIPIO from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.



A G O, and A S D A V B A L the sonne of Gesso, tooke vpon them the charge of Spaine, when Ashabal the sonne of Amusicar departed thence into I Ludic. These agreed together, that Mage should make a voiage to the Baleser; there to leuie a supply of men: and Ashabal with-draw himiles into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) whither the Remanshad

ill meanes to follow; being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. Mage had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine; where hee met with one Hanno (the same perhaps hat had lately beene emploied in Stail), who bought new forces out of Africk, and came to succeede in place of Africkal the Barchine. It is not vnlikely that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage; when that soon of Amicro, whose authoritie had beene greatest, was thencedeparted. For hereby might the stations diligence of old Hanno approue it selfe, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being lest wnto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether yopn considence in the forces that he brought ouer: Hanno tooke the field, and led Mage with him; as purposing affesh to set yopn the Romans. So he entred into the Countrie of the Celisterians, not very surre from new Carthage: where, by monic, and other persualions, be levied aboue nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentiue, as it may feeme, to the proceedings of Afdrubál the fonne of Amilear; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italie, to the affiltance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Linius the Confuls. But bearing of the leuie made by Hanno and Mago, among the Celtiberians: hee fent M. Syllanus the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and fine hundred horse. Syllanus got intelligence by some fugitive Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countrimen encamped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder; as men fearing no danger. because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neare to these Celtiberians : and falling vpon them on the suddaine, gave them such an onerthrow, that Hanno and Mago comming to their fuccour, in flead of heartning and reinforcing them, became partakers of the loffe. Mago faued himfelfe, with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand; and in ten daies journey brought them safe to Astribal. The rest of the Africans were either flaine or taken : among whom, Hanno had the ill luck to bee taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew better how to make shift; and saued most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise bee, but that Scipio was much troubled with the danger wherein Italia stood, by the comming thither of Ashabal. Tenthousand foot and eightence hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spaine (as it is reported by 50 some Authors) to the desence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentiue to the necessitie and successed in his Countrimen at home. But when had word of the great victoric at Metaurus, which sell out long before the end of this Sommer, then might her well ad-

Against the next yeares danger, Astrobal prepared a great Armie: and spared nor cost, nor trauaile, in strengthning himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in spaine. With scuentie thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirtie Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleeue that hee could hardly haue raifed, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italie. Scipio thought his Roman Legions too weake to encounter with fuch a multitude. Wherefore hee judged it needfull to vierthe helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries; made him on the other fide very doubtfull, of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest neede. Yet since one Colobas, that was Lord of eight and twentie Townes, had promifed him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service : hee resolved to make vse of those, and some few others; that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not bee able to doe great harme, if they would reuolt. So with fine and fortie thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemie; neare to whom hee incamped. At his first comming, Mago and Masanissa fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilest hee was making his lodgings. But hee laied certaine troupes of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retrait: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betooke themselves to plaine flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the Romans, and abated the presumption of the Carthaginians: there were daily skirmilhes betweene the horse, and light armature on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. Afdrubal drew forth his Armie, and arranged to it before his Trenches: the like did Scipie; each of them to shew that he durst fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many daies: Aldrubal being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the enening, withdrew himselse into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries, were placed on both fides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midft, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before deligned. But Scipio, when hee purposed indeede to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had beene wont. He caused his men, and horses, to be well fed betimes in the morning before day : and then fent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies emptie: vling herein the same trick, whereby he might remember, that Hannibal had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards,

in the battaile. Afdrubal fent forth his horsein all haste, to entertaine the Romans; whilft he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: fince being ouer-preffed on either fide, they had a fafe retrait vnto their foot; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge, This fight was protracted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemie. But about noone, he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battaile of Spaniards farre behinde them; that came on leifurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercinaries that flood in A [drubal his wings, were no way comparable, faue only in num- 10 ber to the Latin and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in hafte; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose: they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The Carthaginians would faine have succoured them; but that they durst not stirre out of their places, because of the Spanish battaile which was coming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of Adrubal his Armie stood idle; vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the Spaniards; he must have cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him betweene the Ro- 20 man wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himselfeinclosed in such fort, as was the Conful Paulus at the battaile of Canna. Wherefore hee did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies; than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer bee ruled by their guides: but ranne, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In processe of the fight: the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured luftie; when the others beganne to faint with trauell and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly : and gaue not ouer, till they had for fit the enemie to change his 20 pace and runne from him. Afdrubal did his best to have made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to have caused his men turne head; at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not fuffer the victorie to bee fo extorted from the the neither was it casie to put fresh courage into the vanquished; led by the obstinate passion of scare which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of Asdrubal had that day beene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the fuddaine, and bred fome supersition in the Romans, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The fame night, Afdrubal gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungrie, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein 40 hee feared to bee affaulted. But little affurance could hee haue in the strength of his Trenches; when he had loft the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One Attanes, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yeelded vp to Scipio, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon Afdrubal had fet his rest; bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from Italie. For henceforward, they never did good office to the Carthaginians. Afdrubal, perceiuing this, with-drew himfelfe, and marched away, faster than an ordinarie pace, toward the Ocean Sea. Scipio followed the next morning: and overtaking the Carthaginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand; that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here beganne a cruell flaughter: for there was no refistance made, but all fell to rout, faue only seuen thousand, that with Afdrubal himselfe recouered a very strong peece of ground, which they fortified in haste.

This place he made shift awhile to defend; but wanting there necessaries to suffaine himselfe long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he refolued to make shift for one; and stealing from his Companie by night away to the Sea-fide, that was not farre thence; hee tooke thipping, and let faile for Gades. When Scipio understood that Afdrubal was thus gone; he left Syllanus with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to believe their Campe (which was not taken in hafte, for Mago and Mafaniffa stated in it) whilest he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere Mago and Malaniffa followed Aldrubal to Gades: and their Armie differred it felfe; fome flying ouer to the Romans; other taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of Spaine, there were only three Towneslett, Illiturgi, Castula, and Aftapa, that made countenance of warre against the Romans : of which only Cafulo had in it a Carthaginian Garrison; confilting of such as had sayed themselves by flight, in the late overthrowes. Hereby it feemes, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who faid, that Castulo yeelded long since vnto the Romans : though Hannibal tooke a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three Townes that held out, on the Carthaginian fide. Illiturgi had fometimes been inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their denotion. Yet after the death of the two elder Scipiaes, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune; it not only rebelled; but with great crueltie betraied, and flue, the poore menthat escaped thither from the operthrowes. Alapa was a Towne, that had ftill adhered to the Carthaginians: and, which was worfe, had thriuen by spoile of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeare) Scipio went against these, and tooke himselfe Illiturgi and Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one Cerdubellus. Astapa was taken by Lucius Marcius; or rather destroied by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was throwne all the gold, and filter, with what focuer elfe was precious; the women and children standing by it under a fure guard; that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Towns. This provision being made: all the Inhabitants that could be are armes, rufhed forth desperately: and fell vpon the Roman campe; where striuing beyond their power, they were cuery one flaine. Then was the Towne forth-with fet on fire, by those that had taken charge to docit; and many of the Romans confirmed with the flame; whileft they ruffied ouer-halfily to catch the gold, and filter, which they faw lying on the pile readie

Afdrubal, being beaten into the Hand of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with feuen Gallies; leaving Mago behinde him, to wait vpon occasion, if any should be offered. Hee visited in his way home, Syphax King of the Mafajili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to winne him to the friendship of the Carthagenians. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his coill Angel, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the fame time, carried Syphax quite another way. For Scipio, having driven the Carthaginians out of Spaine, did forth-with bethinke himselfe, how to finish the warre; by putting them to the like diffreste in Africke. Hercunto it feemed, that the helpe of Syphax would be much availeable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and fustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eatily be moved to feeke revenge. He had also beene beholding to P. and Cm. Scipio, that fent him over a Captaine into Afrike; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Wumidian King sent Embassadours to 50 Rome, and made league with the Citic, in a time of great extremitie. So that hereby P. Scipio conceined hope of laying a good foundation to the warre, which he intended in Afrike; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer C. Lalius his Embassadour, to deale with Syphax: who declaring that the Carthagmians did very ill in Italie, and had nothing now at all to doe in Spaine; easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better. and were without question his better friends. Only Syphan requested, that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which hee was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie, Hereto Scipia condescended: thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre distant from Spaine, well worthic of the adventure. So with two Quinquereme Gallies hee tooke Sea; and arrived in the Kings Port, at the fame time, with Aldrubal. This would have beene very dangerous to him, had he beene discried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen, they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. Syphax might well be proud; feeing at one time, two fuch Captaines of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. Hee would have brought them to treat of peace : but the Roman excused himselfe, by want of fuch commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed Scipio, with whom he readily entred into couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

### t. I I.

Funerall games held by SCIPIO. A duell betweene two Spanish Princes. A digression, concerning Duells.

SCIPIO returning into Spaine, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeare, vpon those of Illiturgi, Castillo, and Astapa, as hath beene said before. The Conquest of the Countrie being then in a manner at an end : hee performed at new Carthage, with great folemnitie, some Vowes that he had made; and honoured the memorie of his Father, and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their lines, as was vied in the Citie of Rome: for there were enough, that either offered themselues as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes; to give proofe in fingle combat, of the valour that was in their feuerall Countries. Some alfothere were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to referre the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were, Corbis, and Orfua, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principalitic of a Towne called Ibes. Corbis was the eider, and the elder brothers fonne; wherfore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house; after the manner of our Irish Tanishrie. But the father of Orsua stood lately seized of the Principalitie: which though himselfe received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his fonne would not let it goe back; but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, and old enough to rule. Faine would Scipio have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had alreadie laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but only Mars, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, cafily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats have beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy, by Thefeus, Hercules, Pollux, and others: as also of two at the Warre of Troy; the one, betweene Paris and Menelaus; the other, betweene Hector and Aiax. Neither want so there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that betweene David and Goliah; and others performed by fome of Davids Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelve of the Tribe of Inda, and as many of the Beniamites. The Romans

had many of them; whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the Horati, against the three brethren Curisty that were Albans. The combat of Manlius Torquatus; and shortly after, of Valerius Coruinus with two Champions of the Gaules, which challenged any Roman; were of lesse importance, as having only reference to braueric. In England there was a great combat fought, betweene Edmond Ironfide and Canutus the Dane, for no leffethan the Kingdome. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon enery occasion, great or small. In the raigne of Edward the third, who fustained the partie of Mount fort against the Earle of Bloys, contending for the Duchie of Britaine; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, betweene thirtie of the Britons, and thirtic English: two of which English, were Caluerlie a braue Captaine; and that Sir Robert Knolles, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French warres, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord Knolles is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them have been combats of braueric, and of gayete de cure, as the French terme it; for honor of seuerall Nations; for love of Mistresses; or what focuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselves. But befides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon acculation for life; or vpon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in Writ of right. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which wee spake even now, betweene Corbis and Orfus. Vnto these (methinkes) may be added, as of different condition from the reft, the combat vpon Wager; fuch as were that betweene Dauid and Golish; or that betweene the Horatii and Curiatii : in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured your the head of Champions. Vpon an acculation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord Hen- Ao, 21, Ric. 241,

rie of Boulinbrooke Duke of Hereford, and Moubray Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat performed by Sir John Anfley and one Cattrington: whom Anfley charged A. 3. Ric. 241. with treason; and proued it vpon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene Robert of Mountfort and Henrie of Effex. The like also, betweene a Nauar- As a Herradi 20 rois and one Welch of Grimsby, whom the Navarrois accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that hee had belied him; and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battaile doe determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquilhed, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But we every where finde, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customes of Normandie, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences punished by death) bee ouer-come, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not fo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but hee may trie it by his Champion; as did Paramor and Love, or offered to doe, in the an raigne of Queene Elizabeth. And in this case, he that is beaten, or yeeldeth, looseth

only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in campe close, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinarie in Prance, before the time of St. Lewes, and Philip the faire his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclefiafticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth that the French Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the \* Me- . Si homines de merialls of the Chamber of Accompts, is found an Articleto this effect: That if a combat I oralico Vadica were once accepted, and after, by confent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings fixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the so partie vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And vpon this custome

grew the French Prouerbe, which they vie when any man hath had an hard or vnjust judgement; faying, That hee was tried by the Law of Loray, or Berne; on le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battaile, that great learned man Tue, Bilhop of Chartres, did often complaine, and

ucrtentes , qui caufe Comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis interfucrunt, retulerunt nobis, quad auidam miles Domini Rodulphi quend:m militem Comitis ed Monomachia ргоносацегі, 🔗 nem Ecclefie veltre indicia confirmance:t,

\* clerici voltri fpecially against the French Church-men: as appeares by \* his letters to the Bishop nuper ad narre- of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Arch bilhop of Sens, and to others: wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified fuch challenges of combat. But this libertie, and kinde of triall, was retrencht by Saint Lewes, and Philip the faire; fo that no man should decree, or grant it, faue the King himselfe. It bath since beene granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings: as to the Lord of Carouges against laques le Gris ; and to Iulian Romero the Spaniard, against More, his Countriman : wherein Sir Henrie Kneuet, Father of the Lord Kneuet now living, was Patron to Romero that had the victoric, and laftly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those Challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other of fence descruing death, (and in those only) the rule held, That le desendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces dessenses per une dementir : The Desendant was bound to pleade not ouiltie, by gining the accuser the Lie: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did taifiblement confesser le crime ; filently confesse the crime. But after such time as Francis the French King, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie vnto the Emperour Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a personal combat; enery pettic Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made the giving of the Lie mortalitic it felfe; holding it a matter of no small glorie, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperour Charles the fift had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded vpon noncof those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honor of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe fo many Duells, as are founded your meere private Anger, yea or your matter feeming worthie of anger in the opinion of the Duellifts. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes vnto himfelfe a Kingly libertie, to offer, accept, and appoint perfonall combats; the giuing of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation only in accufations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrells. This is held a word fo terrible, and a wrong fo vnpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the falhion, taken yp in hafte by the French Gentlemen after the patterne of their King, is grown to be a custome; whence we have derived a kinde of Arte and Philosophic of quarrell, with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many other no leffe ridiculous) some so mysticall curiolities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour to receive from an enemie a flight touch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword : the one, having relation to a flaue; the other, to a fouldier. I confesse that the difference is pretie: though, for mine owne part, if I had had any such Italionated enemie in former times. I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions, who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiping it: I fay, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; vie nothing so much in their conversation and course of life; as to speake and sweare falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World. and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworne to pay the monies and other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promife, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not Liers by Record, by being fued in some Court or other of Justice, vpon breach of 50 word, or bond? For he which hath promised, that he will pay monie by a day or promifed any thing elfe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promise hath beene made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make nowa-daies? What is the vowing of their fernice, and of all they have, yfed in their or-

dinarie complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good-morrow, or falute, other than a courteous and courtlike kinde of lying? It is (faith a wife French-man, deriding therein the Apilh custome of his Countrie) vne marché & complot fait ensemble the se mocquer, mentir, & piper les vins les autres; A kinde of merchandize, and complet made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other : and lo farre now-a daies in fashion, and in vie; as he that vieth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinctions) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are somtime perswaded by necessitie vpon breach of promise; and those which men 10 vic out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villainous. But now for the Lie it selfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrells in effect : to it I fay, That who fo gives another man the Lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainoufly taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promileth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promifed, that hee will performe it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side. He that gives any man the Lie, when himfelfe knowes that he, to whom it is given hath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to himselfe. And what cause have I, if I and that the Sunne thines when it doth thine, and that another fellow tells me I lie. for it's mid-night; to profecute fuch an one to death, for making himfelfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge ? For he that gives the Lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffianlike. I will not denie but it is an extreme rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the vntruth is vttered) but all that is rude, ought not to bee civilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, That these discourses sauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize, to feare God or Hell: whereashe that 20 is truly wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elfe to be feared. For against an Enemies sword wee shall finde ten thousand seuen-penie-men ( waged at that price in the warres) that feare it as little, and perchance leffe, than any profest Sword-man in the World. Diligentissmain tutela fui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it selfe. It is (faith Aristotle) a mediocritic between doubting and daring. Sicut non Martyrem pana: sience fortem pugna; sed csusa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr : foit is not fighting that declares a validat man; but fighting in a good cause. In which who seemer shall resolvedly end his life, resolvedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie: as hee may justly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; fo may those that die with malicious 40 hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devill. Neither doe we indeede take our owne reuenge, or punish the injuries offered vs, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to give him, of whom we would bee reuenged, cause to repent him; and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our owne consciences; animafg, in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies. Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne in generous and noble spirits the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries ? I fay that I doe not ; if the injuries bee violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law : and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States ; doe fauour him that is affailed, in the flaughter of the Affailant. You will fecondly aske ne, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentle-man, being challenged by Cartel by one of

like qualitie, bee not bound in point of honour to fatisfie the challenger in private combat? I answere that he is not : because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrarie and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can

Sir Thomas

Smath in his

of Engl.

Com. wealth

judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Artes honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, feeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conquerour; and the Lawes of God appointed the Devill to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, and a foole, that accepts of any Cartel fo accompanied. To this perchance it will be anfwered. That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, have feldome taken any fuch advantage over men of qualitie; who you even termes have flaine their private enemics. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; fo did our Noble-men and Gentle-men in former ages, in all important injuries, fue vnto the King, to approve themselves by battaile and publique to combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law : so did they distaine to submit themselves to the shamefull revenge thereof; the same revenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-pursse or other Theeues, Nav let it be granted that a pardon bee procured for fuch offenders; Yet is not the Manflaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieued not withstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (faith St. Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further faith (for I vie his owne wordes) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-flaier) be continced either by Great Affize or by Battaile, vpon that appeale; the Man-flaier shall die notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (faith the same learned Gentleman) 20 are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice, and to the punishment of bloud violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men & Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemie, taking the start either in wordes or blowes, shall lay on them an infamie vnsufferable ? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouerie of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else, by which the lines of our felues, our wines, and children, are fultained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may bee fellonie, to take by violence even that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues to the Judges of honour in cases of honour: because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet 30 againe it may be objected, That the loffe of honour ought to be more fearefull vnto vs, than either the loffe of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I fav for on-But what is this honour, I meane honour indeede, and that which ought to bee fo deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of historie, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and under-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imploied and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he looseth his honor. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue; because it is contrarie to the law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult; because even and equall in persons and 40 armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrarie; because the losse

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to sauceuery mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine injurie by wordes. I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any ill wordes that we have given, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong to whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For hee that gives ill wordes in choller, and fuddenly denies them, or repents himfelfe of them vpon adulfement; bath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeede not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompense will be emade 50 for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthic Gentleman Mounsieur du Plesis, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue judge-

or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

ment. M. de Pless: was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Contable and Marihalls fate : the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a fword with the point towards himfelfe. and in his left hand the like cudgell or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken Ost. de Plesis; both which weapons he delinered into Plesis hands, submitting himselfe to fuch revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of Plesis to vie his owne difcretion in the reuenge of his owne wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one before hand in point of honour, who struck M. de Plesis like 10 a Ruffian comming behinde him, and (hauing advantage of companie, and his horses readie) shifted himselfe away on the suddaine, but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himfelfe in this shamefull manner: Or whether Mansieur de Plesis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre juster cause to restlatisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemie, but forgave him; let any wife man judge. To this if it be faid. That the Baron was confirmined to make his submission; that his repentance was enforced and not voluntarie; and therefore no diserace vnto him: I answere, that one may say as well, that it is no diserace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallowesto repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diffrace in respect of the force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our finnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted upon vs for somewhat unworthie of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay voluntarie repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainely, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride pettie injuries or suddaine injuries, that are not offered from malice forethought. then reuenge them: fo men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their owne valour; and rather defire, that thereby the world should beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any fuch resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe 20 indeede to be a valiant man, scornes to huntafter the opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France have, bath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose judgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preferred; wee may therefore as well fishmit our selues to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honour, as wee doe submir our selues in all controuersies of liuelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law, And, out of doubt, the inflitution of this Court of Cheualric in England, in France, and elfewhere; was no leffe charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honie-bees, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face : but it produceth that monstrous Beast, Revenge, which bath stung 40 to death, and eaten up of feuerall Nations, fo many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon supreme Gouernours, than the permission.

His Majestie therefore (which Henrie the fourth of France also endeaoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian like deede in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predeceffours could never doe: in beating downe, and extinguishing, that hereditarie profecution of malice, called the deadly fend; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power, for ever-more. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no leffe happie in preventing the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outragious vaso nitie of Duellifts.

Vnto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthic of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or leffe, in their feuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lies; and fuch permicious lies, as proceede from feare and cowardize, or are vetered by false

witnesses; the former fort, being excusable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, be-

ing altogether detestable. No leffe, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing

of a man in open field, with cuen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call killing by guile, dolo or per infidus; though our Lawes doe not much diffinguilh them in punishment. For in the latter, God, for saking his owne priviledge, commandeth, but the guilefull murderer bee drawne by force, from the protection of

his Altar. Neither is enery guilefull murder performed by the fword, nor by ouert

violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by

a canse, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the

birds. Francis the first, Queene Marie of England, and the Kings Majestie now raig-

ning, have given notable testimonic of their justice, vpon three Noble men, who

committed guilefull murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis vpon the Lord of Ta-

lard : who being (faith the French Historian) de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporte

de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by di-

uers great alliances, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especial fauour with the King)

was one, was notwi hitanding delinered ouer into the handes of the Hang-man.

very deare vnto her. His Mijellie, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no

leffe ancient and faithfull, than himfelfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home

and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poifon, and of punishment following fuch wic-

ked Artifans; every Age hath had too many examples. Of guilefull killing by the

pen (that I may not speake of any English Judge) the Authour of the French Resher-

ches gives vs two notable inflances; the one of des Eshars, who (faith Pasauire) fit

mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contente l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit

lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle; Who caused Montaigu

great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom

ter hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, upon his Chan-

cellor Payet: who, to fatisfie the Kings passion, practifed the destruction of the Ad-

mirall Chabot, a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other

men, fo in Kings, the passion of lone growes old, and weares out by time. So the

Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some

offences which hee had formerly committed. The Admirall, prefuming youn the

great good service which hee had done the King in Piemont, and in the desence of

Mir/eilles against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him;

and defired nothing fo much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being cafie

other Judges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admi-

ralls life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large confeience, (which is

rare in men towards the Law ) hoping highly to content the King ; wrought with

fome of the Judges with fo great cunning; with others, with fo sharpe threats; and

with the rest, with so faire promises; as, albeit nothing could be proved against the

Admirall, worthie of the Kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got

others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Libertie : though not

able to prenaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King

bating fallhood in fo great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraigne-

tou fours enfoy, & no laiffer fluctuer fa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire fa-

neur, qui pour fin de ieu le submerge : A faire lesson to all Judges, to dwell alwaies in them-

feluce, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of tinaginarie favour, which in the end overwhelmes them. And as for the Admirall: though it might have beene

ment, and condemnation ? Belle legon certes (faith Pasquire) à tout suge pour demourer 50

to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and 40

at that time Elbars wor hipped as his Idol : but God permitted, that he himfelfe was foone af- 20

Queene Marie, vpon a noble man of her owne R cligion, and in many other respects 20

practife. For fuch diffinction is found, betweene comming prefumptuously vpon a to man to stay him with guile; and lying in wait for bloud, primity, for the innocent, without

answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vndeserued, That he was tried, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrie, and by the Indges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue back vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

t. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is sholen Conful.

THe last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spaine, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangeroufly fick, in such fort, that the rumor of his death ranne currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, pettie Kings, that had for faken the Carthaginians, and followed Scipio awhile before, to take armes against the Romans. They were vainely perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rally fell vpon the Sucfetaniand Sedetani, Confederates of the Romans; and walted their Countrie. Part of the Roman Armie lying at Sucro, in stead of making head against these Rebells, grew to be affected with the like diffemper. They had not reaped fuch profit of their Roman conquests. as might fatisfie their defires; or as they thought caffe to bee gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported : they thought, that the time ferued very well, to enrich themselues with spoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all driving away their Colonells, that should have bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, Albius Calenus, and Atrius Vinber, to their Coman manders. These tooke vpon them all the Enlignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors: as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein Lucius Martius was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipia's. But whilest they were deuising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of them selves, in a time of such combuffion, as was expected; there arrived more certaine newes, that Scipio was both aline, and in good health. There came also new Golonells, fent vnto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of confideration, and feeming to bee glad that they had no further over-fhot them felues; led them to Carthagena, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, Scipio had resolved to doe exemplarie justice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them 40 in feare, of what they had deferued. Therefore hee caused Syllanus to make readie the Companies which lay before in the Towns, as it were to make an Expedition against Mandonius, and Indibilis; He caused Albins and Astring with some thirtie other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to affembly; and having them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by Syllanus and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; hec bitterly inuciahed against them all, as Traitors. This done; Albim, and Atrim, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of

50 uery man his pay when he was fworne.

\*\*Amdanius\*, and Indibilis\* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of Sciple bis life and health. Well they could have beene contented to be quiet: but by the severitie vsed to the \*\*Roman\*\* Souldiers; they stood in seare, as

eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received e-

Exed.21.

x0d.11.v.14 ro.1.v.11.

Lib.5.cap.12.

CHAP.3. S.18. of the Historie of the World.

being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure, Scipio went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof hee fought with them : and fending Lelius with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hills, and charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. Indibilis and Mandonius had after this no hope remayning, to preferue themselves and their effaces, otherwise than by making submission. Mandonius therefore came to Scipio: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother Indibilis. obtayned his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse

free Princes, then they formerly had beene.

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Afterward Scipio went toward Gades : and was met on the way by Masanissa; who fecretly promifed to doe him all feruice, if the People of Rome would fend him to make Warre in Africk. Vnto Mago that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italie; and there wage an Armie of Gaules, and Ligurians, to joyne with Hannibal. For this purpose, was monie sent vnto him from Carthage; and he himselfe laid hold voon all that he could finde in the Towne of Gades; without sparing either private men, the common treasurie, or the Temples. In his voiage thence, hee landed at Carthagena: hoping to have taken it by surprise. But hee failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoile that hee had made at his taking leave of them, would not fuffer him to enter againe into their Citie. By this hee forefaw, that it would not bee long ere they became Roman. Wherefore fending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vincourteous dealing, hee allured their Magistrates forth vinto him; whom, not withstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voiage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Isleand Citie of Gades, was yeelded to the Romans, presently after the departure of Mago. Then did Scipio deliuer up the Province, to those that were fent from Rome to succeede him therein : and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome he made fuite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied 30 him: for that it had as yet been granted vnto no Proconful; excepting to fuch, as received that dignitie after a Confulfhip, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse; the election of new Consul's being then in hand, by generall voice of the Citie P. Cornelius Scipio was chosen Conful; and P. Licinius Crassus joyned with him. This Crassus, being high Pricit, or Bishop of the Romans; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though Cafar, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were staied by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long ablent. Hereby it came to pale, that scipe desiring to have the Warre transferred into Africk, was in no danger to loofe that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provincies; for that his Colleague was not capable of emploiment to farre off.

A XXIII.

SCIPIO obtaines leaue to make warge in Africk. His preparations. Of MA-SANISSA who toyned with Scipio. The victories against ASDRVBAL and SYPHAX.

VB. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, and P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, entring into their Confullhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that Scipio should be allowed, to bestow part of the monie which he had brought out of Spaine into the treasurie; vpon the fetting forth of folemne plaies, that he had vowed to make.

whilest he was busied in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reviue the memorie of his victories alreadie gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater vi-Stories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish embassages availe much in the Senate, especially that of the Saguntines; who magnified his actions, highly and descruedly; saying, That they were the most happie of all their Countrimen, fince they being present, had seene him chosen Conful, and should carrie home such joyfull newes. The Saguntine Embassadours, were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome, though coffly it were both to them, and to the Romans, had well deferued. Neuertheleffe, when Seipio proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince : there wanred not many, even of the principall men, that vehemently gainefeld him. Of thefe was Q. Fabius Maximus the chiefe: who feemes to have been troubled with that difcase; which too often causeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke asquint upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleaged many reasons against the purpose of the Conful: whereof the chiefe were. That the treasurie was ynable to sustaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard fo great forces, where they could not at pleafure beerecalled, vnto the defence of Rome it felfe, if neede required. Hercunto he added many wordes concerning the danger wherein Italie flood, not only of Hannibal, but of Ma-

30 go his brother, that was arming the Ligurians: as also concerning the honour of the Conful; which would (he faid) be greater in fetting Italie free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to cleuate the Spanish warres, as of leffe moment than the intended voiage against Carthage; nor withall to lay great blame vpon Scipio, for having suffered Afdrubal to passe into Italie: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, least the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, not withflanding the good successe of Scipio ( if it happed to bee good) might be sent from Carthage, to the vitter endangering of Rome, whill the Roman forces were emploied abroad. But the main point which he viged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yeare o a Province: which the Conful nevertheleffe propounded in fuch wife, as if it were a matter alreadic concluded, and no longer to be argued. Scipio on the other fide, infi-

fted voon this one point; That it was better to make an offenfine, than a defenfine warre: especially against such as the Carthaginians; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by helpe of monie, with levies made abroade. As for the care of Italie, he doubted not, but P. Licinius his Colleague, would becase well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promifing to draw Hannibal into Africk, for defence of his owne home; and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuie of Fabius, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; hee proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the so manner of his proceeding: for a fmuch as it was notifed abroad, that if hee could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carrie it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who refented in this honorable man a little spice of that arro-

gancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, Scipio referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby hee obtained thus much, That the Isle of Sicil might be appointed vnto him for his Province; with leaue to passe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of monic, and no great liking to his voiage, made the Roman Senate have little care to furnish out Scipio to the warre, by him intended upon Africke. Herewithall it fell out, that Mago, comming on the Suddaine from the Baleares to Genua. and winning the Towne, bred a feare of no leffe terrible inualion vpon Italie, than that which Afdrubal had lately made. He could not indeed eraife any great Armie of the Ligurians; for that he found them distracted with civill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his partie; and to helpe those whom hee thought fitteft for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occurried more of histime, than he could willingly have spared : yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the vnfteadie Gaules readie to enter into his pay. Hereupon the differred Legions of the Romans, that under Proconfuls, and Pretors, lay readic to be emploied where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lome bardie, and Liguria, there to make head against Mago. But all his menaces passed a. way in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aide from Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report is vacertaine) loaden with the bootie that hee had taken; fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that governed in Sardinia. This did much difable him : and though after awhile, there came letters from Carthage, together with 20 flore of monic, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voiage of Scipio into Africk, diffurbed all; and made him bee recalled home.

Againt Hamilal, was nothing done this yeare. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Roman Hillorians haue beene pleafed to take notice. Only it is faid, that he fpent the fommer by the Temple of Inno Launia, where he railed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punike, and Greeke letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the hight of their fortune, a cause of remission, and careclassific; in those that are youn the loosing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pelisine, chiefting both the Cara theyinian, and the Roman Campe, is said to haue beene the occasion of this yeares idlensific which sell not our much amissific for the Citic of Rome, that was marual lously empoureished by this warre; and had alreadic tried the vtmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessific, it was well thought youn, that agreat part of Campania (not many yeares since consiste ted) should bee fold, or te our: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no losses the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, wnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other monie, none was giuen to Scipio. Neither was hee allowed to Mofthis, or other monie, none was giuen to Scipio. Neither was hee allowed to Make pressed of Souldiers for his African voiage; a neither did hee ouer-much labour to obtain eit. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wifer than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councells of estate; that the busic, or obstinate heads of a few, doecarrical the rest. And many times, men make a furrender or other ownejudgements, to the wisedome that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, hee that reposeth himselfe vyon the aduice of many, shall often sinde him selfe deceived: the counsalie of those many being wholly directed by the empetr of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. Passius was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature forted well with the businesse, that were growne old in following one course, that other of the Senators, that were growne old in sollowing one course, from which they could not shift, as sthe change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well

apprehend) embraced the needfull refolution of Scipio: in fuch fort, that belides his Roman forces, he had from divers parts of Italie about feuen thousand. Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for failes. Axes, Beede hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of thips, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes : every place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could affoord. Vnto this willingueffe of the People, the diligence of Sapie was correspondent. In the compaffe of five and fortie daies, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched, twentie Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherewith hee transported his Armie into 10 Sicil. In Sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at Canna: which were old Souldiers, and (as hee himfelfe well knew) not guiltie of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heavie censure. They had ferued under Marcellus, and Leuinus, at the taking of many Cities, and ftrong peeces : in which regard, they were like to bee of good vie to him in a frick; where would bee flore of fuch emploiment. For increasing the number of his horse, hee pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthie yong men, and fuch as loued well their eafer These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment : but with condition, that they should deliuer their Horse and Armes, to as many Roman Gentlemen; which hee brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilest hee was prouiding, to have things in a readinesse for Africk; the banished Locrians that followed the Roman fide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recouer their Citie. Some handicrafts men, that wrought for the Carthaginians in one of the Citadells of Locri (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. Scipio being aduertised of this, gaue order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadell was surprifed. The other Citadell was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison: which fent to Hannibal for aide. The Romans in like fort, fearing leaft their owne paucitie should make them too weake for Hannibal, craued helpe of the Conful Scipio. The Townsfmen, were doubtfully affected : but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept Hannibal out; whom the comming of Scipio caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by Scipio incultodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Locrians ynto the Roman Senate; not only against those of the Garrison; but much more against Pleminius the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of Proferpina, that had a great fame of fanctitie, was spoiled by these barbarous Theeues. The Locrians therefore aduited the Senate, to make prefent a-40 mends to the Goddeffe for this facriledge : faying, that the like had neuer been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint; comforted the Locrians, and redreffed the injuries done vnto them; fent for Pleminius, with other principall the offenders, whom they cast into prison, and vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto Proferpina her monie twice told. But old Q. Fabius was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon Scipio, that had placed fuch a manin Locri; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp inucctive that Fabius made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of Scipio, as against the diffoluteneffe of his Armie; which lay, as they faid, idle in Sicil, neither mindfull of any service toward, nor fit for it if neede should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, thatten Legates were fent ouer into Sicil, together with the Pretorappointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Adiles, who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italie, or con-

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tinue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was : they found him fo well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his journie; and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had alreadic emploied Lalius in Africk; ratherto make discouerie, than to worke any other great effect of warre. He tooke a great bootie : and ftruck no little terrour into the Carthaginians; who faw their affaires to bee vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his journie was, That speaking with Majaniffa, he well informed himselfe of the flate of Africk; and knew what was to bee expected of those two Kings, that had promifed to joyne with the Romans at their landing.

Liu.l.28.

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Concerning Masanissa his revolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made vnder-hand with the Romans : Liuie doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constaneie, in following times, must belpe to proue, that this his change was not without fome good caule. But Appianus (an Historian farre inferiour to Linie, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessarie truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of Linie, if it had beene true : vnleffe wee should beleeue. that he wilfully forbare to rehearle a Tragedie; the forrow whereof would cause \* Appian Alex- men to thinke amiffe of Scipio. How loeuer it was, thus \* Appian tells it: and many 20 circumstances of things done confirme it. Afdrubal, the sonne of Gifco, had a faire daughter, whom both King Syphasiand Majaniffaloued. Majanifia, being brought up at Carthage, and being withall a goodly gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by Afarubal to be his sonne-in-law. When the virgin was betrothed vnto him be went into Spaine, and there did great feruice. But afterwards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the mariage of Afarabals daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon Syphax; without standing to acquaint her father or Masanisa therewithall. This they did, for that Syphax was the more mightic Prince; and for that the indignitic of the repulse, had made him become their enemie. Hereof Ma/amisa was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with Scipio, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but that some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveighed himselfe home in to his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeve Appianus: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seemes, that how soeuer Sophonisbathe daughter of Afdrubal, was promifed by the Carthaginians vnto Syphax: vet fince this their courtesie proceeded from seare, He thought it wisdome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; vntill A SDR VB AL had fent for his daughter from Carthage, and the marriage was confummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein Appian differs much from Linie, and from Polybius, whom (as appeares by the broken peeces of his works 40 remaining) Liuie did follow; it will be no offence, to take litle heed vnto his reports.

Malanilla was the fonne of Gala, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crowne descended, by order of the Countrie, vnto Desalees the brother, not vnto Mafanisha the sonne. But this Vncle of Masanissa shortly died : and his elder sonne, who tooke possession of the Kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebeli that made himfelfe Protector ouer the yonger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselse against Masamssa, whose returns hee feared; by Alliances with the Carthaginians and Syphax. But all would not serve: He, and his Pupill, were disposfeffed of their Estates by Mafaniffa; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father Gala. The Carthaginians in reason should have beene 50 glad, that Masanissa, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Effate: had they not been guiltie of the injurie by them done vnto him; whilft his Vncle or Cosen raigned, and hee seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But Syphan, by their procurement, and perhaps by his owne malice towards his Corriual,

warred upon him; and oner-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheleffe Malaniffa still retayned the hearts of his people; and thereby remayned firong enough, to infest both Syphax and the Carthaginians. though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the leffer Syrtis, betweene the borders of the Carthaginians and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans; yet fo, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrie, even as farre as to Hippo; and when Lelius arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haften on Scipio to the invalion of Africk.

But Syphax, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good succeffe, than could be expected from the good will of poore Mafaniffa; fent an Embaffage into Sicil about the fame time, which was little pleafing vnto Scipio. He excufed himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the Garthaginians; adding, That hee could not choose but fight for the defence of Africke: wherein he was borne and raigned; and for defence of his beloued wives Countrie. if it were inuaded. Neuertheleffe he promifed to remaine a Neuter; fo long as the Romans and Carthaginians held warre abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This meffage halfned Scipio in his Expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised affistance of Syphax had not a little aduanced his enterprise; in procuring both the aftent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way, to preuent all discourse, and set the warre vndertaken immediately on soot. The Embasfadours he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King; wherein hee willed him to confider, that what he had promifed he had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having fent them away . Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voiage; which he intended no longer to deferre. For, faid he, Masanissa hath beene with Lalius and Syphax hath newly sent to me; greatly wondering vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, that they will prouide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale preuented all further inquisition, that might elfe haue beene made concerning the message of these Embassadours; whose followers had beene seene walking vp and downe Syrgen/e. And left any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the businesse, Scipio immediately sent about his fleet ynto Lilybaum and toquefting by letters M. Pomponius, that was Pretor in Sicil, to meet him, there; hafted thither with his Armie. At Lilybaum he agreed with the Pretor, about the division of the Legions betweene them; which to leave behinde for defence of the Hand; and which to carrie with him into Africk. What numbers hee transported, it is not certaine : some Historians reckoning only wen thousand foot, and two and twentie to hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirtie thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe : since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither he, when he tooke his voiage into Spaine, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set downer by an Historian, who borrowed them from Linie, and fitted them to a Prince of

This Roman Armie landed in Africk, neare vnto a Fore-land then called the faire ... Promontorie: which how farre it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that 50 Cape or Head-land which bore the name of Mercurie, and lay to the North-cast of Carthage: or whether that of Apollo, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of Masanissa vnto Scipio at his first arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of Xylander: who thinkes the faire Promontorie to have beene the fame; that was also called Mercuries Cape, fince with little difficultie Masanissa might come Aaaaaa 2

thither from the leffer Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But for a fmuch as without any memorable impediment, soone after his arrivall, Scapio encamped before Vica, that flood Westward from Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: it may rather feeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of Apollo; whence the way to Vica was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of Carthage were fent, the next day, fine hundred horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for Masanissa, that roued about the Countrie with a troupe of horse. to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which hee viually reforted, like as before he had met with Lelius at Hippo that was farther off: as it would have beene for Scipio, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer come the trouble of a long journie, and fetch a great compaffe to Viica by Land; when hee might have disembarqued nearer vnto it. Neuerthelesse it may passe as a conjecture. That Scipio came first of all to Emporia; a plentifull Region about the leffer Syrtis; fince he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the letting forth from Lilybeum. to shape their course for that coast. The Countrie thereabout was very rich, and fit for fustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make relistance. Thus much perhaps Mafanissa had signified voto Lalius, when he foake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, how focuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to be such, as not only scrued to invade the Lands of Carthage, but 20 threatned a conquest of the Citic, and whole Estate : then might hee better aduise them to fet faile for Vice, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their ownedoores.

The Carthagenians had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to bee leuied in hafte. as drubal the sonne of Gisco, the same that had lately beene chaced out of Spaine by Scipio, was their best man of warre. And good enough perhaps he was thought by Hanno and his fellowes, of whose faction he was or if ought were wanting in him, vet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King Syphax, made him passeable. He was at that present with the King his sonne-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the Romans: when letters were brought from Carthage, both to Sy- 20 phase and to him, informing them of the Inualion: entreating the one of them to giue affistance; and comanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be readie, Scipio had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and flaine Hanno a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed aboard his Hulkes or ships of burden, and fent them back loaden into Sicil. Hee tooke likewise a Towne called Salera; which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another Hanno, with foure thousand Numidian horse: whose service being sitter for the field, than for defence of walled places; made Scipio to perceive the vaskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he fent Masanissa before him : who rode up to the gates; and, by making a Brauado, trained out the improvident Hanno fo farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was eafily gotten; and Hanno cither taken, or flaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the Towne; which presently they made their owne. Thence went Scipio to \* Lib.5. cap.2. Vtica, a Citie of great importance, \* of which mention hath beene formerly made; and fate downe before it. Fortie daies hee spent about it : affailing it both by Land and Sea, and vling all his engines of batterie whereof hee had plentie; yet was in no likelihood of prenailing. And now the Sommer was quite spent: so that it was time 50 for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-campe; which must bee well stored against the yeare following. Whilest thus necessitie vrged him to leave Vica: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there : Astrobal and Syphax gave him the honour

of a faire pretence to leave the fiege. Afdrubal had made a Levie of thirtie thoufand foot, and three thousand horse; yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Armic to draw neare vnto the Romans, beforethe comming of Syphax. Syphax brought with him vnto Carthage fiftie thouland foot, and ten thouland horse; which joyning vnto the forces of Aldrabal, they marched brauely toward Scipio; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the bankes of an Inler, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed your lower ground on the other shore in the bottome of the Creeke he mored his ships: and there hee quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the fleet. The whole Campe he firongly fortified; and fo attended the feafon of the yeare; when it should serve him agains to fight. Of captails and other bootie Masanilla had brought in great store; by driving the Countrie, before the comming of Afdrubal and Syphax. Corne also he had gotten some and great store was fent him from Sicil and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was fent from home; or from Sardinia: though scarce enough to serue turne; for that it was a matter of more cost, The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with Captines, to bee fold for flanes. Afdrubal and Syphax encamped near vnto Scipio vnot fo ftrongly fortifying themselues. as did the Romans; either for that they wanted the feuere inflitution, which the Romans yled in discipline of Warre; or for that they presumed upon their muleitude, against which they found in Scipio no disposition to iffue foith of his strength, and

CHAP. 2. S.18. of the Historie of the World.

fight. So the Winter passed without action When Spring drew neare; Scipio thought it good to affay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps he might bee wonne by perswasions to for sake the Carthaginians. It was confidered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that Syphax had given proofe before this of his much lenitie. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe; and being peraduenture no lesse wearie with satietie of his wife, who 20 had caused him to enter into this warre : Hee might bee moved with a little entreatie, to with-draw himselfe homeinto his Kingdome, and rest a Neuter. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honored in the Citic of Carthage, which was neare at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himfelfe a while : his wife Queene Sophonisba lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. How socuer it were, Syphax did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That Hannibal should be recalled out of Italie by the Carthaginians: and that the Romans in like fort should quietly depart out of Africk; and so make an end of the Warre, wherewith now both Africk and Europe were disquieted. Vnto this would not Scipio at the first give care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from Syphax, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadours: He beganne to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their Campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins, and coucred with boughes; and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with Syphax, vsed couerings of Mats and Reedes; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelefly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement hee bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to fet their camps on fire; and thereby give them so a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, Hee foresaw that it would be a worke of great difficultie for him, to proceede in his warres when time should serve. It was a plaine open Gountrie wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse, which, vpon such ground, could not be relisted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought

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vpon the matter : the more needfull he found it for himfelfe, to make some sudden attempt vpontheir Campe. To this end hee fent many Embaffadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeede of purpole to discouer all that might concerne the intended furprife. With these Embassadours he sent, as Attendants. many old Souldiers disguised like slaves; that wandring (as it were ) idlely vo and downe the Campe, might observe the waies and entrances, with whatsoever else was needfull. When hee had learned as much as hee defired; you the fudden hee fent word to Syphax, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, for a fruich as he could not get the confent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the 10 end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deligne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: Adrubal and Syphax were very penfine; as having lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better: they beganne to denife by what arte they might draw Scipie out of his campe; and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe; they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refufall of peace, as did M. Atilian after the like prefumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches; what elfe remained than to beliege him? which they themselves were well able to doe by Land; and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was making readie for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves: 20 recompencing in conceipt the loffe of their hopes palt, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed : for that, confulting about the future, they provided not against present danger; but continued in the fame nealigence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipio, Hee was not idle; but made preparation out of hand; as it were to doe fomewhat against Vica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made readje; and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon hee lay against Ptics before. This he did, partly to keepe fecret that which he had in hand, left being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemie might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of Vica from setting vpon the few, that hee purposed to leave behinde him in 20 his campe. He caused his men that night to suppe well and betimes; that they might be readic for the journie. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, vnto the defence of his Campe; all the rest of his Armie he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The Carthaginians lay from him feuen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vindertake himselfe with the one halfe of his armie; the other halfe he committed vnto Lalius and Mafaniffa, whom hee fent before him to fet vpon the Campe of Syphax, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of Syphax should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might feeme to have taken hold by casualtie vpon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of Afdrubal, it would bee suspe- 40 Etcdas the doing of enemies; and give Syphax warning to looke ynto himselfe. To this end therefore Scipio marched faire vnd foftly: that Lalius and Malanilla, who had a longer journie, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discougred, might have time to get before him, and doe their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the campe of Syphax beganne to blaze : which not only the Numidians, but their King himfelfe, imputed vnto casualtie; as thinking themselues safe enough from Enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, fome, flarting halfe afleepe; and others, that had fitten vp late at drinking; ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire: But fuch was the tumult, that they neither could 50 rightly understand in what case they were; nor give remedie to the mischance, as it was supposed. Many were smothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater : many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the fudden mischiefe. were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped

the fire, fell ypon the Enemies fword, which was readic to receive them. Especially Malanilla, that best knew the Countrie, did great execution your them; having laid all the waies, by which he foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The Carthagimians perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance. fo that some range out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying only what would ferue to quench the fire. Others ranne up to the Rampart : where, feareleffe of any danger towards themselves, they flood beholding the greatnesse of the slame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell outright as Scipio would have it. Hee therefore loft no time; but fetting vpon those that were running towards the Numidians. no he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their campe; which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of Syphax. Aldrubal feeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not fland to make reliftance, but shifted only for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his borse about him. If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine faction, had beene taken in fuch a manner; it is more than probable, that old Hanno would have judged him worthie to be crucified. It would then have been faid. That with leffe than one halfe of thirtie thousand men, bee might at least hance given some bad recompence, to them that were taking paines in kindling these fires. had he not beene only carefull how to fauchis owne fearefull head. Neuertheleffe Politius acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have beene true, That if Adrubal, Except Pol or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the camb was 116-14. once on fire : He should not thereby have done any manner of good; because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not neede to tell what a searcfull thing it was, to heare the cries of fo many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold. the cruell frame that confumed them; which (as Polybius affirmes) none that hath being is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied A/drubal and Syphax in their severall waies of flight. Befides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that saved themselues in the darke : but they were not many; as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes have beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away; and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore Linie, who in

two Campes. Aldrubal, putting himselfe into the next Towns that was very strongly fortified; thought there to finde the Romans worke, vntill the Carthaginians at good lei-40 fure might repaire their Armie. He had with him no more than two thousand foot. and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to veeld. Vnto this disputation, hee well foresaw that the arrivall of Scipio would soone sine an end. Wherefore, left they should lay hold vpon him, and seeke the Victors fanour by delivering him vp; Heeshrunke away betimes, and made all haste to Carthage. As for the Towne, which hee left; it opened the gates to Scipio, at his first comming : and thereby preferued it felfe from all manner of losse. The two next Townes adjoyning would needes bee valiant, and make countenance of warre : but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by Scipio; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This done, hee returned to the siege

the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow Polybius: may seeme to

haue followed some leffe worthie Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in ca-

fling up the fumme. For hee reckons only two thousand foot, and fine hundred

horse, to haueescaped; fortie thousand to haue perished by sword or fire; and

aboue fixe thouland to have beene taken prisoners: the whole number of all which

together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these

The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as they had good reason; when, in stead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for they heard newes of fuch a lamentable

lamentable ouerthrow. Necessitic enforced them to make hastic provision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them faw any meanes. Some gane aduice to craue peace of Scipio: others, to fend for Hannibal out of Italie; but the most, and they which finally preuailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Armie, they might well defend themselues against the Romans, by raising new forces: especially, if Syphax would not leave them. It was therefore concluded. That they should bend all their care this way: leuving in all haste another Armie; and Sending Embaffadours to deale with Syphax, who lay then at a Towne called Abba. not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately the same their infortunate Commander, Astrubal the sonne of Gisco, was imploied to make new leuies of men: 10 and Queene Sophonisba went forth with Embassadors to her husband Syphax; who having gathered together as many as he could, of his subjects that had escaped from the late flaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. Sophonishalaboured fo with her husband, that at length shee wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand Spaniards, waged by the Carthaginians, were brought ouer to ferue in Africk. Of these were made such braue reports: as if their courage, and the armes which they vied, were not to be relifted. Euen the multitude within Carthage beleeved these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, fince in one Age, the whole Countrie of Spaine had beene twice conquered, first, by the Carthaginians themselves, and after by the 20 Romans. But with Syphax these tales prevailed much: which the Carthaginian Embaffadours helped with a lie; faying, that there were come ten thousand of these terrible Spaniards. Vpon this confidence, the people of Carthage and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirtie daies they made up an Armie consisting wellneare of thirtie thousand men; reckoning the Spaniards, and Syphase with his Wumidians, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called the great fields, about fine daies journie from Vtica. Scipio hearing of this, came from Vtica thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Armie: to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish; without any great thing done. It had now beene time for Asarba, to follow the example of the Roman, Fabius; and seeketo wearie out the Enemie by delaies. But either (which is likely) hee was a farre worfe Commander; or elfe it was not in his power, to give fuch directions as best pleased himfelfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the Romans were marshalled by Scipio after their wonted manner; having their Italian horse in the right wing; and Masanisa with his Numidians in the left. On the contrarie fide. Aldrubal and his Carthaginians had the right wing; Syphax, the left; and the Spaniards, the Battaile. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of Syphan and Astrubal, could not fultaine the first charge of the Italians, or of Mafanissia. Only the Spaniards fought a long time, even till they were all in a manner flaine : rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercie, since they were thus come ouer to fight against Scipio, who had otherwise deserved of them; than you any likelihood or conceit of victorie. This their obstinacie was beneficiall vnto those that fled; for that it hindered the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby Afdrubal and Syphax escaped: Afdrubal, to Carthage; and Syphax home, to his owne Kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastrie of the field, tooke counsaile about the profecution of the Warre. It was refolued vpon as the best course, That hee himselfe, with part of the Armie, I hould attempt the Cities round about him and that Ma-josmista, with his Namidians, and Lalue, with some of the Roman Legions, should follow after Sphax; nor permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice it seemes that Chassis and analysis who knew best the qualitie of the Namidians;

and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victorie. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdome, vsurped by Syphax : which to accomplish, it no leffe concerned the Romans at the prefent, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded . Lelius was sent away with Ma-Canilla : and Scipio Staied behinde ; carrying the warre from Towne to Towne Many places yeelded for feare: many were taken by force: and all the subjects of Carthere wayered in their fidelitie; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those wireasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid voon them, for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italie. What to doe in this cafe the Carthaginians could hardly refolue. Fortune was their Enemie: they had loft their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or monie; who neuerthelesse of their owne free will were likely to give little helpe. Very much it grieved them, to fend for Hannibal out of Italie: yet lince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Armie; it was decreed, that Embassadours should bee forthwith fent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to fet out a fleet against that of Scipio; that rode before Vtica, weakely manned, and calle to be taken, whilst Scipio himselfe was busied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the Citie of Carthage: vpon the fafetie whereof they faid that all depended; adding, that whilest they were true, and at vnitic among themselves, they might well enough sublist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counfailes were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all thinges concerning defence of the Citie, and for the attempt you the Roman fleet at Vtica. Neuertheleffe it was confidered, that hereby they should only protract the warre: without any way aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victorie: no. though it should fall out, that all the ships at Vtica might bee taken or destroyed. Wherfore the determination held concerning Hannibal, That he should immediately come ouer into Africk, asthelast refuge of Carthage. The Councell was no fooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed : fome, to fortification of the Towne : fome, to make readie the Fleet: and some appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for Italie. In this their trepidation Scipio comes to Tunes; a Citie in those daies very strong; and standing in prospect almost of every part of Carthage. This place, or rather some defencible peece adjoyning, He eafily tooke; the Garrison forsaking it, and running away, as foone as he drew neare. But whilest hee was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the Citie: He might perceiue the Carthaginian fleet setting forth, and making towards Plica: What this meant, he readily conceived: and flood in great feare, left his owne ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea fight (as being to heavily loden with engines of batterie, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most conucnient for assaulting the Towne) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall service. Wherefore hee halted away towards visal, to affilt with his presence in this needfull ease. It fell our well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great bootie which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Times. For had not he now made great expedition, hee should have come too late. Neither could he indeede hane beene there in due time; if the Carthagi mians had vsed such diligence, as was convenient. Burthey rested one night in harbour by the way : and at their comming to Vica, they tarfied awhile to make a brauado : presenting themselves in order of battaile, as if the Romans would have put forth to Sea against them. But Scipio had no such intent : He thought it would bee fufficient, if he could preferre his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their brauerie at Sea: it should little availe the Carthaginians; if they got nothing by it, and lost their

whole Effate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his thips of burden; and, hillning them

together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge ouer

the Channell of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thouland of his choice men, with flore of Darts and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces hee left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessells, might runne out and back againe vpon any advantage or neede: but these he coursed with plankes; vsing the masts and vards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it felfe not be torne afunder. Scarce was this worke finished; when the Carthaginians, seeing none issue forth against them came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the Romans, that were in the Hulkes, was rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that flood vpon the bridge, had fure footing, and threw their weapons downwards with their 10 whole strength and violence; which the Carthaginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnsteadie, could not doe. But the Roman Frigots and long Boats, aduenturing forth from behinde the Bridge, were greatly ouer-borne by the force of the Gallies: and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them; nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends. that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them grapling hookes, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw your themasts and yards which served as Arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all afunder; in fuch fort that one ship followed another, and 20 all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way than to faue themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselues any further in this laborious worke; but having haled away fixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to Carthage. Their well-come was greater than their victorie; because among so many grieuous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well; though it were of small importance.

Whileft things thus passed about Carthage; Lelius and Masanista, in their journie against Syphax, found as good successes could be defired. The same of the victories alreadie gotten, restored Masanisa to his Kingdome, without further contention: 20 the Masasyli, his subjects, joyfully receiping him; and for saking the Vsurper, But here they staied not : neither indeede would Syphax permit them to be quiet. Hee had fuch abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past; and, therefore being follicited by Afdribal and Sophonisba, hee prepared agains for warre. But belied the infligation of his beloued wife; the loffe of the Mafafylis would let him take no rest : neither was it the purpose of Lalius and Masanissa, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leffe vnwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, bee the title vnto fome part neuer fo vnjust. Hercunto alludes the fable of the yong Kite: which thought that shee had vomited up her owne guts; when it was only the garbage of fome other fowle, that shee had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, Syphax, like the yong Kite, beleeved the Kingdome of the Mafafyli to be part of his entrailes: Lalius and Mafaniffa will shortly give him somwhat, that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesse (if it might be) that King: whose salse and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmitie; as also to fet in his place another, who might doe them fuch good offices, as Syphax had lately done vnto the Carthaginians. How easily this might be effected, Masanissa knew best: as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many firong Townes, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with Syphax: who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman order; according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman

Centurion, long agoe fent vnto him out of Spaine from Cn. Scipio. But though hee could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiously. They were a rabble of all forts, gathered vp in hast; and few of them had seene the warre before. Encamping neare vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troupes of Horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: fo that at length Syphax, vnwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemie, came vp with all his Horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith ouercharged Masanisa, whose numbers were farre leffe. But whileft he was profecuting his hope of victorie : fome Roman Squadrons of Foot came against him through their owne Troupes of Horse; which fell to the fides, and made a lane for them. So their Battaile standing now more firme, than a little before; Syphax was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine to make them give ground. Masanissalikewise, and his Troupes, grew confident vpon this afsistance: and charging affesh the Enemic, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified fo the Numidian Horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would Syphan have flaved them from flight; and to that end made head in person against the Romans; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out vnhappily, that he was cast from his Horse, which received a wound; and so taken prisoner. Of others that were flaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It fufficed, that they for sooke the place, and fled : and that their King, vpon whom all depended was in the Romans hand. Masanissa told Lelius, That this victoric should make an end of the Numidian war, if presently they hasted away to Cirta the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; whither hee himselse desired to be sent before with the Horse, carrying Syphax along with him. Hercunto Lalius agreed. Masanissa comming to Cirta, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the Citie to parlee; wherein by many faire promifes and threats, but especially by shewing vntothem Syphax bound, he prevailed so far that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him ; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reft, Queene Sophonisha yeelded her selfe into his hands : and vehemently befought him, that the might not be deliucred vp vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beautic, so commended her suit, that Masamilla forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that verieday: thereby to prevent Lalius and Scipio from determining otherwise of her, fince the was his wife. But Lalin, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainoufly; fo that at first he would have haled her away, together with Syphax and other prisoners, and have sent her vnto Scipio. But being over-entreated by Malanisa. hee fuffered the matter to rest awhile as he found it, and referred all to Scipio's discretion: to whom he fent away Syphax and other Captines immediatly; following shortly after himselfe with Masanissa, when they had done what was needefull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of Syphax there was great ioy in the Roman Campe: the mightie Armies which he had lately brought into the field: and his entertainment of Stipio and Afaribad, both at one time, when Roma and Caribage together fought his friendfhip: with fuch other commemoration of his paft and pefent fortune; ministring to enery one a large argument of discourse. Stipio demanded of him, what had moued him, not only to for sake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon them, unpromoked. He briefely answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe: calling her a Furic, and a pession where daying, That Malamissan owifer than himselfe; since he had now taken the same woman to his wise, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat Stipio was greatly troubled: and

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but fince they who had power to hinder him of his defire, would not yeeld thereto. he fent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling aliue into the handes of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to takeorder for her felfe.

As the receit of this Meffage and Present, shee onely faid, That if her Husband had no better token to fend vnto his new wife, thee multaccept of this; adding. That flee might have died more honourably, if shee had not wedded so late, lybefore her Funerall. And herewithal! thee boldly dranke off the poifon. Thus Linic reports it. But Appian varies from this; and lets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene fpeten before, concerning the pracontract betweene Malanilla and Sophonisha. Hee faith, That after the taking of Syphan, Embaffadors from Cirta met with Lalius and Mafeniffavoon their way thither, yeelding vp their Citic, and the Kings Palace : and that Soy banisba, for her owne private, fent meffengers to excuseber marringe with syphax; as made against her will, by compulsion of those in 30 whose power the was. Masariffs readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when Seizio had received information from Syphax, how cunning in per-Iwalion Sophonishs was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage: he fell out about her with Mafasiffa at his returne; and challenged her, as a part of the bootie belonging to the Romans. Malaniffa faid, thee was his owne wife, and vnte him betrotacd textry yeares before. But Scipio would not heare of this: or if it yere true; yet he faid it was no reason, that Mesaniffa should keepe her in posfession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime vnto her; wherein he hould have no wrong. Herewithall hee fent to fetch her away: 40 and Maferuffa coon apanies the metiongers, as it were to deliver her; but making her acquainted with the necessatio, gaue voto her a cup of poison, wherewith shee ended her life, before they came that faculd have apprehended her. So he lifewed unto the Raman her dead bodie; which her syally enterred. The fudden violence of Mafanifa his love, and the readic confent of Sophanisha to marrie with him : adde not formuch credit vato this relation of Applem; as doth the want of all other cuident cause (which \* Linie notes) of the sudden felling out betweene him and the Carthaginians; under whom he had bin trained up, or don them great feruice. Howfocuer it were : Saiplo, hearing of this tragicall accident, fent for Mafanissa, and comforted him as well as he could ; left his melancholic should lead him to some inconuenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Armie: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had descrued of the Citie of Rome, he proclaimed him King; and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the readie way, to direct histhoughts from the fadde remembrance of that which was past, who the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that beganne to imile voon him.

This was the first time that the Romans tooke vpon them to create or proclaime a King, Which honour though Masanisa well descrued : yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should be baue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recourred possession of his Countrie, together with the greatest part of Syphax his Dominions. It seemes not valikele that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselse with his Troupe of Horse, in such fort as hee did before the comming of the Romans; hee might neuerthelelle hauerecouered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne fubicets, without other helpe, when Syphan had once or twice been evan quilhed. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than hee deserved : neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numisia for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunitie, than of such a man, vpon whom to beflow it, that was their affured friend, and paffable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masassyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberalitie of the Romans, was noyfed abroad as verie glorious: and the Ro-20 mans them clues, in a politicke fort of graulitic, tooke highly upon them; as if even their falluting him by the name of King, had beene a matter of great confequence. Hee thriued indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mightie in times following encroaching vpon his neighbours on all fides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that Vermina the sonne of Syphax (of whom wee shall shortly speake more) which held some peece of his Fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were fo, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of fuit: yet the Roman Senate was puntilious herein; and answered very grauely, That 30 it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, faue onely vnto such Kings, as had greatly descrued of their Gitie. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in procelle of time grew fo proud of this their imaginarie prærogative, that they imputed as a fingular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the fa-Intuition by b that name; though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or his. profit thence redounding.

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## à. XIX. The Carthaginians desire Truce: and breake it.

He Carthaginians were extremely difinaicd, when they heard of the great calamitic, that was befaine their good friend Syphax; and vnderflood that Masanissa, their mortallenemie, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their scare, Scapio returned againe to Tunes in view of their Citie: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begunne at his last being there. The Carthaginians had neither forces, nor courage, to withfland him: but their hearts fo failed them, that they fent forth vnto him thirtie Embassadors, Princes of the Citic, which were their 50 Privic Councell, to make fuit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of Printe Counceil, to make interior peace. There being admit the feet of him, Except Peace, Scipio, did not only proftrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the feet of him, Million & Line. and of those that sate in Councell with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They con-Bbbbbb 2

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fessed themselues to have vniustly broken the Peace between them and Rome; and

to have deserved what soever punishment it should please the Romans to inflict yp-

on them. Yet they humbly befought Scipio and the rest, that, in common regard of

those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would show mercie vnto the

Citie of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a Monument of their elemencie; which, by

the follie of her Citizens, had now twice deferred to be overthrowne. Herewithall

they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon Hannibal: who without their appoint-

ment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, with-

out the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadors were no Barchines: but rather, that they were Hanno and the choice of his companie; 10

who had now their long defired worke in hand, of fuing vnto the Romans for peace.

Whatfocuer they were, it must needes be that they were most infolent men ouer

those that were subject vnto their power; for they would not have made such ado-

ration vnto the Romans, in their owne necessitie; vnlesse they themselves had expe-

It was not vnknowne to Scipio, or to his assistants, in what poore case the Citie of

Rome then was; and how vnable to defraie the charges of continuing the warre.

Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in

fuch ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately been. For they had monie e-

and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and therefore

distrusted the walls of Carthage; though Viica, a weaker Citie, had all this while held

out against Scipio, and could not yet be forced by him and his Armie, though so of-

ten victorious in the field. Scipio therefore accepted their fubmiffion, and told them That though he came into Africk, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace: yet having

the Conquest as it were in his hand, hee would not denie to grant them the Peace,

which they defired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of

Rome did follow the rule of justice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The

conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these: That they should render vp vnto him all prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and fugitive slaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italie and Gaule: That

they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland between Italie & Africk: That

they should deliuer up all their ships of warre, saue twentie; and T hat they should

pay a great summe of monie, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barlie. To consider of these Articles, hee gaue them three dayes : and when they

had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might fend Embaffadours vnto

warre had beene alreadie at an end. Syphax was a little before fent with Lelius vnto

the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples

were let open, and an holy day appointed for thank fgining and supplication to their

Gods. Lalius was accompanied with Embassadors from King Masanista: who gra-

tulating the happie successe of the Romans in their African Warre, and giving thanks

vnto the Senate for the benefits done by Scipio vnto their Master, made request for

the Numidians, fuch as were now his subjects and prisoners in Rome, that they might

be bestowed vpon him; who by rendring them to libertie, should doe an act verie

plaulible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his

reigne. The Roman Senate were not behinde with Majaniffa in complement : but

doe for him; they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were cap-

tiues; and fent him two purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button;

with fuch other Presents, as in time of their pouerty might serue to testific their good

fhewing themselues to be highly pleased with all that Scipio had done, and should 50

This done, Masanissa was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the

Nome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy; and gaue hope, that

nough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre flronger than Rome; 20

Eted the like, where they had the advantage.

the Roman Senate.

will. Scarcely were these and Lelius gone from Rome; when the newes came, that Embaffadours from Carthage were arrived to desire peace. These Embaffadours were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without : vntill Lalius being Ent for, came backe from ofia, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bellona; that flood in the fuburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was Peace: but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was onely to winne time, and get respite from warre; vntill Hannibal and Mago should come out of Italia, either to chace the Romans out of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by terror of their great names and Armies, vpon more calleconoditions. Wherefore they made an idle difcourfe of the League, that was concluded betweene them and Luctatius Catulus, at the end of the former warre. This League they faid, all things well confidered, did ftill remaine in force: neither had there fince beene any warre at all, betweenerhe people of Rome and the Carthaginians. For it was onely Hannibal, that, without any leave from Carthage, had of his owne head belieged and razed the Towne of Saguntum: and after that aduentured in like fort, without Commission, to palle the Apes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italie. This being fo: their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of made in the time of Catulus, might hereafter stand in sorce; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doc. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale; hearing thefe Embaffadours make (as it were) a jeft of a warre, that had beene fo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by Luttatius, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselues by their age: (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gain etime; untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in companie of Lalius; without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answere. This not with flanding, we find in Palyhius, That the Senate receiving advertisment Except Paylo from Scipio, of that which had passed betweene him and the Carthaginians in this his.

30 Treatie of peace, approved the conditions by him propounded; and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceede vitto conclusion. This may with good reason be beleeued: fince it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battaile betweene Hannibal and Scipio wherein if fortune strould be auerse to them, their forces in Africk were

no better than quite loft.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the Carthaginian Embassadours came backe from e Rome: a Flect out of Sicil, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirtie Gallies, being bound for Africk to victualle the Roman Campe, was ouertaken by foule weather at Sea 3 and hardly escaping wracke, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in Appian, and may gather App debello out of Polybius, a great dearth of victuails in Carthage: which caused the people to panie. crie out vpon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a bootic escape them; faying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedie desires: the multitude in Carthage vnderstood (as it seemes) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than meere mockerie; and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant descrit in the whole. It was Exemplify Public the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the Rascalitie, together with  $L_{15}$ . 50 women and boyes, to be medling in vprores: the clamours of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent, than of the men. Wherefore it is no matualle, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under Afdrubal, to gather up the dispersed Roman ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, reconcred the flation whereto their Campe adioyned) and

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bring them into Carthage: which was done. Scipio was hereat much offended: not only for the loife, and for that the Towne was thereby relected; but for that by this breach of truce, he forefaw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war. and put him to more trouble. Where for chee fent Embassadours vnto them; both to require fatisfaction for the injurie done; and to deterre them from entertaining anic other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the Carthaginians to understand, That Letters were come from Rome unto Scipio, with allowance to conclude the peace; vpon those conditions which hee had propounded. But (faid they) we hold it ftrange, That yee, who fo lately have cast your felnes to the ground before vs, and kiffed our feet, after an unufuall manner of humilitie, confessing your 10 Jelues to have perfidiously broken the league that was betweene ws, and thereby to have deferned such punishment as is due wato Rebels; should so some forget what yee then wittered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which yee acknowledged your selies worthic to be destroyed, having only recourse onto our mercie. We are not ignorant, that it is the confilence which ye repose in HANNIBAL that thus emboldens you. Tet were it not amisse. that yee should consider, how long he hath beene pent up in a corner of Italie, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner befreged, and unable to flire: fo that yee are like to finde his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Africke. and readie to give vs battaile yet should it well agree with your wildome, to doubt what might befall, remembring that he is aman, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were 20 ouercome, what refuge have yeleft onto your felues against hereafter ? What gods will yee eyther sweare by to bee beleened, or call upon in jour miserie? What wordes, and lamentable gesture willyee henceforth wife , to move compassion? Surely yee have alreadie wafled all your forces of personssion, and shall not againe deceine vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at the present ye are capable. It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angric, when they heard themselues upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his Faction, to grarific the Romans with all manner of fubmiffion; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all instification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that 30 the Roman Embassadours were verie much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians tooke this in foill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the furic of the multitude was in some sort appeased; eyther by Hanno, whom Appian (I know not why) cals Hanno the great; or by the verie reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed infriendly fort; though it were without answere to their Proposition. There were also two Gallies appointed for their safe Convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their persons. Asarubal was then in the mid-way; as men sailed from 40 Carthage towards Viica. Hee, whether onely desirous to please the Multitude, of whose disposition he was informed; or whether directed by publike order, to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River Bagradas. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good Voyage; and so tooke leave of them, as if they had been ethen in safetie; fince the Roman Campe was even in fight. The Embaffadours tooke this in ill part : not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselues too much neglected, for a fmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Ashrubal fell vpon them in such manner, as they might well discerne his purpose; which was, to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of Afdrubal; they flipt away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chace; and had well neare surprised them. But they discouered some

Roman Companies on the shore over against them, and therefore adventured to run their vessell aground: whereby they faued their owne lives; though a great part of their companie were slaine, or hurt. This practife of the Carthagmians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to stude nothing else, than how to get the victoric; as a having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fare, which had caused them, to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better adulted, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie: had they not been egiven to vnderstand, that Hamnbal was alreadie landed in Africk, in whom they reposed no small considence; but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that Session in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

. XX.

In what fort HANNIBAL spent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of Maco in Italie. HANNIBAL and MACO called out of Italie.

How the Romans were diversly affected by HANNIBALS departure.

Ver fince the losse of that battaile at Metaurus, Hunnibal remained in the Countrey of the Brutians; waiting for another supplies from Carthage. The Reman Consuls that succeeded vnto Claudius and Linius, by whom Astrubal was outerome and flaine, were contented to bee ought worthie of remembrance against Hunnibal. Seing bindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. Sempronius the Colleast the Colleast of Consultation of the Miller Capio, who followed Sempronius, were carnelly bear to haue done som what: but their diligence was in a manner fruitesse. In some skirmisse with Hunnibal, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth, shis care being more to preserve his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weake.

The Romans had at this time to manie great pieces of worke in hand, that their chiefe enemie was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent yop a Africk, wherein they were at no final charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) thould bring the warre to a floort and happie conclution. They flood neuertheleffe in much feare of Assag, the brother of Hannibal: who 40 tooke exceeding paine among the Ligarians and Gaules to raife an Armie, wherein to kindle anew the warre in Italie, that beganne to waxe colde. Mago folicited alfo the Hetrarians; and found them foreadie to fittre in his behalfe, that if he could have entred their Country fitrong, it might haue proued no lefte needful for Scipio to return home out of Africk, than thortly it was for Hannibal, to make speed vinco the defence of Caribage. These dangers caused the Romans to employ one of their Confuls or Proconfuls, with an Armie, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligarians: storasmother as was vincertaine, ypon which side Mago would breakeout. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to our charge Hannibal with any great power.

As for Mago, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrie of the Infubrians, which is about Milas, with M. Cornelius the Roman Proconsul, and P. Quintilius Varus one of the Prætors. With these he sought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selle worthie of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The sight continued along while doubt-

fulls in fuch fort that the Roman Commanders beganne to distrust the iffue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prator, taking vnto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to peeces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout; and frained themselves hards as if at that brunt the victorie should have beene carried before them But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beafts being fitter for such vie, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent. and braving of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were feattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to mannage them. Hereby the Numidians got advantage upon them : whole manner of fight was more availeable against those that were loose, than against the Troups that were close and thick. 10 Then felthe Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest ro gine backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemie; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make relistance, they held their ground. The Proconful therefore brought vo those forces, which he had kept vnto the laft, to fuccour where need should most require. Against these Mago employed some of his Gaules, whom hee had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were some beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare upon all the rest. When Mago faw that his men beganne to shrinke , Hee put himselfe in the head of his 20 Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length he received a grewous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men; the rest of them, after little further resiflance, prouided every one for him felfe: So the Romans obtained victoric, not without areat cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loffe of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dved of the Proconfuls Legions; also besides divers Colonells, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hote peece of service. Neyther were there any prisoners taken ; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, be- 20 fore they had recoursed some ground that might affure them from pursuit. How cuer it were, this victorie would have much imported for the affurance of Italie, if the State of Carthage could longer have permitted these valiant sonnes of Amilear to abide therein. But Mago with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embaffadours from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to vinderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was. That both hee and Hannibal should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italie, since Carthage it selfe was readie to bee loft. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued shortly his Armic; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards,

About the same time Hannibal received the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were readie to burst out, whilest the
Embassadours were delivering their errand. When their message was done; Hee
Embassadours were delivering their errand. When their message was done; Hee
told them, That this was yet plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid mee
come home, hunelong agoe done their best to hade mee ut of Italics, though more closely and
crookedy they went to worke, by slepping the sapps, that should have enabled mee to manmage the Ware here. So I wo to herefore fall not need to brages, that hee hash drawne
me home by the heelessit is HANNO, that hath wrought this noble fest, and our whetmed
the Hasle of the Eurobines, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the ruine of Cartage. He had before prepared a Flect in readines (le, doubting that, which after came
to passes when the embarqued, besides his ownemen, as many of the Italians, as
were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunke backe
from him, and refused to doe feruice in this Expedition; of whom site, has hee could

take he flew; not sparing those that sted into the Temple of Iumo Lacmia, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuarie vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italie no less passificante, than men are wont to bee, when they leaue their owne Countries to goeinto exile. Hee looked backe wnto the shore: accussing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse; in that he had not led his Armie from Canne, botte and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of Rome. With such vastion of spirit Hee quitted the possession of Italie 5 wherein he had lived almost halfe his time.

If it could have been foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this war, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of Hannibathis departure out of Italie: they would (I thinke) leffe carnefly have preffed the Carthaginians to fend him over thither. When fure advertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that Hannibal was gone with all his Armie; an Holiday was appointed for thankfgining vnto their gods; & extraordinarie great facrifices publikely made, for joy of fuch happie tidings. Yet old Q. Fabius was of opinion. That the danger did ftill remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that Hannibal, at his comming into Africk, would finde P. Scipio other manner of worke, than he had beene troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Countrie, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the warre from their owne dores, and the conceit of that victorie for which they hoped; was enough to make them prefume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the Saguntine Embaffadors brought vato them a great maffe of Golde and Silver, together with fome Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spaine: onely the Carthaginian prifoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred backe vnto the Saguntines that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had beene borrowed in time of more necessitie from primate men. Hence also proceeded the seuere chastisement, laid vpon those twelve Colonies, that for want cytherof meanes, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the 20 Romans. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had beene wont to fet out for the warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the verie most of their abilitie. So consident were the Romans growne (though their wealth were not as yet futeable to the greatnesse of their spirit) upon the good successe of the Battaile at Metaurus; and the hopes which they reposed in Scipio. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof Italie had beene few dayes fince discharged, was landed fafe in Africk: they began to revolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest Q. Fabius (who died about the fame time) would bee found a true Prophet. For be-40 thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against Syphax and Afdrubal no specialtie of such great worth, as might promife the like fuccesse against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The Numidian King had beene wont to bring into the field a rafcall multitude of halfe fcullions, that were good for nothing; being himfelfe a fit Captaine for fuch fouldiors. Likewife Afdrubal, the fonne of Gifeo, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthan ginian Senate, but otherwise one, that in the field was onely good at saving himfelfe by a fwift retrait. But now there came an Armie, of men hardened from their child-hood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in Roman bloud. 50 and wearing the spoiles not onely of good fouldiors, but of braue Captaines, by them flaine. Such talke vied the people of Rome, faying, That Scipio was like to meet in battaile, with many that had flaine Roman Prætors, yea and Confuls, with their owne hands, with many, that had beene first in getting over the Trenches of seucrall Roman Campes, or in winning the tops of wals at the feige of Townes, breifly,

10

praying

that he should now bee opposed by an Armie, as good as had cuer served in warre. and following the dreadfull Name of Hannibal.

#### d. XXI.

HANNIBAL in Africke prepares to fight with SCIPIO: treates with him about peace in vaine; loofeth a battaile at Nadagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to (ne for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.



ANNIBAL difembarqued his Armic at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of Mercurie, and fomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, fomewhat farre from the Ene-

mie; that he might furnish himselfe with this and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battaile. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the in-land Countrie; gathering friends vnto him by the way. Tychaus a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of Syphax, was faid to have in those dayes the best Horfes of service, that were to be found in Africk, Him therefore did Hannibal allure vnto his partie: making him understand, that if the Romans got the victorie, it should bee easie for Masaniss, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as manie other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This Argument, and the fame of him that vied it, prevailed with Tychau, who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. Appear further addes, That Mezetullus. (the fame who had made himfelfe Protectour over Mafaniffa his Cofens; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the Numidian Kings of that race) brought vnto Elamibal another thousand Horse: as likewise that Vermina the some of Syphax, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assail the places that yeelded obedience to Mafanissa. This Vermina, as we finde in Liuie, came with more than fixteene thousand men (for he lost more than so manie) to succour Hannibal when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in fuch hard effate, or (at least) so impatient of the flate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leifure of those preparations, which would have made the victorie affured. When they confidered the worth of Hannibal, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke. that they had beene so base, as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for Peace; whileft they had fuch a brane Champion aline, to maintaine their cause by warre. But when they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimitie to endure them, appeared greater than indeede they were: then cried they out earneftly, that it was no time to linger, but prefently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, eyther good or bad. And to this purpole, they lent their Mandatesto Hannibal: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answere, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since hee was General of their forces, He thought it resonable, that they should suffer him to doc as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuerthelesse, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his 52 Embaffadours: and the newes of Hannibal his being landed in Africk; made Scipio to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee fent vnto Masanisa: and informed him of all that was fallen out;

praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse a-part. Ten Reman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masanissa had with him; that were lent vnto him by Scipio, to doe him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his owne forces would little availe him; if Hannibal should drive the Romans out of Africke. Wherefore taking fuch order as he could vpon the fudden, for the fafetic of his owne Kingdome , with foure thousand Horse, and fixethousand Foot, hee made all haft vnto Scipio.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadours 10 that had been at Rome, returned backe under the conduct of Lelius and Fuluius: who brought them safeinto the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themfelues towards the Roman Embassadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answere for such notorious outrage. To cofirme them in this opinion.

M. Babius one of the late Embassadours that had beene in Carthage, being left by Scitio to take charge of the Campe, laid hands upon them, and detained them; fending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Countrie, that he had them in his power, and that now the Cartheginians might bee repaid in their owne Coyne, for the injurie by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to 20 heare of this; and commanded Bebius to vie them with all poffible courtelle, and fend them fafe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caufed them to acknowledge themselves, (which was a great victorie) farre lesse honourable than the Romans. This not withflanding, He made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to facke, withouthearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Towneby affault, to put all that came in their way to the fword, whatfocuer they were, without regard, This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they had to doe, they vied oftentimes to kil the verie Dogges and other Beafts, that ranne Execut. 670. 30 athwart them in the fireets; hewing their bodies a funder, as men delighted in fled 196.116.10.

ding of bloud. This being their practife at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no peece of crueltie, when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indignation, and renengefull mindes, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew. that the Carthaginians were fo earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being encamped at Zama, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discouer where the Romanslay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought vnto Scipie : who in stead of trusfing them vp, gaue them free leave to view his Campe at pleasure; appointing one to conduct them up and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This

done, He gaue them libertie to depart; and fent them away fafe vnto their Generals Hannibal understanding this, admired the brauerie and courage of his Enemie: with whom on the fudden he grew defirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference; and fignified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answere, that Hee would meet him shortly in place convenient. The next day Malaniffs came with his Armie : whom Scipia taking with him removed vnto a Towne called Nadagara; neare vnto which hee fat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely seruchis Campe. Thence he sent word vnto the Carthaginian, That the time and place did fitly serve, if He had ought to say to him. Hannibal thereupon remo-50 ued from Zama, and came within foure miles of the Enemie: where hee cricamped

well to his owe good liking in all things elfe; excepting that his men were driven to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of

Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came vnto a peece of ground; which was before well fearched, for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to fland off : and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while filent. viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian Saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and for Rome, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africk and of Italie; for that the Countries of Sicil and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselues had striuen, were no sufficient recompence for so manie Fleets as had beene lost, and of so much bloud as had beene fhed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not bee recalled: He faid, That it was meet for them to confider, vnto what extreme dangers their owne Gities had beene exposed, by the greedie desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was cuentime for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisedome hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition He affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune both good and cuill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that Scipio, by want of the like experience might rather fixe his mind your vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutabilitie, whereto all humane affaires are subject. Tet (said He) mine owne example may peraduenture suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same HANNIBAL, who after my victoric at Canna wanne the greatest part of Italie: and deuised with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles. as thou half lince brought thine to ours of Carthage : but now, fee the change! I flandhere entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie, I fought with thy Father, Scipio: He was the first of the Roman Generals, that ever met mee in the field. I did then little thinke; that the time would come, that I should have such businesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is even one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof flee hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowes how some? Thinke upon M. ATILIVS If hee would have hearkened unto such 30 perswassons, as I now ofe to thee; he might have returned home to Rome an happie man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saift thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and what soener ilands else are situate betweene Italie and Africk, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left unto the Romans, to beare Dominion therein? Thou shalt have glorie enough by effecting thus much : and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargaine. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth give vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully observe the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too listle; I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazzardthou must undergoe, for the obtaining of a verielittle more, than that which thou maift have without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold upon 40 good Fortune, if it please thee: stay but till to morrow night; and thou must take such fertune, as it shall please the gods. The ssue of battaile is uncertaine, and many times beguileth expettation. Men and steele we shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victorie, neither of ushath assurance. Let us therefore without more a doc. make peace. And doe not tellme, that some false-hearted Crizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I HANNIBAL that now desire peace with thee; which I would never doe, If I thought it not expedient for my Countrie. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintaine it: like as I have maintained unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie mee, the Warre by meebegunne. Hercunto Scipio made answere, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Stell and in Spaine, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall iffue of the Warres had approved, and would approve to be most inst. As for the mutabilitie of Fortune: he faid, that he was not thereofignorant; and that with-

out any note of infolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions of fered. For was it not plaine, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now fo willingly departed, were alreadie wonne from them by the Romans? If, faid Hcc, thefe Conditions had beene propounded whileft as yet yee detained some part of Italie; they might peraduenture not have beene rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit unto you any one peece of those my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have neelded alreadie, and thought meeto deale graciously in being so moderate. Rather I say that the iniuries which they have done me fince, have made them unworthic of obtaining peace woon fo friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, HANNIBAL, though then wouldelt be ogladto makethy Citizensunderstand, from how much of their burden they are by the meanes eafed Onely thou must thinke, that in like fort it concernes me in honour, not to let them bee gainers or fauers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that, befides tho (e offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransome-free all prisoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thousand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliver hoftages for affurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of allthis, by their breach of Truce, their spoiling of our Fleet, and their violating our Emballadours? Not fo. But if they can be contented, befides all this, to make fuch amends as Ishallrequire, for these inturies newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what answere to give you, otherwise, you may even prepare for warre, and blame your 20 owne felues , for that I have denied you peace. Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiors prepare for a battaile, wherein should

be decided the quarrell betweene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable Match, and such as bath very seldome beene found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. Scipio ordered his men. after the Roman manner : placing first the Hastati, divided into their Maniples , or finall Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behind these followed the Principes, likewise divided; and so after them the Triaris. But herein 30 Scipio altered alittle the ordinarie custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his Principes opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the Hastati, that so the Hastati, as was vivall, might fall backe betweene the Principes; but hee placed them directly one behind another, as it were in File. This Hee did because of the Elephants, wherof Hannibal had many. For of those beastes the danger was leffe, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee tooke such order, that when they had paffed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the Principes in Front. Vnto his Velites or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, Hee gaue direction, that when they found themselues ouer-charged, eyther by the Enemies, or (which was most to bee seared by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able. should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behind all their owne Armie, thereby leaving roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behinde, to faue themselues on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the fecond and third Battailes, without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which he defired to kepe open. His *Italian* Horse he placed in the left wing vnder C. Lelius. In the right wing was Mafanissa with his Numidians. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vling words not many, but verie forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieued, fince their comming into Africke. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victorie in this warre, should make them Lords of all the World; for

and their victories in this war better that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrarie, if they were bearen, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home, were bearen, he asked them whither they would fly. They were farre from home yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neyther was there any place in Africk.

Africk, that would giue them shelter; if they fell into the Carthoginian hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most mercilesse Enemies. In such needsley, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have neuer beene knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front of his Battaile. Next behinde these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries, Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares, and Moores. Then followed his Battaile : which was of Carthaginians and Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercinaries; though not fo good fouldiers: but to helpe (ifit might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King Philip. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had served him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to Lalius, in his own right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. Tycheus and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against Masanissa. He was indeede farre too weake for the linemie in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For Tychaus and Mezetullus had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the source thousand of Masanissa. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be levied in the hast of a few daies; and the remainder of those, that 20 had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to flie. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to flay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had Vermina the fonne of Syphax come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with fixteene thousand and vowards, the most of them Horse: the advantage of number might have served wel to supplie all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay : Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian Souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their seuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercinaries bountifull rewards; threatning the Carthaginians with incuitable servitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-fouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had flaughtered at Canna. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipie, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundric battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne 40 Countrie. As for the rest: they were yong men, the sonnes of Cowards, and bred vp in the continual feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slaine or chaced. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day striue to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of men inuincible.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generalls before the fight. When they drew neare together: the Numidian Horsemen on both sides beganne to skirmiss. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and Hamibalcommanded his Elephants to breake you the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an vncertaine kinde of helpe) those that shood neare vnto the point of the less thing, turned backe for seare: and ranne you their owne Numidian Horse which they affrighted and disordered. Massach principles of the Roman Fritter, whom the same variations, and not suffering them to re-allie themselves, draue them quite out of the side of the Roman Fritter, whom

they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselues; which gaue them open way, accordingly as Scipio had well prouided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned : but ranne backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing : against whom they gaue to Lalius the fame advantage, that Mafaniffa had against the Numidians; which he vsed in like fort. In the meane while, the Battels of foote advanced, and drew neere together with a flow and flately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast : at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercinaries for a time secmed both in audacitic, and in quickneffe, to haue the better of the Romans, wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, pregailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell of the Principes, following Comewhat neere after the Hastai, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves readie, if neede were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercinaties received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the newleuied Carthaginians and Africans, when they faw their hired fouldiours give backe, did also themselues retire. This caused the Ligarians, Gaules, and the rest, to thinke themselues betraied: whereupon they inclined vnto slight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way vnto the Mercinaries for their fafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chaced by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedleffe furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercinaries. The Roman Haffate in like fort, fighting with desperate menina throng, had their hands fo full of worke; that the Principes were faine to come vp 20 vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the cares among themselues. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercinaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flie. Such of them as escaped, ran towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or faue these Runne awaies. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would have rushed woon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne afide beyond his Battaile, and faue themselues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romans were now to march, erethey could meete with Hannibal, was couered with fuch thicke heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slippery with bloud : that Scipio began to stand 40 in great doubt, left the orders of his Battalions should be disfoluted in passing that way. In such case, if hee should fight with that warlike Armie, which he saw before him, remayning yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well affured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. He caused therefore the Hastati to make a stand there where they were, opposite vnto the maine battaile of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up his Principes and Triarij : He placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the Haftati, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards Hannibal: who entertayned him after another manner, than euer he had beene received in his life befor e. All the daies worke till now, seemed to have beene onely a matter of passime; in regard of the sharpe 50 Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable souldiours. The Romans were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old souldiours of Hannibal were fresh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with fuch obslinate resolution, that no man gaue backe

one foote; but rather chose to die vpon the ground, whereon he stood. So that, af-

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after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worfe; vnleffe it may feeme. that the Romans were beginning to shrinke; forasmuch as the returne of Malanilla and Lelius from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have beene most happie and in a needfull time. These vpon the sudden charged the Hannibalians in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battaile there dved of the Romans fifteene hundred and vowards on the Carthaginian fide, about twentie thousand, besides as many that were taken; of whom, Sopater Captaine of the Macedonians, was one. The fingular skill that Hanwibal shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by Polybius; and was acknowledged, as Liniereports, by Scipio himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong 10 for him in Horse; and being enjoyned, as hee was, by the state of Carthage to take barraile with fuch disaduantage, he could worke no maruels. He saued himselfe with à few Horse; and staid not in his journie, till he came to Adrumetum. Thence was he fent for to Carthage; from which he had been abfent fixe and thirtie yeares. At his comming into the Senate He faid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians, not knowing what other course to take, resolue to send Embassadours againe; and trie the fanour of Scipio, whose armes they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to Vica: where hee found P. Lentulus newly arrived, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this Fleet, and that which hee had before, Hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpole to terrific the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed vato Cn. Octavius, whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then fending Lelius away to Rome with newes of the victorie, He fet faile from Vica towards Carthage. Hee was encountred on the way by ten Embaffadours from the Citic: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, beganne to vie the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answere, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where He would give them audience. So rowing along before the Citic: and viewing it more in brauerie, than with meaning to attemptit; He returned backe to Ptica, and called backe Oftanius thither, with whom in person Hee set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their journie thither, they heard the newes, that Vermina the sonne of Syphax, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were alreadie vanquished. This Vermina seemes to have beene both carelesse of getting intelligence how things pasfed, and very defective in all other duties requilite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but so compasse him in, that hee hardly escaped himselfe with a few, leaning fifteene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken priloners. If this good companie had beene with Hannibal at Nada 40 gara, they should have beene farre better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian loft, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to bee doubted, that this victorie, thoughit were no great accesse vnto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians. and imprint in them the greater feare of Scipio. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirtic Embassadours from Carthage: whose behaviour though it was more pitifull than it had beene before, yet procured it leffe commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like fort humbled themselves. Neverthelesse it was confidered, what a long and laborious worke it would proue, to beliege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly Scipio stood in great doubt, lest the honor of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and given to 50 one of the Confuls. Cn. Seruilius Capio, that Conful who had charge of the warre against Hannibal, at such time as he departed out of Italie: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicil(as it were in chace of Hannibal by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into Africke, and taken from Scipio the Com-

CHAP.2. \ . 21. of the Historie of the World. mand of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose to restraine the ambition of this Conful Servilius, After him followed Tiberius Claudius, who made fuit for the same Province of Africk and was therein so earnest, that though neyther the Senate, nor People, would grant him his defire, yet he needes would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Conful might joyne with Scipio, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere Hee could have his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the journie, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on and he was only toft at Sea with foule weather, first ypon the Goast of Hetruria, and afterwards by Sardinia; where his Confulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to Rome, of the victorie obtained against Hannibal, and that the warre was now even at an end. Yet was Lentulus the new Conful fo paffionate, in defiring Africk for his Prouince, That he faid he would fuffer nothing to paffe in the Senate, vntill he had first his wil. Much adoe there was about this; and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at latt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by Scipie; if the warre continued, Scipio should have command therein by Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused Scipio to give the more favourable answerel vnto the Carthaeinian Embassadours. Hee willed them to consider what they had deserved and in regard thereof to thinke themselves wel dealt withall, in that he was contented to leave vnto them their libertie and their own Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leauing also vnto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this warre. As touching the rest hee was at a point, That, before he eyther granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whillt the late Treatie was in dependence. Hereunto if they would yeild then required He That immediatly they (bould deliner up unto the Romans all Priforers, Fugitives, and Renegados, that they had of theirsalikewife all their Gallies, excepting tenne: and all their Elephants: That they should make no warre at all thenceforth out of Africk, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Rumans: That the Countries, Towness 30 goods what soener, belonging any wife unto MASANISSA or to any of his Ancesters, which were in their possession, should bee all by them restored unto him: That they should finde corne for the Roman Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded : That they should pay tenne thousand Talents of Siquer, in the terme of fiftie yeares, by two hundred Talents a yeare : and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages. fuch as Scieno would choose, being none of them under foureteene yeares of age, nor a-

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home; and reported them vnto the Citic. They were verie unpleasing; and therefore one Gifco stood up to speake. 40 against them: and exhorted the People, who gaue good attention, that they should not condificend ynto such intolerable demands. But Hannibal perceiping this. and noting withall what fauourable audience was given to this uaine Oratour, by the viquiet yet vinwarlike Multitude; was bold to pull him downe from his flanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the people murmured; as if their common libertie were too much wronged, by fuch infolence of this prefumptuous Captaine. Which Hannibal perceiuing, role vp and spake vnto them : saying, That they ought to pardon him if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow fora fmuch as he had been thence abfent over fince he was a Boy of nine yeares old, vntill he was now a man offine and fortic. Having thus excused himselfe of the difor-70 der, He discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace : and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves; had the demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally vpon good aduice, they refolued to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by Scipio : to whom they payed out of hand fine and twentie thouland pound weight of Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them Cccccc 3

done to his Fleet and Embassadiadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall Heegaue injunction, that they should neyther in the meane while send Embassadiadours any whithereste, nor yet disfinisse any Embassadours to them sens, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Faction, were become wife and honourable men, by the miferies wherinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious Counfailes. A/drubal, furnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and great friend of Hanne, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to Rome for obtaining peace. They to went thither in companie of Scipio his Embaffadours; who related vnto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at Rome Embassadours from Philip King of Macedon: who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to wait awhile for audience, till the election of new Confuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering vinto some points, wherein the Romans had lately fignified vnto their King that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame vpon those Greekes themselves, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they M. Aurelius: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately beene sent from Rome vnto King Philip, 20 tarried in Greece behind his fellowes; and there lenging men, made warre youn the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the Romans. Further they defired of the Senate, That one Sopater, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countrimen, that had lately ferued Hannibal for Pay, and being taken Prisoners in Africk were kept in bonds by Scipio; might bee released, and delivered vnto them. Vnto all this M. Furius, whom Aurelius had fent to Rome for that purpofe, made a sharpe answere. He said, that the Greekes which were confederate with Rome, endured fo many injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to stay behinde, to helpe them as hee might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for Sopater : He affirmed him to be one 20 of the Kings Counsaile, and verie inward with him; one that served not for monie, but carried monie with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the aide of Hannibal. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadours could make vnto the Senate no good answere: they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre hee fought, and warre hee should finde, if hee proceeded as he had begunne. For in two maine pointes He had broken the League, that was betweene him and the Romans : first , in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that hee had aided their Enemies against them with men and monic.

These quarrels with Philip, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Ea-40 series of the Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a verie reuerend companie, when they entred into the Senate: and Astarbal about the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessition feeding Embassadours to Carthage, youn the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrell shad been wholly on the Romans side; saying that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could hee not altogether excuse the Citic; that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsale. But it Hamas and himselfe might have had their wils: the Carthaginians, euen at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace which they now defired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour, by which alwaies so they had beene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the discrimination of their site. They had patience

enough to endure fuch reproofe of Perjurie, as they themselves might have laid vpon the Romans; if their diligence and sottune had beene such as the Romans was. Among the relt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweate to keep the peace hereaster: As a what made answere; Euen by the same gods, that are so Guerrowno those that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus the Conful interpoling the authoritie of his Office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclution of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to loofe the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in Africke But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Comto mand of Rome; and by them referred wholly vnto pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed. That Scipio with tenne Delegates fent vnto him from Rome of purpose. should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed belt : which were none other, than the same which hee had alreadie propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embaffadours humbly thanked the Senate and craued licence, that they might visite their Countrimen, which were prisoners in Rome : afterwardes, that they might ransome and carrie home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should 20 be fent oner into Africk, and be freely restored to libertie by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leave, and returned home, in companie of the tenne Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with Scipio in Com-

At their comming into Africke, the Peace was given, and accepted, without anic controversion of diplotation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegados, were delivered by to Scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio tooke more vengeance upon the Renegados, than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the Romans, than upon the Latines or other Italium. The Latines the beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About the sirrly payment of their monic, the Carinaginum were

30 fomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could have fpared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue liftic yearses; was thought meet to lay the burden you the Citizens. At the collecting of the summer there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Remany yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senatours; could not for beare weeping. Contrariwise Hansibal could not refraine from laughter. For which when he was checked by Aslands Hessas and tolde, That it worst estail beforemed him to laugh, since he had beene the cause why all others did weepe-Hee answered, That laughter did not alwaise proceed from toy, but semestime from extremite of indignation. Tet faid Hee, My laughter is more seasonable, and less absord, thus your teaces. For

40 yee should have wept, when yee gave up your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the cofe of Armes; without the good leave of the Romans first obtained. This inferable condition keeps up under, and holds us in offered femitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little monie is wrong out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense so day, when a little monie is wrong out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense for a state of the sense of the s

50 Scinio being to take leane of Africke, produced Mefaniss, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not undescruedly. To him also he consigned out those Townes of King Stephen, which the Romans at that present held: wherein, to say truth here gave him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the lone of the Romans, and triendship of

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Scioio, was fully answerable, now and heereafter, to all the descruings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there refled no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans embarqued themselves for Sicil: where when they arrived at Lilybeum, Scioio with some part of his Armie tooke his way home to Rome by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journy through Italie was no leffe glorious than any Triumph : all the people thronging out of the Townes and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entered the city in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with fogreat ioy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time fhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphan were carried through the to Citie in this Triumph, and died foone after in prison : or whether he were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be anowed. That it was a barbarous custome of the Romans, to infult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes. by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yeathough they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous war. But hereof wee shall have better example. ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of Syphax, nor any other glory of the foedacle, that fo much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contempla-Except. ? Polyb. tion of that grieuous warre past, whereof the Romans had beene in a manner without hope, that ever they should let Italie free. This made them looke cheerefully your the Author of sogreat a conversion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well 20 could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to Scipio the Title of the African ; filling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kind of furname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was viurped by men of leffe defert : especially by many of the Casars, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if fuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in

CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP the father of PERSEVS, King of Maccedon; His first Acts and war with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of war there. The beginning of many Princes, with great warres, at one time. The Ltolians ouerrun Pelopon. 40 nefus. PHILIP and his Affociates make war against the Etolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Etolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by PHILIP.

Plut, in vita Sertory.



vertue vnto Scipio the African.

the great similitude found in worldly cuents, the limitation of matter hath beene affigned as a probable cause. For fince Nature is confined vnto a subicet that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needes be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependence vpon the wil of man, 50 we are leffe to wonder, if we find leffe variety: fince it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious vnto humane power; and fince they are the fame affections, by which the wils of fundry men are o-

ner-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the Allyrians or Chaldeans invaded the kingdome of the Medes, with two hundred thousand foote and threescore thousand horse; but fayling in their intended conquest, they became Subject within a while themselves vnto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell voon the Greekes with fuch numbers of men, as might have feemed reliftlesse. But after that the Persians were beaten home, their Empire was never fecure of the Greekes: who at all times of leafure from inteffine war deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great Alexander. If Nabuchodonofor with his rough old fouldiours, had undertaken the Medes : or Cyrus with his well trayned Armic, had made the attempt vpon Greece; the iffue might, in humane reason, have beene farre different. Yet would it then hane beene expedient for them, to employ the trauelland vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though leffe renowned, than their owne . For the menacing words vfed by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kind it may bee, that Nabuchodonofor likewise offended the Medes and Persians ) were not so availeable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Aife. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vinderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, aduenture to protoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foyled by any of leffe-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerwes, and before him (as I take it) Euilmerodath, had itumbled; Pyrrhus the Epirot hath dallit his foot. Hee was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better fouldiour than any other Greekilh King, when he entred into war against the Romans. This war he vindertooke as it were for his mindes fake : hatting received no initirie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that ferued vnder him, to prenaile so easily against the barbarous Remans, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of Siciland Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrrhus, had found their owne vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the Greekes : then did all the brauery of the Epirot (his Elephants and what socuer else had ferued to make him terrible) serue onely to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselness \* For fince they had ouercome the best Warriour in Greece, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Mace- Spaines predon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vinwarlike Provinces, tended in uinwhich in compasse of twelve yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had won? cible Natic, Certainly there was hereunto requifite no more, than to bring to their owne deuo- out or the Biltion, by fome good meanes, the whole Country of Greece: all the rest, this done, till leas, inuiwould follow of it felfe. How to deale with the Greekes; Philip and Alexander had of Spaine; and shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more ac- hauing broken

quaintance with the Nation. When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soone after the the Spaniards wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leifure to hear- Bathered tokenafter newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on getter made that fide presented. They had also then a strong Fleet : and were become though account of any nototherwisevery skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the Illyrian Queene Tenta made at the same time cru-that time. ellwar vpon the Greekes: wasting their Country, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were vnable to relist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were defirous to enter; the Queene was not flow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with \$.7.

Her, was, in their owne opinion, a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to be defired by the Greekes. But no fuch thing happened: though they fent Embaffadours, as it were to offer themfelues; by fignifying, that for the loue of Greece they had vndertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwit the Greekes and Romans: which afterwards increased very hashly, through the indiference of our flory, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions.

It was like to proue a busic time in the world, when, within the space of soure yeares, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and three of them youg boyes, in three of the greatest kingdomes. This happened from the third yeere of the hundred thirtie ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died Seleucus Ceraunus King of Alia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the great. Ptolemic Philopater succeeded in the Kingdome of Agypt vnto his father Euergetes. And Philip the fonne of Demetrius, being lixteene or feuenteene yeeres old, received the Kingdome of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Achaans and most of the Greekes; by the decease of his Vncle Antigonus Doson, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedamon, and the Countries about Mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then began his reigne in Cappadocia, 20 Lyourgus found meanes to make himfelf King ouer the Lacedemonians, whose Common-weale, fince the flight of Cleomenes, had continued in a manner headleffe; and Achaus, a kinfman of Antiochus, but a Robell vnto him, occupied the Rogions neare vnto Mount Taurus, and kept a while the state of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open warre brake out betweene Rome and Carthage; and that Hannibal began his great Invalion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed vnto an end : Of Antiochus, Ptolemie, and the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans finde them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly defired of the Acheans, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it felfe by the helpe of Antigonus from the danger (accounted great) of an eafie fubiection vnto Cleomenes: was now become no leffe obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should have beene to the Spartan; and therewith all it lay open vnto the violence of the Atolians, who despised even the Maccdonian Kings, that were Patrons therof. These Atolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Meffenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their confanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnefus. Their invalion was no leffe vnexpected, then it was vniult; whereby with greater case they made spoile of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The Acheans were called by the Messenians to helpe: which they did the more willingly; because the Etolians, passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner ) done what harme they lifted. Old Aratus could ill abide these Atolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most vngratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Acheans. He was therefore so hasty to fall vpon this their Armie, that he could hardly endure to flay a few daies untill the time of hisowne Office came; being chosen Prator of the Acheans for the yeare following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath beene already noted of him ) for any other feruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a great part of the Countrie, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neare, when they had recourred ground of aduantage, that they eafily defeated all his Armie.

So they departed homerich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the Achaans, they got hereby onely the friendship of the Messenians : with whom, by licence of King Philip, they made confederacie. Shortly after, the Atolians inuaded Peloponnes againe; having no more to doe, than to passe over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulfe of Lepanto, where they might land in the Country of the Eleans. There ioyned with them in this their fecond Inualion a great number of the Illyrians: who neglecting that condition imposed vpon them by the Romans, of fetting out no ships of war vnto the Coast of Greece; made bold to sceke aduentures againe, and did great mischiefe. Demetrius Pharius, a creature of the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his kingdome, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius went another way, and fell vpon the Ilands of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King Philip or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians under Scerdilaidas, or Scerdiletus, having gotten what they could else where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the Ætolians into Peloponnesus: who made greater hauocke in the Countrie now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any relistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And because men were desirous to satisfic themselues with some speedy reuenge:

20 there were that vrged to have some grieuous punishmental alyon the Leedenmonians: who were thought under-hand to have saucured the Etolians, in meere despight of the Acheans and Macedonians; by whom themselues had lately been subdued. It is true, that the Leedenmonians had beene of affected: and (which was worse) at the arrivall of Philip, they slue such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durft they wel commit themselues to indepenent: but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Armie: since their towne was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soone to appeace, and meant alwais to remaine at his deuotion. Philip was castily fatisfied with this: not for that

30 he (or rather old Aratus, who then wholly gouerned him ) did misse-vndersland the Lacedemonians: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the Acheans, Baotians, Phocians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complaying vpon the Atolians: and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. Philip fent his letters vnto the Ætolians : requiring them to make ready theiranswer in some convenient time : if they could alleadge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come or send, hee should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. 40 But when the Ætolians vnderstood this for certainty, they adjourned the Councell vnto a further time: faying, That fuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, faue in the great Parliament of all Ætolia. This tricke of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had descrued it, made election of Scopas to be their Prætor, that was Author of these inualions made on Peloponnes w ; and the onely man, in a fort, vpon whom they must have laied the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick After this, Philip went into Macedon; where he prepared bufily for the warrea-

After this, Philip went into OMateeans, Wene re in preparations with faire words and promifes: whom he callly won from the Lielian lide, for a function that the Lielian lide, for a function of the Mateer with them in their later copose and had coulened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their later coberies. In like for the Mehann, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their owne Country, sent vnto the Mehanns, Epirets, Messenians, and Lacedamonians: requesting them for this with to declare them clauses, &to denounce war vnto the Mehanns; without staying (as it were) to await the enent, Hereunto they received disciple.

Lib. 5.ch. 1. S. 6. Ibid. diverse answeres, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-harted and valiant, though a fmall Nation, and bordering your the . Atolians, of whom they stood in continuall danger; said, that they could not honeftly refule to shew their faithfull meaning in that war, which was concluded by generall affent. The Epirots that were more mighty, were neuertheleffe more cunning and referred : so that they stood vpon a needlesse point; and desired to be beld excused, vntill Philip (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaime the war. The Meffenians, for whose cause the warre was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the Atolians held vpon their borders; and faid, that they durst not be ouer-bold, vntil that bridle to were taken out of their mouthes. As for the Lacedamonians; the chiefe of them fludied onely how to mannage that treason, for which their City had beene so lately pardoned : and therefore dismissed the Embassadours of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeares together continued subject against their wils to the Macedonians, expecting still when Cleomenes should returne out of &. gypt to raigne ouer them againe; and maintaine, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these there were some, that thought the publicke safety to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preserved them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes; being perhaps not a little moued with respect of the 20 benefit, which might redound vnto themselues, byadhering firmely to those which at the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were still deuising, how to make all ready for Cleamenes against his returne; and therefore fought to joyne with the Atolians, which were the most likely to give him strong affiltance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more pallionate; and spared not by murders, or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it fuffice, that about these times there came certaine report of Cleomenes his death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended: fancying vnto themfelues the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come again, 30 Cleamens was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deferring vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of Hercules, as in former times; for that without such helpes, they must continue little better than fubiects unto the Micedonian, and far leffe by him respected, than were the Achaans. Thus were they transported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Etolians to send an Embaffie to Sparta: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himselfe the Author. Much disputation 40 and hot there was, betweene those of the Macedonian partie and these their oppofites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; vntill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Ætolians, the diversitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the Lacedamonians and Etolians: without all regard of the Macedonians or Achaans; who had spared the Citie, when they might have destroicd it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King; that we may justlie wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royall families they found Agespolis the sonne of Agespolis the for. 10 of King Cleombrotus: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his Grandfather. This Agesipolis was a yong boy, standing in neede of a Guardian; and had an Vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernment. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how yong soener, should have his fathers whole right and title: the Lacedamonians, though flanding in neede of a man, were fo punctuall in obferuation of the Law; that they made this childe their King,, and appointed his Vinde Clemenes to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselues about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of one Lourgus, who having no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed vpon each of the Ephoria Talent, and thereby made himselse be saluted King of Sparta, and a Cendeman of the race of Harotals. This Lyeungus, to gratish the Partissan, and to approve his worth by Action; insuded the Countrie of the Argines: which lay open and vngarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and wanne duers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of Lacedamon. After such open hostilitie; the Lacedamonian declared themselues on the Letolian side; and proclaimed warre against the A-

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the Achaans and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. Philip was not readic; the Epirots gave vncertaine answere: the Messenians would not firre: all the burden must lie vpon themselues and the poore Acarnanians, whom the Atolians, by favour of the Eleans, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the Lacedamonians, could affaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Ætolians, passing ouer the Bay of Corinth, surprised the Towns of Ægira: which if they could have held, they should thereby grieuously have molested the Acheans; for that it flood in the mid-way betweene Agium and Siegon two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Gountrie. But as £gira was taken by furprise : so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile, whilest they that should have made it their first care to assure the place vnto themselves, by occupying the Cittadell and other peeces of strength, fel heedleffely to ranfack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great flaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another Lielian Armie landing among the Eleans, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of Achaia; wasting all the Territoric of the Dymans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achean Confederacie. The Dymaans and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so wel beaten that the enemie grew bolder with them than before. They fent for helpe vnto their Pretor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the Acheans having lately beene much weakened by Cleomenes, were now able to doe little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercinaries; for a smuch as at the end of Cleomenes his war, they had couctoufly with-held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disabilitie of the Acheans, and insufficiencie of their Pretor; the Dymeans, with others, were driven to with hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike feruice, and to concert the monie to their own defence. Lycurgus also with his Lacedamonians, began to winne upon the Arcadians; that were confederate with Philip and the Acheans.

Philip came to the borders of the £talians, whilft their Armie was thus employed a farre off in Pelopoma(us. The Epirots ioyned all their forces with him: and by fuch their willing readines, drew him to the feige of a Frontier pecce, which they defired to get into their own hands, for that, by commoditie thereof, they hoped fhortly to make themseluse Masters of £mbrata. There he spent fortic dayes, ere he could end the busines, which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entred into the part of £toliaat his sirft coming; it was thought that the might haue made an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon simal Townes or Forts: and not feldome, that the importunitie of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those vies for which they never were intended, thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine Dddddd deffignes.

deffignes. Thus was our King Henrie the eight led afide, and quite out of his waie. by Maximilian the Emperour to the fiege of Tournay; at fuch time as the French King Lewes the twelfth, hearing that the strong Citic of Termin was loft, and that of his Cauellerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of Effex with feuen hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselse into Brittaine, in feare that Henrie would have come to Paris.

The flay that Philip made at Ambracus, did wondroufly embolden the Etolians: in such fort, as their Prætor Scopes adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrie; and therewith not onely to ouer runne Thessalie, but to make impression into Macedon. Hee ranne as farre as to Dium, a Citie of Macedon vpon the Agean 10 Sea: which, being for faken by the Inhabitants at his comming, Hee tooke, and razed to the ground. Hee spared neyther Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, he threw downe the Statua's that were there erected, of the Macedonian Kings. For this he was highly hononred by his Countrimen at his returne; for a fmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto Peloponnesus, but euen to Macedon it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrie, for their paines taken at Dium. Philip having difpatched his worke at Ambraeus, made a strong inuasion vpon £tolia. Hee tooke Phoetia, Metropolis, Oeniade, Paanium, Elaus, and divers other Townes and Castles 20 of theirs: of which hee burnt some, and fortified others. Hee also beat the . Ftolians in fundric skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into Peloponnesus, and to doc the like spoile in the Countrie of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently follicited by the Achean Embaffadours : newes came out of Macedon, that the Dardanians were readie with a great Armie to fal youn the Countrie. These Dardanians were a barbarous people, divided by Mount Hamus from the Northerne part of Macedon; and were accustomed to seeke bootie in that wealthie Kingdome, when they found their owne times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that Philip was about to make a journic into Peloponne fus: they purposed in his absence, which they 20 thought would be long, to get what they could for themselues in his Countrie; as had beene their manner upon the like aduantages. This made the King to difmiffe the Achean Embassadours, (whom hee should have accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them have patience vntill another yeare. So Hee tooke his way home : and as he was palling out of Acarnania into Epirus, there came to him Demetrius Pharius with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaced out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himselfe a friend to Antigonus Doson, in the warres of Cleomenes : and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readic, at their first request, to take part with Philips Captaines. These, or the like confiderations, made him welcome vnto the Macedonian King: whose 40 Counsailor he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue over for the present their invasion of Macedon, towardes which they were alreadie on their way.

All that Sommer following the King rested at Larissa in Thessale, whilest his people gathered in their Haruest. But the Ltolians rested not. They auenged themfelues upon the Epirots: whom for the harmes by them and Philip done in Etolia, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the famous Temple of Dodons. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre untill another yeare was laid afide : Philip stole a journie into Peloponne sus, with flue thousand Foot, and about four hundred Horse. As soone as hee was 50 within Corinth; He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrivall. He fent privily for old Aratus to come thither vnto him : with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would have the Achean Souldiors readie to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with

fomewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to scare: since the Acheans themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians; untill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Atolians, and their fellowes, were by him surprised, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which hee did at his first comming, Philip got verie much reputation : as likewise hee purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediatly following. He wanne P/ophis, an exceeding frong Towne, in the borders of Arcadia; which the Eleans and Ætolians then held. Hee wanne it by affault at his first comming : wherein it much availed him, that the Enemie, not believing that he would vindertake fuch a peece of worke at such an vnseasonable time of the yeare, was carelesse of prouiding euen fuch store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Towne was preserned by the King from fack; and given to the deheans, of his owne meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to Lasion, which yeelded for verie feare; hearing how easily he had taken Plophis. This Towns also he gaus to the Acheans. The like liberalitie he yied towards others; that had ancient title vnto places by him recovered. Then fell he vpon the Countrie of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to hufbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen fuch as were of the wealthier fort among them. So hee came to the Citie of Olympia: where having done facrifice to Iupiter, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three dayes; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the Atolians, in the spoiles of their other-wise-deseruing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattaile hee tooke, with great numbers of flaues, and much wealth of all forts; fuch as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for scare. Some preuented the labour of his journie, by sending Embassadours to yeeld before hee came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to fet themselves at libertic, by seeing the King so neare; to whose Patro-30 nage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the Esolian Gaptaines; because they distrusted their abilitie to hold them. So the King wanne more Townes in the Countrie, than the sharpnesse of Winter would suffer him to flav there dayes. Faine he would have fought with the Atolians: but they made fuch hast from him, that he could not overtake them, vntill they had covered themselves within the Towne of Samicum; where they thought to have beene safe. But Philip affaulted them therein fo forcibly, that hee made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lines and armes. Hauing performed so much in this Expedition, the King reposed himselfe a while in Megalopolis; and

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP.4. S.L.

then removed to Argos, where he spent all the rest of the Winter. Before the Kings arrivall in Peloponnesus, the Lacedemonians with Lyeurgus their new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia; and threatned to doe great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the Eleans, of the danger hanging ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This Lyourgus, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with monie : fo was hee neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one Chilon, of their Royall bloud, that thinking himselfe to have best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by 50 propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He wanne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the Ephori as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to Ly-

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estreus his house; who perceining the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their mindes being not hereto prædisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilft he was vling his best perswasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. Chilon perceived whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So hee lived afterwards among the Achaans a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for Lycurgus, he returned home : and fulpecting thenceforth all those of Hercules his race, found meanes to drive out his fellow-King your Agelipolis; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected. in such fort as once he should have beene apprehended by the Ephori, But though his actions hitherto might have beene defended; yet rather than to adventure himfelfe into judgement, he chose to flie for a time, and sojourne among his friendes the Atolians. His wel-knowne velocmencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him fuch good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weaknesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, Hee tooke better heed vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was fo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not bee in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they lifted. By what actions hee got the name of a Tyrant : or at what time it was, that hee chaced Agelipalis out of the Ci-20 tie; I doe not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to bee placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three verie justly deserved. What soeuer hee was towards some private Citizens: in the war against Philip, He behaved himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

# ð. I I.

How PHILIP was miffeaduifed by ill Counfailors: Who afterwards wrought treason against him, and were justly punished. He invadeth the . A tolians a second time: And forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.



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Hileft the King lay at Argos, denifing upon his bufineffe for the years following; some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently their own greatnesse, as they were like to have spoiled all that he tooke in hand. Antigonus Doson had left unto Philip such Counsailors, as to him did feeme the fitteft men for governing of his youth. 40

The cheife of these was Apelles, that had the charge of of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Polititian, thought that he should do a notable peece of service to his Prince; if he could reduce the Acheans ynto the same degree of subjection, wherein the Macedonians lived. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition hee had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Achesms out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the bootic that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastice some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to helpe their fellowes; them hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby hee thought to bring it to 50 passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vniust that pleased the King. But these Achaans were tenderly sensible in matter of libertie: whereof if they could have been contented to fuffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the Macedonians to helpe

them in the warre against Cleomenes: They bemoned themselues vnto old Aratus: and befought him to thinke vpon fome good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. Aratus forthwith dealt carnelly with the King; as in a matter more weightie, than at first it might seeme. The King be stowed gracious words upon those that had beene wronged; and forbad Apelles to follow the course begunne. Hereat Apelles was inwardly vexed, though he diffembled his choller for a time. He thought fo well of his owne Proiect, that he could not endure to lavit aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable service, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Acheans there were some, who bore no heartic affection to Aratus. These he enquired out : and sending for them, entertained them with wordes of Court; promiling to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of Aratus, He must be faine to deale precisely with the Acheans, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleafed to give countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Acheans, and all other Peloponnesians, bee quickly brought to conforme themselues, vnto the dutie of obedient Subiects. By fuch perswasions, He drew the King to be present at Agium, where the Acheans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue beene needfull in a businesse of more importance; the King, by faire words and threatnings together, obtained fo much, That Eperatus, a verie infufficient man, but one of Apelles his new Fauorites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthie for whom Aratus had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a verie firong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The Garrison yeilded it up for feare, at his first comming : whereof hee was glad;

20 fently did. The King thought it strange, that all this while he hard of no messingers from the Eleans, to fue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrie the last Winter, hee had let loofe one Amphidamus a Captaine of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them forfake their alliance with the Æiolians, and joyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be cotented to do, He willed Amphidamus to let them understand, That he would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrein invalion; and that they should hold their libertic entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tri-

for that hee had an earnest defire to bestow it vpon the Dymaans, as hee pre-

40 bute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be defpised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when Philip came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new invasion vpon their Countrie: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before over-haftie to beleeve fuch faire promifes ) to fufpect Amphidamus as a Traitour, and one that was fet on worke for no other end, than to breed a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the Atolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him Prisoner into Atolia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himselfe; in better for Aratus. For the King (as was faid) maruailing what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the Eleans, concerning the offers which he had made vnto them 50 by Amphidamus: Apelles, his Counfailor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant Aratus, He said that old Aratus, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as

tended little to the Kings good; And long of them he faid it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out; For when Amphidamus was difmissed home, the two Matis (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would Dddddd 3

be verie præjudiciall to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the deuotion of the Macedonian; And this was the true cause, why neyther Amphidamus was verie carefull in doing this meffage, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the Kines offers. All this was a false lie; denised by Apelles himselfe, upon no other ground than his owne malice. Philip had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage hee sent for the two Arati; and bad Apelles rehearse it ouer agains to their faces. Apelles did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men alreadie conuicted. And when hee had faid all the reft, ere eyther Philip or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King bath found you fuch vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Acheans; and therein having made it 10 knowne what yee are, to depart into Macedon, and leave you to your selves. Olde Aratusgrauely admonished the King, That whensoener hee heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth; He should forbeare awhile to give credit, vntill he had diligently examined the bufinesse. For such deliberarion was Kingly, and hee should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with Amphidamus; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to Apelles. For it would be a verie abfurd thing, That the King should make himselfe Authour of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans yes, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and faid that he would make 20 fufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes : wherein whilest Apelles delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted; Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the Arati: which when hee found no better than a meere device against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to Apelles, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiffion therein could be discerned.

The varestfull temper of Apelles, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; began (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venomous 30 for want of his free motion. Hee betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, hee had prepared a snare for the Arati; fo fayling of them he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himfelfe, and for all at once which were about him. In fuch manner fometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the A yre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the fubtile workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto Apelles were left by Antigonus in chiefe place about Philip; Taurion, his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and Alexander Captaine of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not bee corrupted. The other two, Leontius Captaine of the 40 Tarquetiers, and Megaleas chiefe of the Secretaries, were casily wonne to bee at Apelles his disposition. This Polititian therefore studied how to remoue the other two from their places, and put some Greatures of his owne into their roomes. Against Alexander He went to worke the ordinarie way, by calumniation and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of Taurion hee vsed more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of warre, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such art he thought to have removed him, as wee fay, Out of Gods blefing into a warme Sunne. In the meane feafon Aratus retired him felfe; and fought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was loft, whilest Philip wanted both the monie and the Corne, wherewith he should have beene furnished by the Acheans. This made the King

understand his owne errour, which he wisely lought to reforme betimes. Hee perfixed the Achaens to rejourne their Parliament from Agimm, to Suyon the Towne of Arains. There he dealt with the old man and his some: persuading them to forget what was past 3k laying all the blame upon Apelles, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthie men, Hee cassilie obtained what he would of the Achaens. Fiftet alents they gave him out of hand, with great flore of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in Pelopomosius, he should receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might into take the Altiolium, Eleans, and Lacedemoniams, that were maritime people, at his pleafure, and binder their exerctions by See

CHAP.4. \$ 2.

It vexed Apelies beyond meafure, to fee things goe forward fo well without his helpe; euen by the miniferrie of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with Leontius and Megaless: binding himselfer and them by oath, to crosse and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By 6 doing they thought to bring it to passed, that everie want of abilities to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire; and be glad to submit himselfero their directions. The King it is like had shood in some awe of them whiles the was a child; and therefore these wise men persuaded them—and the submit himselfero their directions. The king it so like had shood in some save of them whiles the was a child; and therefore these wint on him all that fell out ill through their ownem singouernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. Apelles would needes goe to Chaleis, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of Macedon: The other two shaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His fleet and Armie being in a readines: Philip made countenance, as if he would haue bent all his forces against the Eleans; to whose aid therefore the Etolians sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would have fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselues. But against the Eleans and those that came to help them, Philip thought it enough to leave the Acheans, with some part of his and their Mercinaries. Hee 30 himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of Cephallemia: whence the Etolians, dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he belieged the Towne of Palas, that had beene very scruiccable to the Enemie against him and his Confederats; and might be very vie full to him, if hee could get it. Whilest hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene ships of war from Scerdilaidas; and many good fouldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnanians, and Messenians. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts faue one, on which fide Philip carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foot thereof. Leonteus Captaine of the Targettiers, was ap-40 pointed by the King to make the affault. But he, remembring his couenant with Apelles, did both willfully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the Macedonians were put to foile, and many flaine; not of the worst fouldiers. but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angrie with this: but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the fiege. For it was eafier vnto the Townef-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed, and vncertaine what course to take : the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard vpon him, each of them delirous to draw him into their owne Countrie. The 50 Messenians alleadged, that Lyeurgus was busic in washing their Countrie: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Etelian windes which then blew, serving fitly for his Nauigation. Hereto also Leontius perswaded; who confidered that those windes, as they would easily carrie him thither, so would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-daies) and make him spend the

Sommer to small purpose. But Aratus gaue better counsaile, and prevailed. Hee showed how unfitting it were, to let the Etolians ouer-run all Theffaire againe, and some part of Macedon, whilest the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small aduentures. Rather, he faid, that the time now ferued well to carry the war into Aetolia; fince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for Lyeurgus; hee was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesus: and it might suffice, if the Acheans were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King fets faile for Actolia; and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which divided the Actolians from Acarnania. The Acarnanians were glad to fee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as 10 could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. Hee marched vp into the in-land Countrie: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to affure his Retrait; He passed on to Thermum; which was the Receptacle of the Atolians, and furest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountains of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the Etolians vseto hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their folemne games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest securitie. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them carelesse in looking vnto it. When Philip therefore had ouercome the bad way, there 20 was nothing elfe to doe than to take spoile: whereof hee found such plentie, that he thought the paines of his journie well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging vnto the Ltolians; in remembrance of the like their courtelle, shewed upon the Temples of Dium and Dodona. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as Monfieur du Gourgues the French Captaine told the Spaniar ds in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeved before and therefore was not taken vnawares. Three thousand of them there were 20 that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but hee had laid a Counter-ambush for them of his Illyrians; who flaving behind the reft, did fet vpon the backes of the Aetolians, whilest they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with flaughter of the enemic, he returned the fame way that he came : and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, Hee fafely carried all that hee had gotten aboord his Fleet. Once the Actolians made countenance of fight, iffuing out of Stratus in great brauerie. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their verie gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euerie way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finister accident; it pleased the King to 40 make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest Leontius, with his fellow Megaleas. They came, because they could not choose: but their heavie lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings profperitie. It greened them to thinke, that they should be able to give no better account vnto Apelles, of their hindering the Kings businesse; fince Apelles himfelfe, as will be shewed anon, had plaied his owne part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. The forrow and indignation, which they could ill dissemble in their faces, brake out after supper, when they had warmed themselves with drinke, into open riot. Finding dratus on the way home to his Tent : they fell to reuiling him, throwing flones at him, fo that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as to happens in fuch cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paffed. Which made him fend for Leontins and his fellowes. But Leontins was gotten out of the way: Megaleas, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their dif-

order; and they, to give him froward answers; insomuch as they faid at length. That they would neuer give ouer, till they had rewarded Aratus with a mischiefe as he deferued. Hecreupon the King committed them to ward. Leontius hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles : and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon Megaleas, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, It was even I. This resolute anfwer, which Leontius had not expected, made him depart both fad and angrie; feeing himselfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedie the matter. Shortly after Megaleas was called forth to his answer, and was charged by Aratus with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victorie at Pales, and the Compact made with Apelles: matters no leffe touching Leontius, that flood by as a looker on, than Megaleas that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weake; that he, and Crinon one of his fellowes, were condemned in twentie Talents: Crinon being remanded backe to prison; and Leontius becomming Bayle for Megaleas. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to Corenth.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as he was at Corinth, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacedemonions. These and the Eleans had done what harmethey could in Peloponnesus, whilest the King was 20 absent. The Acheans had opposed them as wel as they could; with ill successe: vet fo, as they hindered them from doing fuch harme as elfe they would have done. But when Philip came, hee ouer-ran the Countrie about Lacedamon : and was in a manner at the gates of Sparta, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of Etolia. He tooke not in this expedition any Cities, but made great wast in the fields: and haning beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to Corinth a rich bootie of Cattell, flaues, and other Countrie-spoile. At Corinth hee found attending him, Embaffadors from the Rhodians & Chians: that requested him to fet Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the Actolians. They had gracious audience : and he willed them to deale first with the Actolians ; who, if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The Metolians had fped ill that yeere; neither faw they any likelie hopes for the yeeres following. The Armie that they had fent forth to wast The falle and Macedon, found fuch opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane feafon they had been greinoufly afflicted, as before is shewed, by Philip in the center of their owne Countrie. All Greece and Macedon was vp in armes against them, and their weake Allies the Eleans and Lacedamonians, Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their Peloponnesian friends should be able to hold out; fince they were not strong enough to keepe the feild, but had alreadie suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each, to feeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the Ætolians readilie entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirtie dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the fame Embaffadours, to entreat his prefence at a Diet of their Nation, that should bee held at Rhium; whither if he would vouchfafe to come, they promifed that hee fhould finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand; Leontius and Megaleus thought to have terrified the King, by raifing fedition against him in the Armie. But this device forted to no good effect. The fouldiours were easily and quickly incenfed against many of the Kings friends; who were faid to be the cause, why they were not rewarded 50 with fo much of the bootie, as they thought to belong of right vnto them . But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of dores; without further harmedone. This was enough to informe the king (who calille pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were verie false. Yea the souldiours themfelues, repenting of their infolence, defired to have the Authors of the tumult

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foughtout, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if hee had not cared to make such inquistion . But Leontius and Megaleas were fore afraid, left the matter would foone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they fent vnto Apelles, the Headand Archetect of their treason; requesting him speedilie to repaire to Corinth, where he might stand betweene them and the kings displeasure. Apelles had not all this while beene wanting to the busineffe, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken voon him. as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand : and thereby was he growne into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in Macedon and Theffalie addressed themfelues vnto him; and received from him their dispatch in everie busines. Likewise 10 the Greekes in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnific the vertue of Apelles : making flight mention (onely for falbion fake ) of the king : who feemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of Apelles his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in fetting himfelfe out vnto the people : but in mannaging the kings affaires, he made it his especiall care, that monie, and all things needfull for the publicke service, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the king for verie neede, to sell his owne Plate and houshold vessels : thinking to resolue these and all other difficulties, by onely faying, Sir, beruled wholly by mee, and all shall be as rouwould with Hereto if the king would give affent; then had this Politician obtained his hearts defire. Now taking his journic from Chaleis in the Isle of Eubar, to 20 the Citic of Corinth where Philip then lay : he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltic, by a great number of the Captaines and fouldiours; which Leontins and Megaleas drew forth to meete him on the way. So entering the Citie with a goodly traine; he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But Philip was well aware of his pride; and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherfore one was fent to tell him, that he should waite awhile, or come another time; for the king was not now at leifure to be spoken with. It was a pretie thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants for lake him, as a man in difgrace; in fuch fort that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him faue his owne Pages. After this. the King youch afed him now and then some slender graces; but in consultations, 30 or other matters of privacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught Megalem to looke vnto himfelfe, and runne away betimes. Hereupon the King fent forth Taurion his Lieutenant of Peloponnel w, with all the Targettiers, as it were to doe some peece of feruice; but indeed of purpose to apprehend Leontius in the absence of his followers. Leontius being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to fignifie what was befallen him : and they forthwith fent vnto the King in Lis behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne; as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were all the matter, they faid that they were readie to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the fouldiours, made Philip more hastic than else 40

owne life; and flew himfelfe about the fame time. The £tolian:, as they had begun this warre upon hope of accomplishing what they lifted in the Nonnage of Philip: fo finding that the vigour of this yong Prince. tempered with the cold aduice of Aratus, wrought verie effectually toward their ouerthrow:

he would have beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere let-

ters of Megaleas were intercepted, which he wrote vnto the Atolians; vilifying the

king with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but

to hold out awhile, for that Philip was even readic to linke vnder the burden of his

owne pouertie. By this the king vnderstood more perfectly the falshood, not one-

ly of Megaleas, but of Apelles; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to

keepe him so poore. Wherefore hee sent one to pursue Megaless, that was fled to

Thebes. As for Apelles, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was in-

ward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lines. Megaleas

alfo, neither daring to fland to triall, nor knowing whither to file, was wearie of his

ouerthrow; they grew verie desirous to make an end of it. Neuerthelesse being a turbulent Nation, and readie to lay hold vpon all advantages : when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of Apelles, Leonius, and Magaleus, together with some indignation thereupon conceiued by the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing foric. For being in good hope throughly to tame this viquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the warre should rest voon themselues. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lav a fideall thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; wherin he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian fouldiors, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one Ptolemie, a companion with Apelles and Leontius in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians; and suffered death. These were the same Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of Leontius his imprisonment : yet now they thinke the man worthie to die, that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

CHAP.4. S.2. of the Historie of the World.

During his abode in Macedon, Philip wan some bordering Townes; from which on the Dardanians, Etolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdome when hee had thus prouided for fafetic of his owne; the Ætolians might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadours from the Rhodians and Chians, withothers from Ptolemic King of Agypt, and from the Citie of Byzantium, recontinuing the former follicitation about the Peace. This fashion had beene taken vp in matters of Greece, euer since the Kings that raigned after Alexander, had taken upon them to fet the whole Countrie at libertie: No sooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of war, but prefently there were found intercessours, who pittying the effusion of Greekish bloud, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduan-30 tage. By doing fuch friendly offices in time of neede, the Princes and States abroad fought to binde vnto them those people; that were, howsoener weake in numbers; yet verie good fouldiours. But hereby it came to passe, that the more froward fort, especiallie the Atolians, whose whole Nation was addicted to falshood and robberie, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours : being well affured, that if they had the worft, The love of Greece would be fufficient to redeeme their quiet. They had, fince the late Treatie of peac, done what harme they could in Peloponnesus: but being beaten by the Acheans, and standing in feare to be more foundlie beaten at home, they defired now, more earnefilie than before to make an end of the warre as soone as they might. Philip made such answer to the 40 Embassadours, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or vinwilling to end it : but that the Etolians, if they had a defire to live in rest, must first be dealt withall, to lignific plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne fuch answer as he should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he dailie got by the warre. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Macedon. what a notable victorie Hannibal had obtained against the Romans in the battaile at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated vnto Demetrius Pharius : who greatly so encouraged him to take part with Hannibal: and not to fit fill, as an idle beholder of the Italian warre. Hereby be grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the Etolians: which was concluded fortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did Agelaus an Ætolium make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes. that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing war between them-

felues: without being molefled by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans, or the Carthaginians, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted. that they would forthwith looke Eaftward, and feeke by all meanes to fet footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it felfe : and that Philip, if he were defirous of war, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly feruing, to enlarge his dominion, by winning fomewhat in Italie. Such advice could the Ætolians then give, when they flood in feare of danger threatning them at hand : but being soone after wearie of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselues by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their ownegood counsel, that they invited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought 10 themselues and the whole Countrie, (but themselues before any other part of the Countrie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages paft.

#### ð. III.

PHILIP, at the persuasion of DEMETRIVS PHARIVS, enters into League with HANNIBAL, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene HANNIBAL, and PHILLS.

His being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themselues to quiet courfes of life; and Philip, to prepare for the bufineffe of Italie, about which hee confulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of Canne: after which he joyned in League with Hannibal, as hath beene shewed before. Demetrius Pha-

rius bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne loft Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, 30 that was in a manner wholly guided by his counfaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been farre more expedient for Philip, to have supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mightie. For by so doing, hee should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal termes; and thereby, as did Hiero a farre weaker Prince, have both secured his owne Estate, and caufed each of them to be defirous of cheife place in his freindship. The issue of the counfaile which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell withthe Romans; the trouble which they and the Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon Conditions that might eafily be broken : have beene related in another place as belonging vnto the fecond 40 Punick warre. Wherefore I will onely here fet downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and Carthage: which may feeme not vnworthie to be read, if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to have been inserted into a more busic peece.

THE,

# THE OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEENE

HANNIBAL, GENERALL OF THE CARTHAGINIANS; and XENOPHANES, Embaffador of PHILIP King of Macedon.



HIS is the League ratified by oath, which HAN. NIBAL the Generall, and with him MAGO, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the Senatours of Carthage that are present, and all the

Carthaginians that are in his Armie, have made with XE-NOPHANES the Son of CLEOMACHUS Athenian, whom King PHILIP the sonne of DEMETRIVS hath fent ynto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Asso. ciates: Before Iupiter, and Iuno, and Apollo: before † The god of the Carthaginians, Hercules, and Iolaus: before Mars, Triton, Neptune : before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sun, the Moone, and the Earth; before 30 Rivers, and Meadowes, and VV aters: before all the Gods that have power over Carthage; before all the Gods, that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods, that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. HANNIBAL the Generall bath faid, and all the Senatours that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie: Be it agreed betweene You and Us, that thu Oath إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى إلى المراكبة إلى إلى المراكبة إلى المراكبة إلى المراكبة إلى المراكبة إلى المراكبة المراكبة المراكبة إلى المراكبة freinds, familiar, and brethren, V pon Couenant, that the fafer tie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of HANNIBAL the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the 50 Carthaginians, and of the Souldiours and Affociates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold freindship in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom We shal hold freinds

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Thip or make Alliance bereafter in this Region; be preserued by Kino PHILIP and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates. In like manner shall King PHILIP and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, be saued and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers. and by all N ations and (ities in Italie, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall be reafter ione with Vs in F. talie. We shall not take counsaile one against the other nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtiltie, VVe shall be enemics vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, 10 Townes, and Hauens, with which VVe have alreadie league and freindship. VVe also shall be enemies to the enemies of King PHILIP, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Natio ons, with which VVee have alreadie league and freindship. The war that VVe have with the Romans, have Ye also with them, untill the Gods shall give us a new and happie end. Ye shall aide Us with those things whereof VVe baue neede, and 35 shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Us. But if the Gods shall not give vuto You and Us their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer freindship, VVe (hall make friendship in such wife that Yeshall be partakers of the same freindship, VVith Condition, That they shall not have power to make war vpon you: 40 Neither shall the Romans bee Lords over the Corcyreans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render unto DEMETRIUS PHARIUS all those that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make war vpon Yeor Vs; We will succour one another in 50 that warre, as either shall bane neede. The same shall be observed in warre made by any other, excepting those

Kings, Cities, and States, with whom VVee hold alreadie league and friendship . To this League if VVe or Ye shall thinke sit to adde or detract. such addition or detraction shall be made by our common confent.

# δ. IIII.

How PHILIP reelded to his naturall vices, being therein loothed by DEMETRIVS P. HARIVS. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Affociates : With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whileft he bore a part in the Second Punicke warre. He poisoneth ARATVS: and growes hatefull to the



Itherto Philip had carried himfelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdome, he might have offered his freindship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians who had the better hand : yet this his medling in

the Punicke warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde, with a defire to fecure and increase his owne chate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath beene said) by Dememetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate him seife to his delires: and thereby thortly gouerned him, euen as he lifted. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lust full, bloudie, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listing to doe what hee ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breede in 30 men such a good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before he should busic himselfe in Italie, bee thought it requisite in good pollicie, to bring the Greekes that were his Affociates under a more absolute forme of subjection. Heercunto Apelles had aduised him before : and hee had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if hee might not wholy have his owne way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunitie at better times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the Kings humours : and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore hee grew daily more and 40 more in credit : fo as, without any manner of contention , hee supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could never doe.

There arose about these times a verie hote Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forrein war) vnto domesticall obiects: than allaved and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was entreated to compound the differences. Hee was glad of this : resoluing so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strine any more about their Gouernment: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found Aratus busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose.

Wherfore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in private with fuch of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to fland thus disputing : and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the infolence of the vnruly Rabble: Contrariwife, in talking with the heades of the po-Ecccc 2 pular

pular Faction, He faid it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themfelues to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselues from Tyrants. Thus whilelt each of them prefumed on the Kings affiftance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would have apprehended fome leditious Oratours, that were, they faid, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Vpon this occasion the People tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magifirates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemes, that it would be casie to worrie the sheep, when the Dogges their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediatly found out. Neyther did the 10 vonger Aratus forbeare, to tell him of it in publick, with verie bitter and difgraceful words. The King was angrie at this. But having alreadie done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other thinges in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. He led old Aratus afide by the hand; and went up into the Castle of Ithome, that was ouer Mellene. There he pretended to doe facrifice: and facrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength. and would ferue to command the further parts of Pelaponnesius, as the Citadell of Corinth, whith hee had alreadie, commaunded the entrance into that Countrie. 20 Whilest hee was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrailes of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner; Hee shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he faw therein did fignifie, That being now in poffeffion of this place, hee should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have foothed him a little; were it onely for defire to make amends, for the angrie words newly spoken by his sonne. But as Aratus flood doubtfull what to answere, Demetrius Pharius gaue this verdict: If thou bee a South fayer, thou maift goe thy wayes, and let slippe this good advantage; if thou to the case a sensing consuming section ways, some configuration by the case of the case o Yet would Philip needes heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the Messenians: But if, by seizing vpon Ithome, Hee must loose all the other Castels that hee held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his fouldiers, and keepe men in dutie, as hee had done hitherto, by their owne good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice Philip yelded at the present: but not without some dislike. thenceforth growing betweene Him and the Arati; whom hee thought more froward than beformed them, in contradicting his will. Neyther was the old man defirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discourred his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, He had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. Hee therefore staid at home: where at good leifure he might repent, that in despight of Cleomenes, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, hee had brought the Macedonians

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnessu into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him companie. In this journie He found by experience what Aratus had lately told him; That vnhonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes have them foto remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his will, Hee feized vpon their Towne of Orienm and laid fiege to Apollonia; having no good colour of

these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what hee listed, and not feeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of feeling the countrie, as his intended Voyage into Italie required: He kindled a fire in it which he could ne uer quench; vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whileft he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italie: M. Valeriss the Roman came into those parts; who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Ætolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made

Thus began that warre; the occurrents whereof wee have related before, in place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though Philip did the offices of agood Captaine: yet when leifure ferued, Hee made it apparant that hee was a vicious King. Hee had not quite left his former defire, of oppressing the libertie of the Messeniaus; but made another journie into their Countrie, with hope to deceive them, as before. They understood him better now ahan before; and therefore were not hastieto trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not ferue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies, inuaded them with open warre. But in that warre hee could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon Messenehec lost Demetrica Pharius; that was his Counfailor, and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angrie he wexed against those, that seemed not to fauour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the Ministerie of Taurion, his Leintenant, he poyfoned old Aratus; and shortly after that, hee povfoned also the yonger Aratus: hoping that these thinges would never have beene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselues were more fure, than manifest in operation. The Sieyonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed vnto Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymmes, and Proceffions, to be celebrated eneric yeare twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the Heroes, or men, whom they thought to bee 30 translated into the number of the Gods. Hereunto they are faid to have beene encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo: which is like enough to have beene true; fince the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of Aratus their Patron, and fingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Achesns a maruailous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counfaile for themselues. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleiued:neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The Ætolians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans had madea League: whereof the Condtions were soone 40 divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make; namely, That the Atolians should have the countrie and townes: but the Romans the spoile, and carrie away the people to fell for slaves. The Acheans, who in times of greater quiet could not endure to make streight alliance with the Ætolians, as knowing their vnciuill disposition; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch did the Greekes account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauock of the Countrie. The same consideration moued also the Lacedemonians, to stand off awhile, before they would declare themselues for the Atolians; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industrie therefore of Philip, and the great care 50 which he seemed to take of the Achaans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the Dymans, by an inestimable benefit : recougring their Towne, after it had been etaken by the Romans and Ætolians, and redeeming their people wherefoeuer they might bee found, that had beene carried away Captine,

Eccece 2

Captine, and fold abroad for flaues. Thus might he have blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts. whereof he was not alhamed; He tooke Polycratia the wife of the yonger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might ferue to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of fuch faults he shall be told, when the Romans make warre upon him the second time: for of that which happened in this their first Inuasion, I holde it superfluous to make repetition.

Of PHILOPOEMEN Generall of the Achaens: and MACHANIDAS. Tyrant of Lacedamon. Abattaile betweene them, wheresn MACHANIDAS is flaine.



T happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of Aratus there flood vp Philogamen : 20 whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the Acheans redoubtable among all the Greekes, and careleffe of fuch the Athans redoubtable among an the Oreset, and Chicago

of their neighbours. This is that Philopamen: who being then a yong man, and having no command; did especiall service to Antigonus at the battaile of Sellasia against Cleamenes. Thence-forward untill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and feldome or neuer at peace betweene themselues; Hee bettered among them his knowledge, and practise in the Art of warre At his returne home, Hee had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, trauailing with all the Cities of the Confede- 30 racie to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all peeces: as also he so diligently trained them vp in all exercise of service, that hee made the Acheans verie strong in that part of their forces. Being after chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no leffe care to reforme their militarie discipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend vpon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the Acheans to cut off their vaine expence of brauerie, in apparrell, housholdstuffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes, wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiors; and suteable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hi- 40 therto with little light Bucklers, and flender Darts, to cast afarre off: that were vsefull in skirmilhing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hastie Expeditions; whereto Aratus had beene most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing: so as they were wholly driven to relie vpon the courage of their Mercinaries. Philopamen altered this : causing them to arme themfelues more weightily, to vie a larger kind of sheild, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order; and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files fo deepe as had beene accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the service of many hands.

Eight Moneths were spent of that yeere, in which hee first was Prætor of the 50 Achaans; when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon caused him to make triall, how his fouldiers had profited by his discipline. This Machanidas was the succesfor vnto Lycurgus; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Armie of Mercinaries : and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta; but to hold

the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoued him not to take part with the Acheans, that were fauourers of libertie ; but to ftrengthen himselfe by freindship of the Atolians: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their owne profit. The people also of Lacedamon, through their inueterate hatred vnto the Argines, Acheans, and Macedonians ; were in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Atolian Faction. Verie vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of Peloponnesus; they hindred themselves thereby from recouering the Mastrie of their owne Citie. This affection of the Spartans, to-10 gether with the regard of his owne securitie, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not Machanidas to be idle; but made him alwaies readie to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessirie, to turne face another way. Thus had hee often done, especially in the absence of Philip: whose sudden comming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had vsually made him faile of his attempts. At the present He was stronger in men, than were the Achaans; and thought his owne men better fouldiours than were theirs.

Whilest Philip therefore was busied else-where, hee entred the Countrie of the Mantineans: being not without hope to doe as Cleomenes had done before him : yea 20 and perhaps to get the \* Lordhip of Pelaponnessus, as having stronger freindes, \* Except. 2 and weaker opposition, than Cleomenes had found. But Philopoemen was readie to Polyb. 1.11. entertaine him at Mantinea; where was fought betweene them a great battaile, Plat. in vita The Tyrant had brought into the fielde vpon Cartes a great many of Engines; wherewith to beate upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, Philopamen sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as Machanidas was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supplie; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the Acheans and of Machanidas, were drawne vp to the fight: being so far advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no 30 otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by riling of

the dust. Thus were Machanidas his Engines made vnseruiceable, by the interpolition of his owne men, in fuch manner as the Canon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battailes fought in these our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as Poly-Polybibid. bius well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage; wherein viually the hired fouldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which live oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were)

40 to affure their owne seruitude: so the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruites of his prosperitie, have good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their owne; whereas they that ferue vnder a free State, have no other motiue to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victorie: many Companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellowes, will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victorie of a Tyrant, makes him fland in neede of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more fubjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Achaans, being forced to give ground, 50 were viged to violently in their retrait by those of Machanidas, that shortly they be-

tooke themselues to flight; and could not be staid by any perswasions of Philopamen, but ranne away quite beyond the battaile of the Acheans. This disafter had beene sufficient to take from Philopamenthe honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him that errour which might

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This

restore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries gave chace vnto those that fled : leaving behind him in good order of battaile his Laced emonians; whom hee thought sufficient to deale with the Acheans, that were alreadie disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rafhnesse had carried him out of fight; Philopamen advanced towards the Lacedamonians that flood before him. There lay between them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time: and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The Lacedamonians adventured over it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the Acheans; who had in a manner alreadie loft the day. But hereby they greatly difordered their owne Battaile; and had no fooner the foremost of them reconcred the further banke, than they were floutly charged by the Achaens, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first rankes being broken, all the reft began to fhrinke; fo as Philopamen getting over the ditch, eafily chaced them out of the Field. Philopamen knew better how to vie his advantage, than Machanidas had done. He fuffered not all his Armie to difband and follow the chace : but retained with him a fufficient ftrength, for the custodie of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come backe. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked verie heavily when he faw what was fallen out. Yet with a luftie Troupe of Horse about him Hee made towardes the bridge: hoping to find the Acheans in diforder; and to fet you their backes, as they 20 were careleffely pursuing their Victorie. But when he and his Companie faw Philopamen readic to make good the bridge against them; then beganne eueric one to looke, which way he might shift for himselse. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his companie, rode along the ditch fide; and fearched for an easie passage ouer. He was eafily discourred by his purple Cassocke, and the costly trappings of his Horfe. Philopamen therefore leaving the charge of the bridge vnto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting ouer it, flew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battaile on the Lacedamonians side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the Achean Mercinaries, probable it is that the losse was 20 not greatly cared for; fince that War was at an end, and for their monie they might hire more when they should have need.

#### δ. V I.

PHILIP having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Alia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagona, Bithynia; and their Linages. Of the

Y this victorie the Acheans learned to thinke well of themselues. Nevther needed they indeed after awhile (fuch was their discipline, and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of warre inseriour to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the Macedonian, Hee made no great vie of them : But when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Atolians, He studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; fince the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or verie nearely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Acheans would have done him feruice; they must, by helping him to oppresse others that neuer had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated 41talus King of Pergamus, who had joyned with the Romans and Etolians in warre against him.

CHAP.4.S.6. of the Historie of the World.

This Attalus, though a King, was scarce yet a Noble man, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in Phileterus his Vncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more effecmed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wines or children. He was entertained into the familie of Docimus, a Captaine following Antigonus the first; and after the death of Antigonus, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to Lysimachus King of Thrace, Lysimachus had good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his monie and accompts. But when at length he flood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudie Tyrant : Hee fled into Afia, where he feized upon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The towne and monie, together with his owne seruice, He offered vnto Seleneus the first, that then was readie to give Lysimachus battela His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed, for that Seleucus having flaine Lysimachus, died shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of Phileterus or his monic. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Countrie about it; and reigned therein twentie yeeres as an absolute King. Hee had two brethren: of which the elder is faid to have been a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps was not much better ; before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. Phileta-20 rus left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called Eumenes. This Eumenes enlarged his kingdome, making his advantage of the diffention. betweene Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the fonnes of the fecond Antiochus. He fought a battaile with Hierax, neere vnto Sardes; and wan the victorie. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that served under his Enemie, he ysed a pretic denice. He wrote the word\*VICTORIE vpon the hand of his Sooth fayer, in \*Interiore fuch colours as would eafily come off: and when the hoteliner of the beaft that was small a case facrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armic as a Miracle, plainely fore-shewing that the gods would be affiftant in that

After this victorie, he grew a dreadfull enemie to Seleucus: who never durft attempt to recouer from him, by warre, the Territorie that hee had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twentie yeeres, hee died by a furfet of ouermuch drinke; and left his Kingdome to Attalus, of whom wee now entreat, that was sonne vnto Attalus the yongest brother of Philetarus. Attalus was an undertaking Prince, verie bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He reflored his friend Ariarathes the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was greiuously molested by Acheus: who setting up himselfe, as King against Antiochus the great, reigned in the leffer Afia. He was besieged in his owne Citic of Pergamus: but by helpe of the Tectofaga, a Nation of the Gaules, whom hee called ouer out of Thrace, He reconcred all that he had loft. When thefe Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they never wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters; or interposed themsclues, without inuitation, and found themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused Prusias King of Bithynia to cease from his warre against Brzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neverthelesse within awhile after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victorie; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increating; they occupied the R egion about Hellefont: where, in feating themselves. they were much beholding vnto Attalus. Neuertheleffe, prefuming afterwards 50 vpon their frength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto Attalus than to any that had worse descrued of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time follow-

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The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posteritie of such, as had saued themfelues and their Prouinces, in the flothful reigne of the Persians, or in the bulie times of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were vericancient. For the first of their line had married with Atossa, fifter vnto the great King Cyrus. Their Countrie was taken from them by Perdiceas, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom Perdice as crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civill warres among themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his of-spring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian 10 Empire; and are faid to have iffued from the royall house of Achamenes The Paphlagonians derived themselves from Pylamenes, a King that affilted Priamus at the warre of Trey. These, applying themselues vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of Prustas had begun to reigne in Bithynia. fome few generations before that of the great Alexander. They lay fomewhat out of the Mscedonians way : by whom therfore, having other employment, they were the leffe molefled. Calantus, one of Alexanders Captaines, made an Expedition into their Countrie; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doc with a Licutenant of Antigonus, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of Prusses, whom wee have alreadie some- 20 times mentioned.

#### ð. VII.

The Towne of Cios taken by PHILIP, at theinstance of PRVSIAS King of Bythynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, PHILIP growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred upon by ATTALVS King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

R v s 1 A s as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Attalus; whose greatnesse he suspected. He therefore strengthned himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of Philip; as Attalus, on the contrarie fide, entred into a strict Confederacie with the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greekes. But when Philip had ended his Ætolian warre, and was deuising with Antiochus about sharing betweene them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein Ptolomie Philopater a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne Ptol. Epiphanes a yong child his heire; the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towns of the Ciani, and beflowit vpon him. Prufas had no right vnto the Towne, nor just matter of quarrell against it : but it was fitly feated for him; and therewithall rich. Philip came; as one that could not well denie to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby hee mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadours came to him whilest heelay at the feige, from the Rhodians, and diversother States: entreating him to forfake the Enterprise. He gaue dilatoric, but otherwise gentle answeres: making shew as if he would condiffee d to their request; when he intended nothing leffe. At length hee got the Towne: where, cuen in presence of the Embassadours, of whose sollicitation he had semmed so regardfull, He omitted no part of crueltie. Hereby hee rendred himfelfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his Fact was detected of the Rhodians: who had made vehement intercession for the poore Ciani; and were aduertifed by Embassadours of purpose sent vnto them from Philip, That, howfocuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as foone as he lifted: yet in regard of his love to the Rhodians, Hee was contented to

gurit ouer. And by this his clemencie the Embassadours said, that he would manifest vnto the World, what slanderous tongues they were; which noysed abroad fuch reports, as went of his fallhood and oppressions. Whilest the Embassadours were declaiming at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect; there came fome that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that Philip had sacked and destroyed the Towns of Cios, and, after a cruell flaughter of the Inhabitants, had made flaues of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians tooke this in great despight, no lesse were the Atolians inflamed against him : fince they had fent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia and Chalcedon (which he had withdrawne from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was Attalus moued, with confideration of the Macedonians violent ambition, and of his owne cflate. He had much to loofe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had alreadie, as a new King, followed the example of Alexanders Captaines, in purchasing with much liberalitie the louc of the Athenians; which were notable Trumpetters of other mens vertue, having loft their owne. On the freindship of the Etolians he had cause to presume; having bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with Philip. The Rhodians that were mightie at Sea, and held verie good intelligence with the Agyptians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States, Hee casily drew into a streight Alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued against Philip.

CHAP.4.S.7. of the Historie of the World.

Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the readic affishance of the Rhodians, Attalus prepared to deale with the Macedonian by open warre. It had beene vnfeafonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemie tended; fince his defire to fasten vpon Asia was manifest, and his fallhood no leffe manifest, than was fuch his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from Chies, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though Attalus was driven to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the Rhodians tooke his deaths wound : and though Philip after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, fo 30 that he had the gathering of the Wracks vpon the shore : Yet for a smuch as He had fuffered farre greater loffe of ships and men, than had the Enemie : and since Hee durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victoric was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, Philip afterwardes besieged and wanne some Townes in Caria: whether onely in a brauerie, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull delire of conquest; it is vncertaine. The stratageme, by which hee wonne Prinassiu, is worthie of noting. Hee attempted it by a Myne : and finding the Earth fo stonie, that it relisted his worke, Hee neuerthelesse commaunded the Pyonersto make a noyfe vnder ground; and fecretly in the night-time Hee rayfed great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the befeiged, that the work went meruailously forward. At length he sent word to the Townesmen, that by his vnder-myning, two acres of their wall flood onely vpon woodden props: to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercie. The Prinassans little thought, that hee had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raife up those heapes which they faw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselues to be outfaced; and gaue up the Towne as loft, which the Enemie had no hope to winne by force. But Philip could not state to settle himselfe in those parts. Attalus and the Rho-50 dians were too ftrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make hast back into Macedon; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

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# δ. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, feeke matter of quarrellagainst PHILIP. The Athenians. upon flight cause, proclaime warre against PHILIP; moved thereto by ATTALYS; whom they flatter. PHILIP winnes divers Townes: and makes peremptorie answere to the Roman Embassadour. The furious refolution of the

Hele Alatique matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet ferued well to make a novie in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if nor with a defire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceint that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Easterne Countries; and knew, that

there was none other Nation than the Greekes, which lay betweene them and the Lordship of Asa. These Greekes were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece euer fince the Reignes of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturals : yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because Hee was original- 20 ly for footh a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene most beholding vnto him, were neuerthelesse wearie of him, by reafon of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detaine the Roman Armies: especially since the divisions of the Countrie were fuch, that euerie pettie Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generalitie. But the poore Commonaltic of Rome, had no great affection to fuch a chargeable enterprife. They were alreadie quite exhausted, by that grieuous warre with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loane to the Republike all their monie:neyther had they as yet receiued, neyther did they receiue vntill fifteene or fixteene yeares after this, their whole fumme backe againe. That part of paiment also which was alreadic made, being not in present monie, but much of it in Land : it behoued them to rest awhile; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leffe able to bestow cost. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent Embassadours to follicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Alia; or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had fent letters of the same tenour to the Senate. and magnified his intelligence, by fetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemie, that follicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant thortly to hold warre with the Romans upon their owne ground. Philip had indeed 40 no fuch intent : neither was he much too firong, either of himfelfe, or by his alliance in Greece, to be refifted by Attalus and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the Ætolians their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of those, that were more mightie than himselfe. Hee was too vnskilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needes bee seeking new enemics. And he found them fuch, as he deferued to have them: for hee offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in miserie, and had done 50 him no harme. It behoued him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the vemost in making warre vpon them; or, in delisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, having broken that League of peace which is of all other the most

natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, valefle they think themselves iultly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perfwaded, that he might wel be fecureof the Romans, because of the written Coucnants of peace between him & them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby fuch articles of peace can bee held inuiolable, faue onely by the water of Styx, that is, by Necessitie: which whilest it bindes one partie, or \*SirFi.Bacon both vito performance, making it apparent that her fall be a loofer who flars from the Conditions, it may follong (and follong onely) bee prefumed, that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans neuer hearkned after Philip: for necessitie made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was this River of Styx dried vp: and then could they sweare, 15 \* Mercurie did in the Comedie, by their owne selves, even by their good swords, \* Plant. Ans. that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of Sopater into Africke, and the present warre against Attalus; were matter of quarrell as much as needed : or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territorie, tooke state vpon them neuerthelesse, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ceres, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous superno fittion, vainly faid to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) discouered themselucs by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Herevpon they were brought before the Officers; and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to have therein done amisse; yet, as it had beene for some hainous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrimen at home tooke this in ill part; and fought to reuenge it as a publike injurie, by warre vpon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip fome Macedonians to helpe them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence away with them a great bootie. This indignitic flirred vp the high-minded Athemians; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had abilitie to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadours to King Attalus; gratulating his happie successe against Philip, and entreating him to visit their Citie. Attalus was hereto the more willing; because He understood, that the Roman Embassadours, houering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to bee there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piraus, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemie to Philip; and He being no leffe glad, when hecheard of their purpose to renew the warre. The Athenians came forth of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as folemne a pompe as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the Romans that were with him, in verie louing manner: but towards Attalns himselfe they omitted no point of obferuance, which their flatterie could suggest. At his first comming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: where they defired him to honour them with his presence, and let them bearehim speake. But he excused himselfe; saying. That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliner in writing, what he would have to bee propounded. Hee did fo. The points of his Declaration were; first, what hee had willingly done for their fake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation 50 vnto them to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest Hee with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing and readie to take their part : which if they now refused to doe, He protested, that afterwardes it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little entreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as He to delire it. As for other matters; they loaded him with immoderate honours:

and ordained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the bodie of their Citizens conlifted, thould be added another, and called after his name; as if Hee were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athen.

Thus beganne a great noyle of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romans for their part; Attains and the Rhodians taking all yoon them. But while the Gwer vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the Achienato their partie: that contraire to their olde manner were glad to bee at quiet: Philip wanne the Townes of Masonea and Anna, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing ouer the Hellespont, Hee laid siege van Cabpalus; and wanne to it, though Hee was faine to state there long. The Towne held out, rather you an oblimate resolution, and hope of succour from Attains and the Rhodians, than any great abilitie to defend it selfe against so mightie an Ememie. But the Rhodians for thickness for the there oughed to make good the place. The Roman Embassiadours wondred much as this great negligence, of them that had taken so much you them.

These Embassadours C. Claudius, M. Emplius, and P. Sempronius, were fent vnto Ptolemic Epiphuns King of Ægpt, to acquaine him with their Victoric agains Hambid and the Carthaginius; as also to thanke him for his fa-10 nour vnto them shewed in that warre; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need e ragainst Philip. This Ægptim King, was now in the third or fourth yeare of his Reigne, which (as his Father Philippure had done before him) Hee beganne a verie young boy. The courtesse for which the Remans were to thanke him, was, That out of Ægpt they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the misferies of Warre had madeall their owne Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message of Warre had madeall their owne Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message could not but be welcome to the Ægptim: since it was well knowne, how Philip and Antischus had combined themselues against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason bee hoped, that Hee, or 30 his Councell for him, should offer to supplie the Remans with Corne; since this their Macedonian Expedition, concerned his Estate no lesse theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leifure, and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Amylius the youngest of them should steppe aside, and visit Philip, to trie if Hee could make him leane the feige of Abydus; which else Hee was like to carrie. Amylius, comming to Philip, telles him, that his doings are contrarie to the League that Hee had made with the Romans. For Attalus and the Rhodians, vpon whom Hee 40 made Warre, were Confederate with Rome : and the Towne of Abydus, which Hee was now beseiging, had a kind of dependancie vpon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, That Attalus and the Rhodisns had made Warre vpon him: and that Hee did onely requite them with the like. Doe you also (fayd Emy. lius) requite thefe poore ABYDENI with fuch terrible Warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made upon you? The King was angric to heare himselfe thus taken short: and therefore Hee roundly made answere to Amylius; It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (about all, ) your being a Roman, that makes you thus prasumptuous. But I would wish yee to remember the League that yee base made with me, and to keepe it : if see doe otherwise, I will make see under-fland, that the Kingdome and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, polosse noble than the Roman. So Hee dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Towne immediatly yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died euerie one of them and set their Towne on fire; binding themselues hereto

by a fearefull oath, when Philip denied to accept them upon reasonable Conditions, But having in desperate fight, oncerepelling him from the Breach, loft the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouernours and Ancients of the Citie, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to Philip: about which whiled they were bulies, the memorie of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger fort; that, by exhortation of their Priess, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselues. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the Abydoni three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Towns, or hazard themselues in interrupting the violence of those mad sooles.

# δ. I X.

The Romans decreewwre against PHILIP, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in desence of the Athenians their Consederates. (
How poore the Athenians were at this time, both in qualitie and estate.)

His calamitic of the Abydeni, was likened by the Romans vnto that of the saguntines: which indeed it nearely refembled; though Rome was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to helpe themselues with pretence for the warre, they had found out another saguntines, cuen the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian should wanne, then rested there no more to doe, than that he should presently embarke himselfe for Italie, whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum in fine monethes, but in the fhort space of five dayes fayling. Thus P. Sulpicius the Conful tolde the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon Philip, which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyrrhus was by him alleadged; to shew, what 20 Philip, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vndertake; as also the fortunate Voyage of Scipio into Africk, to show the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Countrie. By such arguments was the Commonaltic of Rome induced to beloise, that this warre with the Macedonian was both just and necessarie. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Conful hasted away towards Macedon, having that Province allotted vnto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must be acquainted with. Great thankes were given to the Athenian Emballadours, for their constancie (as was faid) in not changing their faith at fuch time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thankes were do due to them; though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselves, that any Greeke Towne, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne partes; had reason to give thankes vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue fuggestion, That Philip was making readic for Italie: and since neyther Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romans to give them protection: these busic-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, about a matter of May.game, (as was shewed before) sent Embaffadours into all parts of the World, cuen to Ptelemie of Agypt, and to the 70 Romans, as wel as to Attalus and other their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authours of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless is loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of P. Subscius the Conful were such, as might have argued Athens to bee the least part of his care. Hee sailed not about Peloponness, but tooke the readie

CHAP.4. \$ 10.

way to Macedon; and landing about the River of Apfus, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, there beganne the warre. Soone vpon his comming the Athenian Embaffadours were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was so farre from them. They bemoaned themselues as men besieged, and entreated him to deliuer them. For which cause He sent vnto them G. Claudius with twentie Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces He retained with him, for the profequation of a greater designe. The Athenians were not indeed belieged; onely fome Rouers from Chaleis, in the Ile of Eubara; and fome bands of aduenturers out of Corinth, vied to take their shippes and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of 10 these two Townes. The Robberies done by these Pyrats and free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike Athenians, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Seige. From such detriment the arruall of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, eafily preserved them. As for the Athenians themselves: they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the Conquests of Agypt, Cyprus, and Sicil; to make warre vpon the great Persian King; and to hold so much of Greece in Subjection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest: had now no more than three Shippes, and those open ones, not much better than long Boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men; but stood as highly your the glorie and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had beene still their owne.

#### X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Euboca, taken and fackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garyson at Athens. PHILIP attempted to take Athens by Swprise: wastest ble. Countrie about: and makes a ioun nie mito Peloponness. of N. A. 11 s. the Tyrant of Lacedamon, and his wife. PHILIP offers to make ware agains? N. A. 11 s. for the Achonan. Hereturneth homethrough Attica, which he spoileth against his provides against his Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans, Dinners Princes topine with them.

Great labouring to draw the Letolians into the warre.

HILIP, returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Conful his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment; or perhaps before hee had well refolued, whether it were best awhile to sit still, and trie what might bee done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist the site of the s ders with all his forces: Hee received advertisement from Chaleis of a gricuous 40 mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius with his Romans, finding no fuch worke at Athens as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad; purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the Warre, and make his owne employment better. Hee grew soone wearie of sitting as a Scarre-Crowe, to faue the Athenians grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a bufineffe of more importance. The Towne of Chalcis was negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiours therein, for that there was no enemie at hand; and more negligently by the Townsmen, who reposed themselves vpon their Garrison. Hereof Claudius having advertisement, failed thither by night for feare of being deferied; and, arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He yled no mercie, but flew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it (vnlesse hee should have left the heartlesse Athenians to their owne defence) He fet it on fire; confuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all proui-fions for warre, which were plenteoufly filled. Neither were He and his Affociates

contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried abord their ships and with enlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned; but to shew their despight and hatred vato the King, they ouerthrew and brake in peeces the Statuas vnto him there erected. This done, they hafted away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias about some twentie miles thence: whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet hee made all haft to take reuenge. Hee thought to have taken the Athenians with their truftie friends, busie at worke in 10 ranfacking the Towne, and loading themselves with spoile: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundered horse : whereof leaning at Chalcis onely a few to burie the dead, Hee marched thence away speedily towards Athens: thinking it not unpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their victorie, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chaleis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation; if a Fooot-post, that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descried him a far off, and swiftly carried word of his approch to Athens. It was midnight when this Post came thither : who found all the Towns allegoe, as feareleffe of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme; and 20 with all speed made readie for defence. Within a few houres Philip was there who feeing the many lights, and other fignes of bulle preparation viuall in fuch a cafe, understood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the wals. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by Sea, and had no cause of hast) yet having in the Towne some mercinarie souldiours, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they aduentured to iffue forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip make approch. The King was glad of this : reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. He therefore 30 onely willed his men to follow his example; and prefently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight he gaue fingular proofe of his valour : and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great flaughter backe into the Citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would have allowed, eyen to the veriegate. But he retired without harme taken; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vsetheir casting weapons against him, without endangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the Citie. There was a Temple of Hereules, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments belides, necreadiovning vnto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even vnto the 40 fepulchers of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of Attalus his men from . Agina: too late, in regard of what was alreadic past; but in good time, to preuent him of fatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to Corinth : and hearing that the Acheans held a

Parliament at Arges, He came thither to them ynexpecked.

The Achaesis were deutling you warre, which they intended to make again! Nais the Tyrant of Lacedomen: who being that day hin the roome of Machanidas, did greater milchiefe than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly you his Mercinaries; and of his fubjects had no regard. He was a cruell opprefilor; a greedie extortioner you those that he of the many and one, that in his natural of condition similar than the same and the same are the same are the was a cruel of the same and the same are the same and the same are t

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and apparrelled it with fuch coftly garments as shee vied to weare. But it was indeede an engine, feruing to torment men. Hereof he made vie, when hee meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose monic hee was desirous; Hee would bring him into the roome where this counterfait

Apega stood, and there we all his art of perswasion, to get what hee desired, as it were by good will. If he could not fo speede, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractorie denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who sate by in a chaire) could perswade more effectually. So hee led him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for embracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nailes, the like whereof were also sticking in the breafts, though bidden with her clothes; and herewith the griped the poore wretch: to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was Nabis in his Gouernement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the Ltolians, as Machanidas and Lyour our had done before him. By these hee grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with Philip, at the end of their former warre. Of Philopamens vertue hee stood in feare; and therefore durft not prouoke the Acheans, as long as they had fuch an able Commander. But when Creliades, a farre worfe Captaine, was their Prator; and all or the greatest part of their Mercinaries were discharged; Philopamen being also gone into Crete, to follow his 20 beloued Occupation of warre: then did Nabis fall upon their Territorie; and wasting all the feilds, made them diffrust their owne safetie in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the Acheans were preparing for warre, when Philip came among them; and had fet downe, what proportion of fouldiours cuerie Cittie of their Corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them, not to trouble themfelues with the care of this businesse; for a smuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himfelfe. With exceeding joy and thankes they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That, whilest hee made warre upon Lacedemon, Hee ought not to leave his owne Townes virguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Corinth, and some 20 Companies into the Ile of Eubara; that so he might securely pursue the war against Nabis. Immediatly they found out his deuice : which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his war against the Romans. Wherefore their Prætor Cycliades made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Patliament, than those for which it was affembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against 20 abis; hee brake vp the Assemblie, with eueric mans good liking : whereas in former times, Hee had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Paralites.

It greined the King to have thus fayled in his purpose with the Acheans. Neuertheleffe he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and fo returned by Co- 40 rinth backe into Atties. There he met with Philocles one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had been doing what harme he might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusine, the Hauen of Pyraus, and even the Cittie of Athens. But the Romans made fuch haft after him by Sea, thrufting themselues into cuerie of these places; that he could no more than wreak his anger vpon those goodlie Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time fingularly beautified. So He destroyed all the workes of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plentic, of their owne; or, haming long agoe beene Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his men to 50 breake the verie stones, that they might be unseruiceable to the reparation. His losse at Chalcis being thus reuenged vpon Athens, Hee went home into Macedon: and there made prouision, both against the Roman Consulthat lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardsnians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to in-

fest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the Etolians: to whose Parliament. shortly to be held at Naupactus, he sent an Embassage : requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

CHAP.4. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

Sulpicius the Roman Conful encamped upon the River of Apfus. Thence he fent forth Apultius, his Lieutenant, with part of the Armie to walt the borders of Mace. don. Apullius tooke fundrie Castles and Townes; vsing such extremitie of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towne which he wan by force, that none durst afterwards make refistance, vnlessethey knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conful with his spoile, He was charged in Rere, you the

passage of a Brooke, by Athenagor as a Macedonian Captaine : but the Romans had the better; and killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their bootie, with which they arrived in safetie at their Campe. The fuccesse of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet ferued to draw into the Roman freindship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus, the sonne of Scerdilaidas the Illyrian; Aminander King of the Athamanians; and Bato, the sonne of Longarus, a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their affiltance vnto the Conful, who thanked them : and faid. That hee would shortly make vse of Pleuratus and Bato, when hee entredinto Mazedon : but that the freindship of Aminander, whose Countrie lay betweene the Atolians and Theffalie, might be perhaps availeable with the Etolians, to firrethem vo against

So the present care, was wholy set vpon the Atolian Parliament at hand. This ther came Embassadours from the Macedonian, Romans, and Athenians, Of which, the Macedonian spake first; and faid, That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace between his Master and the Atolians: fo was it to be hoped, that they would not fuffer themselves without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to confider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended onely to defence of the Atolians: and yet notwithstanding had been angric, that the Actolians, by making

20 peace with Philip, had no longer neede of fuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was cuch the generall hatred, which these Barbarians bore vnto the Greekes. For euen after the fame fort had they leant their helpe to the Mamertines: and afterwards delinered Syracufe, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian Tyrants: but now both Syracuse and Messana, were subject vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the fame effect he alleadged many examples, adding, That in like fort it would happen to the Etolians : who, if they drew fuch Masters into Greece. must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to confult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would ease them of this care, and 40 fend them fuch a Moderator, as went cuerie yeere from Rome to Syracule; Where-

fore he concluded, That it was best for them, whilest as yetthey might, and whilest one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with Philip: with whom if at any time, vponlight occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeares agoe made the peace which stil continued; although the same Romans were then against it, who It would have troubled the Romans, to frame fought to breake it now.

a good answer to these objections. For the Macedonian had spoken the veric truth. in showing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie, did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were fet on by them to speake next; who had 50 store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make Philip odious.

These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few dayes past made war youn the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in Attiea. Herewithal they made a pitifull rehearfall of their

owne calamities: and faid, that if Philip might haue his will: Ætolia, and all the reft of Greece, (hould feele the lame that Attuahad felt; yea that Athens it selfe, togener with Atherna, Inpiter, Ceres, and other of the gods, were like to haue selt, if the wals and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had betretofore taken armes, wentroundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made warre in the Ætolians behalfe, and that the Ætolians had without their consent made peace: whereof since the Ætolians must excuse themselbers, by alleaging that the Romans, being busseld with Carthage, wan, ted leisure to give them aid convenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and 10 the Romans wholy bent against their common selemic; it concerned the Ætolians to take part with them in their war and vistorie. valles they had rather periss with

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so we hement, in offering their helpe ere it was desired: were themselves carried who the war by more carried motives, than a simple desire to helpe those freinds, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have beene the cause, why Dorymachus the Estellan Prator shifted them off awhise with a dilatorie answer: though hee rold his Countrimen, That by referring themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might a ficerwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer 10 was, first, in general termes; That ouer-much half was an enemic to good counsel: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming nevert to the matter in hand, He passed an Decree, Thus the Prator might at any time east an Assemble of the States, and therein conclude upon this businesses, and the contra-rie notwiths summer, whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of such asserts.

### δ. X I.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmilhing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalys and the Roman Fleet.

HILLIP was glad to heare, that the Romans had fped no better in their folicitation of the Atolians. He thought them hereby disappointed, in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to difappoint them of another. His sonne Perfeus, a very boy, was sent to keepe the streights of Pelagonia against the Dardamans; hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his atmic. It was indeed, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young source, would ged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings fonne, how young source, would see the second of the se

him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his armie. It was indged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soener, would god, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how young soener, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies; by making them at least beleue, that he was not weakely attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same Persun, as we were selected, was in like manner left upon the borders of £10sta by his father; whome earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet vnder sterastics, would serve to keepe Attalus, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his journie Westward against Sabsium the Conful.

The Armies met in the countrey of the Dassarti, a people in the vtmost borders of Macedon towards sllyrit, about the mountaines of Candania; that running along from Hamm in the North will they ioyne in the South with Pindun; inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three daies they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Conful was the first that is suffered forth

of his Campe into the open feild. But Philip was not confident in the strength which he had then about him, and therefore thought it better to send forth some of hight-armed Mercinaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was vanvilling to hazard all as first youn a Cast, and therfore sent for Perseus with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse with the sound of the word of the word of the same of the word of t

CHAP.4. \$ 11.

10 Go gaue charge to Albertagor.e., one of his Captaines, to prouoke out the Remant of fight; intructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselues respectively, as opportunitie should fall out. The Romant had no mistrust of any ambush; having sought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when Albertagoras began to fall backe, they charged him so hody, that they drawe him to an haltic slight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not slaying to let them runne into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conful hereby gathered, that the

22 King had fome delire to trie the fortune of a battalic; which are therefore predicted the fector time; leading forth his Armie, and fetting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of helpe which the Romans had neuer yield before, but had taken the fe of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was fearce about fourefeore yeeres crethis, that Pyrthus carried Elephants out of Greece into Halie, to affitight the Romans, who had neuer feene any of those beatls before. But now the fame Romans, 5 (whileft possibly fome were yet aline, which had knowen that Expedition of Pyrthus Jeome into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them; whereof the CMacedonius and Greeks thau enone. Philip had patience to let the Conful braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the Roman had

3º greater needeto fight, than Hee. Sulptitus was vnwilling to loofe time: neither could he without great danger, lying fo neere the Enemie, that was firong in horfe, fend his men to fetch in corne out of the feilds. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: prefuming that Philip would not aduenture to meet him on even ground; and fo the more boldly he fuffered his Forragers to over-run the Countrie. The King was nothing forrie of this: but permitted the Romanto take their good pleafure: even illtheir prefumption, and his owne fuppofed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was cometo passe, he tooke all his borie and light-armed foote, with which hee occupied a place in the midway, between the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages.

40 that none should ceape. The rest hee sent abroad the Countrie, to fall you the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which scaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scoure the faileds, lighted all or most of them you the King and his companies in their slight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was cret the Campe had newes of this. Bur in the end there ceaped some who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went; yet by telling what had happened to themselines, raised a great tumult. Subjetion hereuponsends sorth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it medfull! He himselise with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse duits to ded themselines, accordingly as they were with aduertissments upon the way, into

O ded themfelues, accordingly as they met with aduertitements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moft of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon Philips Troupes, that were canualling the feild, tooke their taske where they found it. But the maine bulke of them fell upon the King himfelfe. They had the difaduantase: as comming fewer, and upprepared, to one that was readie for them.

of

So they were beaten away : as their fellowes also might have beene, if the King had well bethought himfelfe, and given over in time. But while, not contented with fuch an harnest, he was too greedie about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in light : which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne fafetie. They ranne which way they could; and (as men that lie in wait for others, are foldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemie, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loft. The Kings horse was slaine under him: and there had be beene cast away, if a louing subject of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken, and killed.

In the common opinion Philip was charged with improvident rallineffe; and the Conful, with as much dulneffe; for this daies feruse. A little longer flay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow; since when all the feilds about them were wasted, they must needes have retired backe to the Sca. On the other fide it was not thought valikely, That if the Romans following the King, had fet you his Campe, at fuch time as he fled thither halfe amazed with feare of being either flaine or taken; they might have won it. But that noble Historian Linie, (as is commonly his manner) bath judiciously observed, That neither the one, 20 nor the other, were much too blame in this daics worke. For the maine bodie of the Kings Armie laie safe in his Campe; and could not be so assonished with the loffe of two or three hundred Horfe, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himfelfe; He was advertised, that Pleuratus the Illyrian, and the Dardamans, were fallen voon his Countrie; when they found the passage thereinto open, after Per/eus was called away from custodie of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to doe fomewhat betimes that he might fet the Romans going the fooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublefome neighbours. In confideration of this, Philip was defirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as foone as he might. And to that purpe fe he fent vnto the Conful; re- 30 questing a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his Campe to beguile the Enemie, as if he had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not flow to follow him. He ouertooke the Macedonians in a place of firength, which they had fenced (for it was a woodie ground) by cutting downe trees, and laving them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian Phalans was of little vie; being a fquare battaile of pikes, not fit for cueric ground. The Archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed, more feruiceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrowes were of small force against the Roman sheild. The Macedanians therefore helped them by flinging of stones. 40 But to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victorie (fuch as it was) laid open vnto the Conful some poore Townes there about; which partly were taken by ftrong hand; partly yeelded for feare. But the spoile of these, and of the feilds adjoyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Armie; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrie. The King fent Athenagoras to wait vpon them home; whileft he himselse went against the Etelians. For Damocritus the Prætor of the Aetolians, who had referued himfelfe and his Nation vnto the event of things, hearing report, that Philip was beaten once and againe : as also that Pleuratus and the Dardenians 50 were fallen vpon Macedon; grew no leffe busic on the sudden, than before he had beene wife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time; and so, not staying to proclaime war, ioyned his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invalion vpon Theffalie. They tooke and cruelly facked a few Townes: whereby they

grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they lifted. But Philip came vpon them ere they looked for him : and killing them as they lay difpersed, was like to have taken their Campe; if Aminander, more warie than the Atolians, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrie.

About the fame time; the Roman Fleet, affifted by Attalus and the Rhodians, had raken some small Islands in the Legan Sea. They tooke likewise the Towns of oreum in the Ile of Eubaa; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen to Attalus, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the \* Etolians: the goods therein found were given to the Romans; and the people, for flaues. Other attempts on that fide were hindred; eyther by foule weather at Seas or by want of daring, and of meanes.

# d. XII.

VILLIUS the Roman Conful wastes a yeare to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italie. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage, MASANISSA, and VER-MIN A. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. QVINTIVS FLAMINIVS is fent against him.



Hus the time ranne away : and P. Villius, a new Conful, tooke charge of the Warrein Macedon. Hee was troubled with a Mutinie of his olded Souldiors: whereof two thousand, having ferned long in sidi and Africk, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home.

They were (belike) of the Legions that had ferued at Canna: as may feeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long ablent from Italie, whither faine they would 30 haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How Villins dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the Historic of his yeare is lost: whereof the miffe is not great; fince hee did nothing memorable. Valerius Antias, as wee find in Linie, hath adorned this Villeus with a great exploit against Philip. Yet since Linie Lini.L.32. himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Authour; we may reasonably believe, that Villins his

In the beginning of this Macedonian Warre, the Romans found more trouble than could have bin expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of Placentia, a goodly and flrong Towne, which neyther Hannibal, nor after him Afdrubal, had beene able 40 to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burntin a manner to the ground. In like fort Cremona was attempted; but faued herfelfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitic. Amilear a Carthaginian, that had staied behind Afarubal, or Mago, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard: they fent Embassadours to the Carthaginians: giving them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behoued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen Amilear, who made warre in Italie. Herevnto it was added (perhaps left the meffage might feeme otherwife to have fauoured a little of some scare) That of the Fugitive slaves belonging vnto the Romans, there were some reported to walk vp and down in Carthage: which if it were so, then 50 ought they to beereftored backe to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand; had further charge to treat with Masanissa, as also with Vermina the sonne of Syphax. Vnto Masanissa, be-

fides matter of complement, they were to fignifie what pleafure Hee might doe them , by lending them some of his Namidian Horse , to serue in their Warre against the Macedonian, Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of King; and promifed thereafter to descrue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were fomewhat fcrupulous in the matter : and faid. That having beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemie, Hee ought first of all to delire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, faue onely vpon fuch as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours vpon such termes as they should thinke sit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answere, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear : bani- 10 thing him; and confifcating his goods. As for the Fugitiues; they had reftored as manie as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requifite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they fent a great proportion of Corne to Rome: and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King Mafanissa would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. Vermina met with the Embaffadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome: and, without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans bufied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might purfue it ftrongly, and without interruption. As for Amilear and his 20 Gaules : they laid seige vnto Cremona; where L. Furius a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. Amilear the Carthaginian died in this battaile; and the fruit of the Victorie was fuch, as both made amends for loffes past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwardes should have the mannaging of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leifure to thinke vpon the businesse of Macedon: where Philip was carefully prouiding to give contentment vnto his subjects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as also to affure vnto himselfe the Acheans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when Villius, having vnprofitably laboured to find way into Macedon, taking a journie (as Sulpicius had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen Conful, and had Macedon allotted him for his Pronince, whose comming was expected and he very shortly arrived at the Armie.

## d. XIII.

The Romans beginne to make warre by negotiation. T. OVINTIVS winnes a passage against PHILIP. Thessale wasted by PHILIP, the Romans, and Atolians. The Acheans for faking the Macedonian take part with the Romans. A treatie . of peace, that was vaine. PHILIP delivers Argos to NA-BIS the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after fisch a trifling manner. It was their vie, to give battaile to the Enemie, as soone as they met with him. If hee resused it, they besieged his 50 Townes: and fo forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his difaduantage in reputation, when hee had long forborne it (as it would bee interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with Philip, they beganne to learne of the fubtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation:

CHAP.4. S.13. of the Historie of the World.

wherein hitherto they were not growne fo fine as within a little while they proued. Their treasurie was poore, and stood indebted, \* manie yeares after this, vnto prinate men, for part of those monies that had beene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie averse from the Macedonian Warre; and had thereby driven the Senators greedie of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being wearie of the flow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie; that they might have the lesse need to relie your their Confederates. So they leavied eight thousand foot and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with T. Quintius Flaminus the new Consulinto Macedon. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie : but by ftraining themselves to the most of their abilitie, they should (besides other difficulties, incident vnto the fullenance of those that are too manie and too farre from home) have bred some icalousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some friends, yea perhaps have increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiours. This present augmentation of the forces was verie requifite; for that Attalus, about the fame time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embaffadours: requesting that eyther they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against Antiochus who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it oncourteoufly, that he quitted the Warre with Philip, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkeable. They faid. That it was not their manner to vie the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to affoord it; That they could not honeftly take part with Attalus, their good friend though hee were, against Antiochus, whom they held in the like account; but That they would deale with Antiochus by Embaffadours, and (as common friendes unto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betweene them. In such louing falhion did they now carrie themselves, towards their good friend the King Antion thus: who reciprocally, at their entreatie, withdrew his Armie from the Kingdome 20 of Attalus. But how little they regarded these tearmes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with Philip; it will verie soone appeare.

T. Quintius halling away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the Supply decreed vnto him, which confilted, for the most part, of olde Souldiours, that had served in Spaine and Africk. He found Villius the old Consul, (whom at his comming hee presently discharged) and King Philip of Mucedon, encamped one as gainst the other, in the Streights of Epirus, by the River of Applus or Aous, It was manifest, that eyther the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seeke their way into Macedon through the poore Countrie of the Daffarctions; or elfe winne, by force, that paffage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had alo readic two yeares together mispent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals : whereof they could neyther carrie with them from fufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get ouer thefe Mountaines, which divided the South of Epirus from Theffalie: then should they enter into a plentifull Countrie; and which, by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South bors der. Neuerthelesse the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of Apfus, running along through that Valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it al adeep Marish and vnpassable Bogge; a verie narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine Rock by mans hand. Wherefore Quintius affaied to climbe in the Mountaines : but finding himfelfe difappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemie, who neglected not the gard of them that was verie easie; Hee was compelled to sit still, without doing

any thing, for the space of fortie dayes. This long time of reft gauchope vnto Philip, that the warre might bee ended by Gggggg

composition, vp on some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Conful had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conful would have him to fet all Town es of Grecce at libertie; and to make amends for the injuries, which hee had do no to many people in his late Warres. Philip was contented to give libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late; but vnto such, as had beene long subicct ynto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinguish his claime and Dominion over them. He also said. That as farre forth as it should appeare, that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoeuer. He could well be pleafed to make fuch amends, as might feeme convenient in the 10 judgment of some free State, that had not beene interested in those quarrels. But herewithall Quintius was not fatisfied. There needed, (hee faid) no judgment or compromise; for a smuch as it was apparant, that Philip had alwayes beene the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars : and when the Conful was required to name those Townes, that he would have to be fet at libertie; the first that hee named were the Thessalians. These had beene subjects (though conditionall) vnto the Macedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of Alexander the Great and of Philiphis father. Wherefore, as foone as Flaminius had named the Theffalians; the King in a rage demanded, what sharper Condition Hee would have laid vpon him, 20 had he beene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flane away: refusing to heare any more of fuch discourse.

After this; the Conful strone in vaine, two or three dayes together, to have prenailed against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept, When he had wel wearied himselfe, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heard man, fent from Charopus a Prince of the Epirots that favoured the Romans. who having long kept beafts in those Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths; and therefore undertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemie. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great reward, in case he 39 made good his word; had fuch Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trauailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for scare of being discouered. When they had reconcred the hil-toppes, and were aboue the Macedonians, (though undiscouered by them because at their backs) they raised a great smoke; whereby they gave notice of their fuccesse vnto the Coful. Some skirmilhes, whilst these were on their journie. T. Quintius had held with the Macedonian; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he faw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were fent: He preffed as neare as he could vnto the Enemies Campe: 40 and affailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times; vntill the shoutings of those that ranne downe the Hill, and charged Philip on the backe, aftonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King. vpon first apprehension of the danger, made al speed away to saue himself. Yet anon confidering, that the difficultie of the passage must needes hinder the Romans from pursuing him: He made a stand at the end of fine miles; and gathered there together his broken troupes, of whom hee found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians beganne to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of fuch advantage, they should hardly make good their partie against 50 the Enemie, vpon equall ground. Neyther was Philip himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the The falians, as many of them as in his hastic retrait he could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie; carrying away with them as much as they wereable, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perfwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleafure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the fubliance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly relifted him: which they might the better doe, for that he could not flay to vica my great compulsion. He allo himselfe tooke it verie greitourly, that he was driven to make fuch wast of a most pleafant and fruitfull Countrie, which had ever been well affected vnto him: fo that a little hinderance did ferue, to make him breake off his purpose; and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of Assection.

The Atolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were even in a redinesse to inuade The sale, ; whereinto the waies lay more open, out of their feuerall Countries. - When therefore they heard for certaintie, that Philip was beaten by the Romans: they foreflowed not the occasion; but made all speede, each of them to lay hold you what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his comming, that He, in gleaning after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Armic. Thus were the poore Thel. falians, of whose libertie the Romans a few daies fince had made shew to be verie defirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates, not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoid. T. Quintius wan Phaleria by assault: Metropolis and Piers y eclded vnto him. Rhage he belieged; and having made a faire breach yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the inhabitants, and 20 by a Macedonian Garrison therein. Philip also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, houered about Tempe with his Armie; thrusting men into all places, that were like to be diffressed. So the Conful, having well neare spent his victuailes, & feeing no hope to prenaile at Rhige; brake up his liege, and departed out of Thessile. Hee had appointed his shippes of burden to meet him at Antierra, an Hauen towne of Phocis, on the Guife of Corinth : which Countrie being freind to the Macedonian, he presently inuaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conveniently scated betweene Thessale and other Regions, wherein hehad busines, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in Phoeis he wan by affault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mene time L. Quintins the Confuls brother, being then Admirall for the In the mene time L. Quintins the Confuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this war, io yned with King Lattalus and the Rhedian Fleet. They wan two Cities in Eukea, and afterward laid fiege vnto Canhere, an Haune and Arcenal of the Carinthius so in their Eafterne Sea. This enterprife did somewhat helpe forward the Achaens, in their desire to leaue the part of Philip: since it might come to passe, that Corinth it selfie, cre long time were spent; and that Conhere, with other places appertayning to Carinth, now verie shortly; should be rendred vnto their Naplaces appertayning to Carinth, now verie shortly; should be rendred vnto their Naplaces appertayning to Carinth, now verie shortly; should be rendred vnto their Naplaces appertayning to Carinth, now verie shortly; should be rendred vnto their Naplaces appertayning to Carinth, now verie shortly.

tion, by fauour of the Romans. But there were other Motiues, inducing the Acheans to prefer the freindship of the Romans, before the patronage of Philip; whereto they had been e long accustomed. For this King had fo many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best courset orid their hands of him; whilest being entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of fuch counfale, as they should hold the fafest. His tyrannous practifes to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poisoning of atus their old Gouernour: His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long fince to hold him as a necessarie eaill, euen whilest they were vnable to bee without his affiliance. But fince by the vertue of Philopamen, they were growne formewhat 50 confident in their owne firength, fo as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well subsist, as having him to freind: then did they onely thinke how enill he was. and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessarie. It angred him to perceive how they frood affected; and therefore he fent murderers, to take away the life of\* Philopamen. But fayling in this enterprise, and being detected:

\*Plut.in vits Philopem, Inflin, l. 29. he did thereby onely fet fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. \*\*Philopamea wrought fo with the \*\*Achaems\*: that no difcourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to with-draw themselues from the \*\*Macedonian\*. Cycliads, a principal man among them, and lately their Prator, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of \*\*Philop\*\* and \*\*Ariftamus\* chosen Prator, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the \*\*Romans\*.

These newes were verie welcome to T. Quintius. Embassadours were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates King Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Acheans; making promife, that they should have Corinth restored .. vnto them, if they would for fake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Achains was held at Sieyon, to deliberate and resolue in this weightic case. Therein the Romans and their adherents defired the Acheans, to loyne with them in making warre vpon Philip. Contrariwife, the Embaffadours of Philip, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the Acheans of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of Philips Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it game the Achaans to understand, That hee, who could be fatisfied with fo little at their hands, knew himfelfe vnable to gratifie them in anv reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councel; who remem- 20 bring the benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured earnefly for the prescruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future ; prenailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which he, (and Antigonus before him) had partly fold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this war. With Attalus & the Rhodians : they forthwith entered into focietie with the Romans (because no League would be of force, vntill the Senate and People had approved 20 it) they forbore to decree any focietie at the present; vntill the returne of those Embaffadours from Rome, which they determined to fend thither of purpose, The Megalopolitans, Dymaans, & Argines, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honestie thereto give affent. For this their good will, and greater which they shortly manifested, the Argines had folittle thanke ; that all the rest of the Acheans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a folemne day at Arges, the affection of the Citizens difcouered it felfe fo plainly, in the shalle of Philip; that they which were his Partifans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might have any finall affishance. Philotele, a Licutenant of the Kings, lay then in Covinls; which he had manfully defended again the Romans and Attalia. Him the Conspirators drew to Arges: whither comming on a finden, and finding the Multitude readie to iowne with him; He casily compelled the Athana Carrison to quit

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corimth and some other Townes, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie: whiles as yet with his honour he might seke it, and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consoli would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of Titus his hands, if it were not concluded the soften: Who should take the worke out of Titus his hands, if it were not concluded the soften: Titus had the like respect who himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to predipose things who a conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sca-shore; in the Bay

then called the Malian, or Lamian Bay, now (as is supposed) the Golfe of Ziton, in the Agean Sea, or Archipelago. Thither came Titus, with Aminander the Athamanian; an Embaffador of Attalus; the Admirail of Rhodes; and some Agents for the Atolians and Acheans, Philip had with him fome few of his owne Captaines, and Cycliadas, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he faid) none but the immortall gods : yet mildoubting fome treacherie in the Stolians. The demands of Titus in behalfe of the Romans were, That he should fet all cities of Grecce at libertie ; deliuer vp to the Romans and their Confederates. all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's ; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in Illyria; and what locuer about Greece or Afia he had gotten from Ptolemie then King of Agypt, after his fathers death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made entire, of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late warre betweene them. The Rhodians would have againe the Countrie of Perea, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that hee should withdraw his Garrisons, out of divers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Hauens of their freinds. The Acheans defired restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the one of which they might, not vniutly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their confent. The Atolians tooke vpon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leaving it free ; and withall to deli-20 uer vp vnto them, what souer he held that had at any time beene theirs, Neither were they here-withall content : but infolently declaymed against him , for that which he had lately done in Thessalie; corrupting (as they faid) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert Atolians, Philip commanded his Gallie to row nearer the shore. But they began to plie him a fresh: telling him, that he must obey his betters; vnlesse he were able to defend himselfe by force of armes. He answered them, (as he was much given to gybing) with fundrie scoffes; and efpecially with one, which made the Roman Conful ynderstand, what manner of companions these Etolians were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as 30 likewise, the rest of the Greekes; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take (poile from (poile: yet could be get no better an answer, than Execute. è that they would sooner take Atolia out of Atolia. Titus wondered what might be the Popp. 1.17. meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it alaudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by fending voluntaries to ferue on both fides, that should spoile both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece 3 He faid it was strange that the Atolians should be so carefull thereof, fince divers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no Gracians: wherefore he would faine know, whether the Romans would give him leave to make flaves of those Atolians, which were no 40 Greekes. Titus hereat smiled: and was no whit offended, to heare the Ætolians well ratled vp; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that general demand of fetting all Greece at libertie; Philip acknowledged, that it might well beseeme the greatnesse of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might beseeme his owne dignitie. But that the Atolians, Rhodians, and other pettic Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them, asif by their great might hee should be hereunto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Acheans he char-

ged with much ingratitude : reciting against them some Decrees of their owne;

wherein they had loaden both Antigonus and him, with more than humane honors.

rinth, that he would turther deliberate with Tilm himfelfe. Thus he addressed himfelfe wholy to the Roman Generall : vnto whom if he could give satisfaction, he ca-

redlittle for all the reft. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late warre, (he faid) was

onely defensive; they having beene the offerers: or if he gave them any occasion,

Gggggg 3

50 Neuerthelesse he said, that he would render Arges vnto them; but, as touching Co-

it was onely in helping Prufias, his fonne-in-law; neither did hee fee why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of Venus, hee had cut downe the Groue and pleafant walkes thereabouts : what could he doe more, than fend Gardiners thirher with yong Plants; if one King of another would fland to aske fuch recompence. Thus he iested the matter out: but offered neuerthelesse, in honour of the Romans. to giue backe the Region of Peranto the Rhodians; as likewife to Attalus, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that daies conference, because it was late: Philip requiring a nights leifure to thinke upon the Articles, which were many and he ill prouided of Counfaile, wherewith to aduife a- to bout them. For your being fo ill provided of counfaile, faid TITVS, you may even thank your selfe; as having murdered all your freinds, that were wont to adusse you faithfully. The next day Philip came not, vntill it was late at night : exculing his long flay by the waightinesse of the things propounded; whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleived, that hee thereby sought to abridge the Atolians of leifure to raile at him. And this was the more likely; for that hee defired conference in private with the Roman Generall. The fumme of his discourse, as Titus afterward related it, was, That he would give to the Acheans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto Attalus and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Liolians that hee would grant some part of their de-20 mands; and to the Romans, what focuer they did challenge. This when Titus his affoicates heard, they exclaimed against it: saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which hee now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to Philips care: who thereupon design red a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, hee would fuffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning : at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with fincere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediatly conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had alreadic tendered; or other-wise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to Rome, where hee would referre himselfe to the courtesse of the

This was cuen as Quintius would have it: who flood in doubt, leaft a new Conful might happen to defraud him of the honour, which hee expected by ending of the warre. So he casily prevailed with the rest, to affent hercunto : for a smuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for feruice in the warre; and fince, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resolutely either in warre or peace. Further he willed them to fend their feuerall Embassadours to Rome : which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip, from obtayning any thing to their preiudice. Among the rest he perswaded King Aminander, to make a journie to Rome in person : knowing wel, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his owne Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had alreadic (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the Greekes, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, in vndertaking to fet Greece at libertie. But this (they fayd) could neuer be effected; vnleffe especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Countrie, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in serui-

litie; that the Senate agreed to haue it even so as they desired. When therefore the Embaffadours of Philip were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were breifly cut off in the middest of their Præface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would reeld up Corinth , Chalcis , and Demetrias : Hereto thev made answer. That, concerning those places, the King had given them no direction or Commission what to say, or doc. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to Philips defire of peace; wherein they faid heedid no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours haue truly said, That neither the Etolians, Acheans, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late T reatic required by name, that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any Claime to either of these Townes ? As for Corinth, whereto the Achaans had fome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other) Philip had alreadie condescended to give it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would have beene alleadged, even against the Greekes in

CHAP.4. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

excuse of the King, by some of T. Quintius his freinds; that so he might have had the honour to conclude the warre, if a Succeffor had beene decreed vnto him. But fince He was appointed to continue Generall: neither his freinds at Rome, nor Hee himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into Greece, cared to give eare vnto 20 any talke of peace.

Philip, feing that his Acheans had forfaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himfelfe ento Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many yeares past, since

the Lacedemonians under Cleomenes, with little other helpe than their owne frength, had been almost strong enough both for the Macedonians and Achaans together. But now the condition of things was altered. Nabis his force confided in a manner wholly in his Mercinaries: for he was a Tyrant; though stiling himselfe King. Yet he forely vexed the Acheans : and therefore feemed vnto Philip one likely to fland

him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that 20 the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be configned ouer into his hands; in hope, that fuch a benefit would ferue to tie him fast vnto the Macedonian . Philocles the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with Nabis, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the Lacedamonian, by giving some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto Nabis his fonnes. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vnleffe by decree of the citizens themselues He might be called into it. Hereabont Philosles dealt with the Argines: but found them so auerse; that, in open assemblic of the people, they detested the verie name

40 of the Tyrant, with many railing words . Nabis hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed Philodes, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was readie to receive. Philoeles accordingly did let him with his Armie into it by night; and gaue him poffession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argines : who for verie loue had for saken the Acheans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant madehimselse Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, understanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that stated behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alfo a great imposition of monie was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were difmiffed without more a-

doe. But if any flood long your the matter : or plaied the theines, in purloyning their owne goods, they were put to the whip, and, befides loffe of their wealth, bad their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely fuch, as might ferue to make him gracious with the rafcall multitude: abro-

gating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By fuch are of oppressing the great ones, it hath beene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as Nabis had gotten Arges, He sent the ne westo T. Quintius; and offered to joyne with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it: so as hee tooke the paines to croffe ouer the Streights into Peloponne/w, there to meet with Nabis. They had foone agreed (though King Attalus, who was prefent with the Conful made fome cauill touching Argos) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Romans fixe hundred of his Mercinaries of Crete: as also hee agreed with the Acheans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, referring the finall conclusion of peace betweene them untill the Warre 10 of Philip should be ended, which after this continued not long.

#### A. XIIII.

The battaile at Cynoscophala, wherein PHILIP was vangui-Shed by T. QVINTIVS.

ITVS QVINTIVS, as soone as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of 20 time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all thinges readie for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did Philip: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leffe failed in his hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that Warre; meant afterwardes wholly to relie vpon himfelfe.

Plut in vita T.

Titus had in his Armicabout fix and twentie thousand: and Philip a proportionable number. But neyther of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely Titus heard that Philip was in Theffalie; and thereupon addreffed himfelfe to feeke him out. They had like to have met vnawares, neare vnto the Citie of Phera: where the vant-courriers on both fides discovered each other: 30 and sent word thereof vnto their severall Captaines. But neither of them were overhaltic, to commit all to hazard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them fent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their feuerall Campes, with little aduantage vnto eyther fide. The Countrie about Phera was thicke fet with Trees; and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-wals; which made it unproper for feruice of the Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the King diflodged, intending to remoue back vnto Scotufa in the Frontier of Macedon; where he might be plentifully served with al necessaries. Titus coceiued aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thither wards; were it onely to wast the Coun- 40 tric. There lay betweene them agreat ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuerthelesse they encamped not farre afunder, both the first and the second night; though neyther of them understood what was become of the other. The third daic was verie tempessuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then fent they forth discoucrers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse, But Philip anon fent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the Atolians had not beene desperare, the Romans their fellowes had beene driven backe into their Campe. Yet all relissance notwithstanding, the Miceconians prevailed : so that Titus himselfe was 50 fame to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horfe, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the newes

came to him thick and tumultuoully, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: insomuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hils, which for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word fignitying as much, Cynoscephala. As soone as he was on the hil-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were bufie in fight, almost at the verie Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. He had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his aduantage: forasmuch as the Romans were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this 10 commoditie hecould makeno great vie: the roughnesse of the place among those Dogsheads, as they were called, feruing nothing aptly for his Phalanx. Neuertheleffe hee found convenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with thereft; embattaling them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: Hee perceived that his Horsemen and light armature beganne to shrinke; as being fallen vpon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He fets forward to helpe them: and they no leffe hastily draw vnt ohim for fuccour; having the Romans not farre behind

As the Legions beganne to climbe the Hill, Philip commanded those of his Pha-20 lanx to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here Titus found an extreme difficult peece of worke. For this Phalanx, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to bee resisted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phalanx it felfe held together undiffolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in verie close order: fo that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherfore it is no maruel, if the Rom ins gaue back: euerie one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer vnto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. Titus 20 finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled; for that fill the Phalanx bare downcall which came in the way. But in the meane while hee observed, That they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able, through the much vneuennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: fo as eyther they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elfe (which was worfe) vpon defire eyther of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to bee partakers in the worke, ranne foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder He made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these il ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute 40 what should bee done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as having no one man appointed, to comand that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnvscfull. For let it be supposed, that Philip having six and twentie thousand in his Armie (as he is said to have beene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thousand Horse, fourethousand Targettiers, and soure thousand lightarmed: fo shall there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof hee himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a Phalanx; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom Quintius is readie now to charge. The Phalanx having vivally fixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, have well neare source hunodred and fortic in ranke : but foure hundred would ferue , to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or feuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as Polybius doth, to eueric man of them three foot of ground: this Lib.17. Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and fortie paces;

that is, verie nearea quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaine. free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that

must of necessitie dilioyne this close battaile of the Phalanx; was not cucric where

to be found. Here at Cynolcephale Philip had so much roome, as would onely suffice

for the one halfe of his men : the rest were faine to stand still and looke about thems being hindred from putting themselues in order, by the roughnesse of the Dogges

heads. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficultie in mastring those enemies.

whose icet were in a manner bound by the discommoditie of the place. The verie

of the Legions, to betake themselues vnto flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell.

feeing the victorie on that part affured, left the profequation of it vnto others; and

being followed by twentie Enlignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fallout) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable pecce of worke; and mainly

helpfull to making of the Victorie complete. He confidered that Philip, in purfuing

the right wing of the Romans, was runne on fo farre; as that himselfe with his fel-

lowes, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was alrea-

die gotten aboue the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand; and ma-

king downe the Hill after the Kings Phalanx, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindmost rankes of the Phalanx, all of them indeed faue the first fine, were accustomed, 20

when the batailes came to joyning, to carrie their Pikes vpright; and with the

whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen; and so were they doing at

the present. This was an other great inconvenience in the Macedonian Phalanx,

That it ferued neyther for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though

it were so, that Alexander, when he was to fight with Darius in Mesopotamia, arran-

ged his Phalang in fuch order, that all the foure fides of it were as fo many Fronts

looking fundrie wayes, because hee expected that he should be encompassed round:

vet it is to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loofe order, that fo with case they might turne their 30

weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be condered, That Alex-

anders men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their own ground; not being

able to follow vpon the Enemie, vnleffe their hindmost rankes could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip, there was no such prouision for resi-

ftance. Therefore his men, being otherwife vnable to helpe themselues, threw

downe their weapons, and fled. The King him selfe had thought vntill now, that

the fortune of the battaile was cuerie where alike, and the day his owne. But hea-

ring the noyfe behind him, and turning a little afide with a troupe of Horfe, to fee

how all went: when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Remans at his backe on the higher ground; Hee presently betooke himselfe to flight.

Neyther staid he afterwards in any place (except onely a small while about Tempe

there to collect such as were dispetsed in this ouerthrow) vntill hee was gotten into

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about feuen hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and fine thousand taken Prisoners.

his owne Kingdome of Mucedon.

first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give backe; and the comming on

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d. XV.

T. QVINTIVS falleth out with the Etolians; and grantes truce unto PRILIP, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Libertie proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrell with ANTIOCH VS.

He Ætolians wonderfully vanted themselues; and desired to haue it noised through all Greece, That the victoric at Cynoscephale was gotten (in a manner) wholy by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the Macedonian Campe, whilest the Romans were busied in the chace. Titus therefore being offended

both at their vaineglorie, and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them asslightly, as they thought highly of themfelites. He also well perceived, That by vsing them with any extraordinarie fauor, he should greatly offend the rest of his Contederates in Greece; who detested the Ætelians much more vehemently, than euer they had done the Macedonians. But

20 this displeasure brake not forth yet awhile.

After the battaile Titus made hast vnto Larissa, a Citic of Thessalie: which he prefently tooke. Before his comming, Philip had fent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixthim and others. of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to prouide for the safetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Lariffa might well perceive, that he gave them as alreadie loft. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the same time, the Towne of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleete: and verie soone after, all the 30 Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Etolians euer true to Philip; gaue up themselues unto the Romans, hearing of the victorie at Cynoscephala. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Persa, a Region of the Continent over against their lland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treatie of peace with Philip. They did herein more manly, than any other of the Greekes: for a fmuch as they awaited not the good leifure of the Romans; but with an Armie of their owne, and some helpe which they borrowed of the Acheans and other their freinds, gaue battaile to Dinocrates the Kings Leiutenant, wherein they had the victorie, and consequently recoursed the whole Province. It angred Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to inuadehis Kingdome; washing and spoiling, as if all had beene abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all hast, of fix thousand foot and fiue hundred horse: wherewith comming vpon them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdome. Which done, He returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisedome to yeeld vnto neceffitie; and therefore sent in all hast Limneus and Demosthenes, with Cycliadas the banished Achean, in whom hee reposed much confidence, Embassadours vnto Titus. These had conference a long while in private, 50 with Titus and some of his Roman Colonels : by whom they were gently entertained, and in verie freindly wife dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all vnto Titus his owne discretion; as Philip himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto them a Truce for fifteene daies: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General. In the meane scason ma-

nie fuspitious rumors went of Titus; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the Greekes his Confederates. Of these bruits the Aton lians were chief authors: who being wont to regardneither freindship nor honestie. where profit led them a wrong way, judged a like of all men elfe. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and Philip, Titus had fent letters vnto his Affociates; willing them to have their Agents readie by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the Treatic should be held. There when they were all affembled, they entred into confultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every Estate in particular. The poore King Aminander befought them all, and especially the Romans, that 10 they would think vpon him; and confidering his weaknes which he confessed, make fuch provision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home. Philip might not wreake his anger you him who was not able to refif. Then fooke Alexander one of the Atolians: who commending Titus for so much as he had thus affembled the Confederates to aduife upon their owne good, and had willed them to deliver their mindes freely; added, That in the maine of the purpose which hee had in hand, he was vtterly deceined: for that by making peace with Philip, hee could neither affure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their libertie. There was, he faid, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of Rome, or with the faire promises made by 20 Titus himselfe vnto the Greeks, than the chacing of Philip quite out of his Kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But Titus answered. That this . Atolian was ill acquainted, either with the good pleafure of the Senate and People of Rome, or with the laudable customes which they generally held : for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to feeke the vtter deliruction of any King or Nation, at fuch time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessitie, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alleaged the Carthaginians as a notable example : adding, That victorie, to generous mindes, was onely an inducement vnto moderation. As concerning the publik benefit of Greece: it was (he faid) expedient, that the Kingdome of Macedon should be greatly weak- 20 ned and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroicd; forasmuch as it ferued as a barre, to the Thracians, Gaules, and a multitude of other fauage Nations, which would foone ouerflow the whole Continent of Greece, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if Philip would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith he had preffed him in the former Treatie; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the Atolians: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began Phaneas, another of the Atolians, to fav. That all was come to nothing; for that cre long, Philip would trouble all the Greekes, no leffe than hee had done in time before . But Titus interrupted him, and bad him leave his babling; faying, T hat himfelfe would take fuch order, as that Philip, were he neuer fo delirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the Greekes.

The next day King Philip came thither: whom Titus vsed freindly; and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day sollowing; wherein the King yeelded unto all that had beene required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. Phaneas the Atolian, infulting oner him, faid it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length give vo to the Liolians a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake, whether he would, or not. His answer was, that they might take them all. But Titus interpofing himselse, said it should be otherwise; 50 These were Thessalian Townes, and should all be free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it selfe to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the Atolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out that it was too great an injurie, thus to defraud them of the Townes that had sometime belonged

belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed Titus to confider that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to have nothing faue the pillage and captines. It is true, that there had beene such a Condition in the former warre; but it ceased to he of any validitie, as foone as the Ætolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them to vnderstand; asking them whether they thought it resonable, that all the Townes in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be delinered into Subjection of the Atolians. The rest of the Confederates were verie much delighted, with these angrie passages betweene the Roman and the Atolians: neither had they great reason, to feare any hard measure; since Titus was so earnest in behalfe of those Thessalians, to give them libertie, though they had stood out against him, even till verie feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves : but gave their consent willingly vnto a Truce for source

CHAP.4. S.15. of the Hiftorie of the World.

The chiefe cause that moved Titus to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian. belides that laudable custome by him before alleadged; was, the fame of Antiochus his comming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing necretoward Europe. He had also perhaps yet a greater motine; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And hee was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadours from the Macedonian, and fundrie States of Greece, came vnto Rome, new Confuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood verie carnestly against the peace; alleading friuolous matter of their owne suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of Philip offering to stand to what soener was demanded. and the letters of Titus preffing them to accept this offer, on the one fide; and the importunitie of the Conful on the other; who faid, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as foone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senatours hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Affemblie of the People: by whose sourciene authoritie it was concluded, That Peace should be granted vnto the King. So ten Embaffadors were fent from Rome ouer into Greece : in which number were they. that had beene Confuls before Titus: and it was ordained by their advice. That Titus should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would verie faine haue retained those three important Cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better setled. But finally Titus prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the Acheans; and all the other Greeke Townes which Philip held, as well in Alis as in Greece, restored vnto

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto Philip, were. That before the celebration of the next \* Ishmian Games, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of al the \* Politices. Greeke Townes which he held, and configne them over to the Romans : That hee greet, Legat, 91 should deliver up vnto them all Captines that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of war, reserving to himselfe onely five of the lesser fort, and one of extraordinarie greatnesse, wherein sixteene men saboured at euerie oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten veeres next following, by cuen portions. Hereto \*Linie addes, That he was for \*Lin.L.381 bidden to make war out of Macedon, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Foure hundered talents hee had alreadie deliuered vnto Titus, together with his yonger sonne Demetrius, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at fuch time as he lately fent his Embassadours to Rome: when it was promiled, that the monie, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this monie were reckoned as Hhhhhh

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part of the thousand talents, I cannot find: and it seemeth otherwise, for as much as yong Demetrius, who together with those fourchundred Talents was given for hoflage, remained fill in custodie of the Romans, as a part of the bargaine which Titus formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by Titus vnto Prusias King of Bithrnia: giuing him to vnderstand, what agreement was made with Philip in behalfe of the Greekes; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by Philip to gratifie this Bythinian his sonne-in-law, should be restored to libertie; and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly materially fince the Romans were shortly busied with Antiochas, in such wife that they in had not leifure, to examine the conformitie of Prufias to their wil.

Al Greece rejoyced at the good bargaine, which Titus had made with Philip. Onely the . A tolians found themselves agreived that they were veterly neglected; which was to the rest no smal part of their contentment. The Bactians continued to fauour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselues. There were fome among them wel-affected to the Romans: who feeing how thinges were like to goe, made their complaint vnto Titus; faying, that they were no better than loft, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnleffe at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor which was head of the opposite Faction might be made away. Titus refused to have an hand in the execution, yet 20 nevertheleffe did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves vidiscovered. But when the murder came out. and somewhat was confessed by those that were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durft not take armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrie. This was detected within awhile, and many of the dead bodies found. Herevpon Titus requires of the Baotians, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred fouldiors, which he had loft by them, to have paid vnto him five hundred Talents. In flead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the Acheans and Athenians, informing them what had happened; and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had descrued. Herewithal he fals to wasting their Countrie; and beliegeth two fuch Townes of theirs, as did fecme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadours of the Acheens and Athenians, (especially of the Achaans who offered, if hee needed them, to helpe him in this war; yet befought him rather to grant peace vnto the Baotians) prevailed fo farre with him; that he was pacified with thirtie Talents, and the punishment of fuch as were knowne offendors.

In like fort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them rejoycing that they were free from the Macedonian; others greatly doubting, that the Roman would proue a worfe neighbour. The Atolians would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne handes all those places, wherein Philip lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceiue, that this Macedonian Warre served as an introduction to the Warre to be made in Afia against King Antiochus; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and manie other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors, when the Isthmian games were held, which in timeof peace were never without great folemnitie and concourse: Titus in that great assembly of all Greece, caufed proclamation to be made by found of Trumpetto this effect, That the Senate 59 and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the Generall, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, did wil to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their owne Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians,

Eubwans, Acheans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Theslalians, and Perrhabians. The suddennesse of this Proclamation assonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great flout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durit scarce credit their own cares. The Greeks were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thankes; which they rendred now to T. Quintius with fo great affection, as that they had welneare (mothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the Greekes, was like to bee much more availeable vnto the Romans in their warre against Antiochus, than could have beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in their Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof; no fooner were thefe Isthmian games at an end, than Titus, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to Hegelianax and Lyfias King Antiochus his Embassadours: whom they willed to signific vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in Asia, and not vex them with warre: as also to restore what some he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, Ptolemie or Philip. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadours, that he should not passe ouer his Armie into Europe; adding, That some of them would visit him in person cre it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the Greekess to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the Phoeians and Locrians they gaue vnto the Atolians; whom they thought it no wisedome to offend ouer-much, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Acheans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the The falians; all faue the Towne of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had been abandoned by T. Quintius to the Atolians in the last Treatie with Philip. The Atolians contended verice earnest about Phar salus and Leucas. But they were put off with a dilatoric answere, and rejected vnto the Senate: for how soeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despight of Titus. So the Acheans were restored Corintle, Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeede (though the Romans yet awhile kept the Acrocorinthus) for that all which were partakers of the 20 Achaan Commonwealth, enjoyed their libertie in as absolute manner, as they coulde defire. To Plearatus the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from Philip : and vpon Aminander were bestowed those Castles, which hee had gotten from Philip during this Warre; to reigne in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had bin their owne Carners, Attalus was dead a little before the Victorie; and therefore loft his share. Yet many that were with Titus in Councell, would have given the Townes of Oreum and Eretria, in the Ile of Eubwa, to his sonne and successour King Eumenes. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the Eubwans, should bee suffered to enjoy their libertie. Orestis, a little Province of the Kingdome of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea. had veilded vnto the Romans long ere this, and fince continued true to them : for which

cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free Estate by it selfe. These businesses being dispatcht; it remained, that all care should be vied, not howto avoid the war with King Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most case and prosperitie. Wherefore Embassadours were sent both to Antiochus himfelfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about vnto others, to prædifpose them vnto the affilling of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the Remans now had, or shortly after found : as also how their Embassadours and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

Habbah 2

CHAP.

What Kinges, of the races of SELEVOVS and PTOLEMIE, raigned in Asia and Agypt before Antiochusthe great.



ELEVEYS NICATOR, the first of his race, King of Alia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred twentie and fourth Olympiad. Hee wastrecheroufly flaine by Ptolemie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos; hauing (as is faid) beene warned before by an Ora- 20 cle, to beware of virgos, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer have read that any mans life hath beene preferred, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of fuch Deuilish Oracles. Rather Ibeleene, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, have beene ante-dated by their Priests or by

others; which deutled them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearely beloued of his Father; who furrendred vp vnto him his owne wife Stratonica, when hee vnderflood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolemie Ce- 30 raunus had great caufe to feare, that the death of Seleucus would not be vnreuenged by this his Successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, cyther with gifts, or perhaps onely with faire words; containing himselfe within Asia, and letting Cerannus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the bloud of Seleu-GMI. It is faid of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Stratonica in his Fathers life, yet out of modestie he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not profecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should have vrged him. Afterwards he had warres with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bithynia. Alfo Lutarius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gaules, were fet voon him by 40 the same Nicomedes. With these he fought agreat battaile; wherein though otherwife the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he wonne the Victorie. Hee tooke in hand an enterprise against Ptolemie Philadelphus: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he foone gaue it ouer. To this King Antiochus Soter it was, that Berofus the Genebrard, lib. 2. Chald.can dedicated his Historic of the Kings of Affyria; the same, which hath since beene excellently fallified by the Friar Annius. He left behind him one sonne, called Antiochus Theos; and one daughter, called Apame, that was married unto the King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeare of the Kingdome of the Greekes; when he had raigned nineteene yeares.

Antiochus, furnamed Theos or the god, had this vaine and impious title given vnto him, by flatteric of the Milesians; whom hee deliucred from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppressed them. Heleld long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolemie CHAP.5. S.I. of the Historie of the World.

Philadelphus King of £gypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter of Ptolemie.

Of these two Kings, and of this Ladie Berenice, Saint Hierome and other Interpreters have understod that Prophecie of DANIEL: The Kings daughter of the Dan.c.11.0.6. South, Shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement; and that which fol-

Ptolemie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (fetting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne fifter Arlinge) a verie excellent Prince: howfocuer, the worthiest of all that race. It was Hee, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent vnto Eleazar then high Priest of the Iewes for the Bookes of Moses and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly bin verie great: for He had fet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in flauerie throughout all Agypt; and hee had fent vnto the \* Temple of God in Hierusalem \* Aug.de (in verie rich Presents. Wherefore Eleazar yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which Ptolemie caused to be translated into Greeke, by seuentie two of the most grave and learned persons, that could bee found among all the Tribes. In this number of the feuentie two Interpreters, or (as they are comonly called)the Seventie; Iesus the sonne of Sirach; is thought by Genebrard to have beene one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me verie sufficiently proued by Ianfenius, in his preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this businesse between Philadelphus and the High Pricst, was written (as h sosephus affirmes) by Arist aus that was employed therein. Portic yeares Ptolemie Philadelphus was King reckoning the that Booke time wherein he iountly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towardes his end hee grew more voluptuous, than hee had beene in his former yeares in which time he boafted, that hee alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had beene referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might have flood with reason: o. reft Lodonicus therwise, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. He was the first of the Kings, derived from Alexanders Successors; that entred into League with the Romans: as also his Off-spring was the last a-

mong those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp. Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at fuch time as he married with if it were to be Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemie. After his fecond marriage, hee vied his first wife with no better regard, than if thee had beene his Concubine. Landice hated him for this: yet aduentured not to feek renenge; untill her own some Selencus Callinieus, was of abilitie to be King. This was two or three yeares after the death of Ptolemie Philadelphus: at what time shee poysoned her husband Theos; and by permission of Seleucus her sonne, murdered Berenice, together with a sonne that shee of it is come had borne to Antiochus, Iustine reports, that Berenice faued herselfe, together with the yong Prince her child, awhile in the Sanctuarie at Daphne: and that not onely forme Cities of Asia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolemie Euergetes, King of Leyot, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was flaine be-

With fuch cruelties Selencus Callinious, fucceeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeares beene King, beganne his Reigne. His subjects were highly offended at Middendorpiu

his wicked nature; which they discouered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was at Colen. An like, that his Effate would have beene much endangered, if Ptolemie Euergetes, who Iufl.L.a76 came against him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against Ptolemie, in defence of their owne King: but rather they fided with the Agyptian; who tooke Laodice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well descrued. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled Energetes home into Egypt, went about a dan-

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gerous peece of worke, euen to make Warre voon his owne subjects because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had beene much better, by well deferuing, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet hee prepared : in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that hee scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarrie. Herein hee embarqued himselfe; and, putting to Sea, met with fuch a tempelt, as denoured all faue himfelfe, and a verie few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamitic, having left him nothing else in a maner than his naked bodie, turned neuertheleffe to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his Subjects understood, in what for the Gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his estate; and, 10 prefuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their feruice with great alacritic. This revived him, and filled him with fuch foirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Agyptian, he made readic a mightie Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. He was vanquished by Ptolemie in a great bataile; whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwrack. Hasting therefore backe to Antioch, and fearing that the Enemic would foone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother Antiochus Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Alia. Antiochus was then but fourteene yeares olde, yet ex- 20 tremely ambitious; and therefore glad of fuch an occasion to make himselfe great. He leuied a mightic Armie of the Gaules; wherewith he fet for wards to helpe his brother; or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof Ptolemie being aduertifed: and having no defire to put him felfe in danger more than needed tooke Truce with Seleneus for tenne yeares. No sooner was Seleneus freed from this care of the Aevptian warre, but his brother Antiochus came voon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himfelfe to haue the better Armie. So Seleucus was vanquifhed againe; and faued himfelfe, with fo few about him, that hee was verily fuppofed to have perisht in the battaile. Thus did Gods justice take revenge of those murders, by which the Crowneiwas purchased; and settled (as might have beene 20 thought) on the head of this bloudie King. Antiochus was glad to heare of his brothers death; as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts delire. But the Gaules, his Mercinaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them against Eumenes King of Pergamus, in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarrans tooke counsaile against him; and denised how to strippe him of all that hee had. They thought it verie likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should best bee pleasing to themselves, in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on Antiochus, and enforced him to ransome himselfe with monic, as if he had beene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the meane while Seleucus had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to tric his fortune against his brother. Eumenes hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. Antiochus fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great meruaile; fince he had great reason to stand in no leffe feare of the Gaules his owne fouldiers, than of the enemie with whom hee had to deale. After this, Eumenes wanne much in Asia; whilest Antiochus went against his brother. In the second battaile, fought betweene the brethren, Seleucus had the vpper hand: and Antiochus Hierax or the Hawke, (which furname was given him, because he sought his prey vpon cuerie one, without care whether hee were prouoked or not) foared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne 50 Gaules. Having fetcht a great compasse through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia; where his father in law King Artamenes tooke him vp. Hee was entertained verie louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him.

This he foone perceived : and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himselfe your Ptolemie; his owne conscience telling him, what cuill he had meant vnto Seleucus, his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can finde no fure harbour. Ptolemie well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax . Wherefore he laid him vp in close prison: whence though by meanes of an harlot hee got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the handsoftheeues, by whom he was murdered. Neare about the same time died Selencus. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, during his warres with his brother. Hee therefore made a journie against Arfaces founder of the Parthian kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered to closely to him, that he was take prisoner. Ar faces dealt freindly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his necke by a fail from his horse, and so ended his vnhappie reigne of twentie yeeres. He had to wife Laodice, the fifter of Andromachus one of his most trustie Captaines: which was father vnto that Acheus, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became shortly after (as he stilled himself) a kings though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By Laodice hee had two fonnes ; Seleucus the third , furnamed Ceraunus ; and Antiochus the third. called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres : in which time he made war vpon Attalus the first, that was King of Pergamus. Being weake of bodie through lickneffe, and in want of monic, He could not keepe his men of war in good order: and finally he was flaine by treason of Nicanor, and Apaturius a Gaule. His death was reuenged by Achaus, who flue the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Armic: which he ruled verie wifely, and faithfully a while; Antiochiu, the brother of Selencius, being then a Child.

# ð. II.

The beginning of the Great ANTIOCHUS his reigne. Of PTOLEMIE EVERGE-TES, and PHILOPATOR, Kings of Agypt. War between ANTIOCHVS and PHILOPATOR. The rebellion of Molo; and Expedition of ANTIOCHUSA. gainshim. Therecontinuance of ANTIOCH Vs his Agyptian warre with the paf-Tages betweene the two Kings : the victoric of PTOLE MIE; and Peace concluded. Of ACHAEVS, and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall. ANTIOCHVS his Expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kingsreig. ning in India, after the death of the Great ALEXANDER.



CHAP.5. \$ 2.

NTIOCHYS was scarcely fifteene yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted fix and thirtie yeeres. In his Minoritie, Hee was wholy gouerned by one Hermins, an ambitious man; and one which maligned all vertue, that hee found in any of the Kings faithfull fermins. uants. This vilde qualitie in a Counfailor of such great place, how

harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himfelfe; the successe of things wil fhortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of Antiochus his reigne, Ptolemie Euergetes King of Ægypt died; and left his heire Ptolemie Philopator, a yong boy likewise, as hath elf-50 where beene remembred. This was that Euergetes, who releined Aratus and the Acheans : who afterwards tooke part with Cleomenes ; and louingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of Cyrene; by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of King Magas. He was the third of the Ptolemies; and the last good King of the race.

The name of Euergetes, or the doer of good, was given him by the Agyptians; not fo much for the great spoiles which hee brought home, after his victories in Syria: as for that he recoursed some of those Images or Idols, which Cambyles, when hee conquered . Levpt, had carried into Persia. He was readie to have made war vpon the lewes, for that Onias their high Priest, out of meere couetousnes of monie, refufed to pay vnto him his veerely tribute of twentie talents: but he was pacified by the wisedome of Josephus a Jew; vnto whom afterwards he let in farme the Tribures and Customes, that belonged vnto him, in those parts of Syria which he held. For Calefyria, with Palastina and all those parts of the Countrie that lay nearest vnto Leypt, were held by the Leyptian; either as having fallen to the share of Ptole- 10 mie the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slaine in the battaile at Ipfus; or as being won by this Energetes, in the troublesome and vnhappie reigne of Seleucus Callinicus. The victories of this Euergetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucida; were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by S. Hierome. This Ptolemie Euergetes reigned fix and twentic yeeres; and died towards the end of the hundred thirtie and ninth Olympiad . It may feeme by that, which we finde in the Prologue vnto Iefus the fonne of Sirach his booke, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Stracides there faith, that he came into Fernt in the eight and thirtith yeere, when Euergetes was King. It may there- 20 fore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirtie yeeres, were the yeeres of Jefus his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Jewes did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had

Not long after the death of Euergetes: Hermias the Counfailor, and in a manner the Protectour of King Antiochus, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Egyptian; for the recoucite of Calefyria and the Countries adjoyning. This counfaile was verie vnscasonably giuen; when Molo, the Kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and fought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countric. Neuerthelesse Hermias, being more froward than wife, maintained stiffy, that 30 it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend forth against a rebellious Captain other Captaines that were faithful; whileft He in person made warre vpon one, that was like him felfe a King. No man durst gainfay the refolution of Hermias; who therfore fent Xenætas an Achaan, with fuch forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilest in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the Kings Expedition into Calefyria. The King having marched from Apamea to Landicea, and so over the Desarts into the Vallie of Marsyas, between the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus; found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Atolian, that served vnder Ptolemie. So hee consumed the time there awhile to none effect : and then came newes, that Xenatas, his Captaine, was destroied with his 40 whole Armie; and Molo thereby become Lord of all the Countrie, as farre as vnto

Avaetas, whileft he was yet on his iournie, and drew neare to the Riuer of Tigris; received many advertifements, by fuch as fied over vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of 300 were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against the King. This report was not altogether falle; but Molo him felfeshood in some doubtlesh his followers would leauce him in time of necessifier. Avmetas therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the River by Botes in face of his Enemie: left in the night time such as he thought meet to desend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went over Tigris, in a place ten miles lower than Molo his Campe, Abolo heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that Xemetas could not so be shopped. He himself disologed, and tooke his iournie towards Media; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne

fouldiours : or whether thereby to deceive his Enemie ; the great follie of Xenwiss made his stratageme prosperous. For Xenætas, having borne himselfe proudly before, you the countenance of Hermias by whomhe was advanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should give way to his authoritie, without putting him to much trouble of vling the fword. Wherefore he fuffered his men to feati, with the prouisions which they found readie in the forfaken Campe: or rather hee commanded them fo to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselves against the journie, which hee intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting 10 the remainder of his Armie, which he had left on the other fide of Tigris. But Siglo went no further that day, than bee could eafily returne the same night. Wherefore ynderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept : hee made such hast backe vnto them, that hee came vpon them early in the morning; whileft they were vet heatie with the wine and other good cheare, that they had spent at supper. So Xenatasand a verie few about him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the reft were flaughtered, without making reliftance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tigris, was easily taken by Molo: the Captaines flying thence, to faue their owne lines. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto Seleucia, which he prefently tooke : and, mafre-

20 ring within a little while the Prouice of Babylonia, and all the Countrie downer to the Red Sea, or Bayof Perfia. Hebafted vnto Sufa; where at his first comming hee wan the Citie: but failing to take the Callle that was exceeding strong, returned backet or Selencia, there to giue order concerning this busines.

The report of these things comming to Intiochus, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Mar/yas; filled him with great forrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counfaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by Epigenes the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this Enterprise of Calefyria; and bend his forces thither, where more neede required them. This counfaile was put in execution with all conucnient bast. Yet was Epigenes dismissed by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practise of Hermias; who could not endure to heare good counfaile ginen, contrarie to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journie against Mole, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any oddes which hee had of the Rebell in Brength. Molo distrusted his owne followers : and thought, that neither his late good fuccesse, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore hee thought it safest for him, to affaile the Kings Campein the might time. But going in hand with this; Hee was difcoucred by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to returne backeto his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when Antiochus appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to Molo, vpon confidence which hee had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he deceiued in this his beleefe. For not a few men, or Enfignes: but all the left wing of the Enemie, which was opposite vnto the King, changed fide forthwith as foone as euer they had fight of the kings person; and were readie to doe him feruice against Molo. This was enough to have won the victorie:but Molo (hortned the worke, by killing himfelf; as did also divers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne fwords.

After this victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene Laodice, daughter of Milipadates king of Pontus, which was married vnto Interna swhile before had brought forth a fonne. Fortune feemed bountifull vnto the king: and therefore he purpofed to make what vse he could, of her freindly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, Heiudged it convenient to vist his Frontiers; were it onely to terrifie the Barbarian, that bordered youn him. Hereunto his Counsaidor Hermias gaue affent: not so much respecting the kings honours

as confidering what good might thereby happen to himfelfe. For if it should come to passe, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualtie : then made hee no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouernment. Antiochus therefore went against Artabazanes, who reigned among the Atropatians; having the greatest part of his kingdome, fituate betweene the Calpian and Euxine Sea. This barbarous king was vericold and fearefull; and therfore yeelded vnto what socuer Conditions it pleased Antiochus to lay vpon him. So in this iournie Antiochus got honour, fuch as well contented him ; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Phylician of his brake with him as concerning Hermias; informing him truly, how odious he was vnto the people; and how ro dangerous he would be thortly vnto the kings owne life. Antiochus beleiued this, having long suspected the same Hermias; but not daring, for feare of him, to vtter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done; he being trained forth by a fleight a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to have yied fo much arte, in ridding his hands of a man fo much detelled. For how focuer hee feemed gracious whilest he was aline: yetthey that for feare had beene most obsequious to him, whilest he was in case to doe them hurt, were as readic as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved; when once they were secure of him. Yea his wife and children, lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wines and 20 children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, Acheus (of whom we spake before) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of those Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a King. His purpose was to have inuaded Syria : but the same of Antiochus his returning thitherwards, madehim quit the enterprise; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former præsumption. It is verie strange, that Antiochus neither went against Asheus; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purpofes:but wrote vnto him, fignifying that he knew al; and vpbrayding him with 20 fuch infidelitie, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traitor : who being alreadie detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement desire to recouer Calefyria or what else he could, of the Dominions of Ptolemie Philopator in those parts Hebegan with Seleucia, a veric strong Citic neare vnto the mouth of the River Orontes; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus the great who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonia: but Selencus getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and Ptolemie Euergetes having lately won it, might, if it had fo pleased him, 40 have changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanitic of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. Theodotus the Atolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to Antiochus, and defended Calestria in the behalfe of Ptolemie; was now growne forrie, that he had vsed so much faith and diligence, in seruice of an vnthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercinarie, he began to have regard vnto his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthic of these two Kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto Antiochus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolemais. Whilest he was deuising about this treason, and had alreadie sent messengers to King Antiochus: his practife was detected; and he befieged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolemies Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But Antiochus hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way : and afterwards got possession,

not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleete of the Layptian Kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Country, as emboldned him to thinke your making a journic into Egypt it selfe. Agathodes and Salibius bore all the fway in Legypt at that time : Prolemie himselfe being loth to have his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safetie of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as fecretly as might be, for the warre : and neuertheleffe, at the same time. to preffe Antiochus with daily Embaffadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this busines. Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus, as likewise from the Atolians; according to the viuall courtelie of the Greekes, desiring to take vp the quarrell. These were all entertained in Memphis, by Agathocles and Solibius: who entreated them to deale effectually with Antioohus. But whileft this Treatie lafted great preparations were made at Alexandria for the warre: wherein these two Counsailors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victorie would be their owne; if they could get, for monie, a sufficient, number of the Greekes to take their parts. Antiochus heard onely what was done at Memphis, and how defirous the Gouernours of Agypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beleefe, not onely for that hee knew the disposition of Ptolemie, but because the Rhodians, and other Embassadours, comming from Memphis, discoursed vnto him all after one manner; as being all deceived, by the 20 cunning of Agathocles and his fellow. Antiochus therefore having wearied himfelte, at the long fiege of a Towne called Dura, which he could not win : and being delirous to refresh himselfe and his Armie in Seleucia, during the Winter which then came on; granted vnto the Egyptian a Truce for foure moneths, with promife that he would be readie to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine have seemed; but onely to lull his enemies alleepe, whileft he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring Acheus to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Agyptian would have vsed, He vied himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeare better served, little force 30 would be needfull: for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, fince Ptolemie prouided not for their defence. Neuerthetesse he gaue audience to the Embaffadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Agypt: pleafine himselfe well, to dispute about the inflice of his quarrell; which hee purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between Seleucus his Ancestorand Ptolemie the sonne of Lagi, That all Syria, if they could win it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Selencus: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall confent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Ip/us. But Ptolemies men would acknowledge no fuch bargaine, They faid, that Ptolemie the sonne of Lagi, had won Coelesyria, and the 40 Provinces adioyning for himselfe : as also that he had sufficiently gratified Seleucus, by lending him forces to recouer his Province of Babylon, and the Countries about the River of Emphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. Ptolomie demanded restitution; Antiochus thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also Ptolemie would needes haue Acheus comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But Antischus would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seeke to 50 ioyne him in Confederacie with his owne fouereigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and Antischus prepared to take the field againe: contrarie to his expectation he was informed, That Ptolemie, with a verie puillant Armie, was comming vp against him out of Agypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of Ptolemie, that had resisted him the veere before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence nevertheleffe he draue them; and, proceeding onward in his journie, wan fo many places that he greatly increased his reputation; and therby drew the Arabians, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of Ptolemie for looke his pay, and fled ouer to Antiochus. This notwithstanding, the Agyptian had the courage to meet his Enemie in the field. The battaile was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Agretians or Aliatiques were the better fouldiors (forthat the firength of both Armies confifted in Mercinaries, cheifly of the Greekes, Thracians, and Gaules) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. Ptolemie, with Arfinoe his lifter 10 and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did Antiochus on the other fide: each of them rehearling the brane deedes of their Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, wherby to valew themselves. Antiochus had the more Elephants: as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer would have beaten those of Africke. Wherefore by the advantage of these beasts, He draue the enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein hee fought himfelfe. But Ptolemie had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and wan the victorie; whilest Antiochus was heedlesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. Antiochus had brought into the feild aboue feuentie thou fand foot. and fix thousand Horse : whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foote, and not 20 foure hundred horse; yet the fame of his ouerthrow, tooke from him all those places which he had lately wonne. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch: He began to stand in feare, lest Ptolemie and Achaus, setting upon him both at once. should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to fend Embassadors unto the Egyptian to treat of peace : which was readily granted ; it being much against the nature of Ptolemie, to vex himselfe thus with the tedious busines of warre. So Ptolemie, having flaied three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his fubicets, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull

Acheus was not comprised in the League between these two Kings: or if hee had beene included therein; yet would not the Agyptian have taken the paines. of making a fecond Expedition for his fake. The best was, that he thought himselfe firong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with Antiochus. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged vnto Antiochus on this side of Taurus, Hee had also good successe against Attalus King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither washe, as Mole the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwife, and carried beyond himfelfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie : but Cozen german to the King, as hath 40 beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a yonger daughter of the fame Mithridates King of Pontus, which was also called Laodice, as was her fifter the Queene, Antiochus his wife. These things had added maiestievnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whome a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King Ptolemie of Egypt held him in the nature of a freind : and that King Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the King of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene his fonnes-in-law, had no reafon to take part against the more honourable. As for the Agyptian: Hee was not 50 onely flothfull; but hindered by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Agypt, of whom Ptolemie, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ferue in the late Expedition: began to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour

to the Micedonian. Hercupon they refuled to fuffer as much as formerly they had done : fince they leffe effeemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings Mercinarie Greekes; which had hitherto kept them in streight subjection. Thus brake out a warre, betweene that King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King Ptolemie thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have beene spent, as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring Achieus. As for Antigebus: He had no fooner made his peace with the Agyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against Acheus. To this purpose he entred into League with Attalus; that so he might diltract the forces of his Robell, and finde him worke on all fides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were fuch, that within awhile he had pent up Acheus into the Citie of Sardes; where he held him about two yeeres belieged. The Citie was verie strong, and well victualed: so as there appeared not, when the fecond yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres seige. In the end, one Lagor as a Cretan found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a verie high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable: as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the Same, was in like manner fituated upon fleepe Rockes, and hardly accessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkaffes of Horses and 20 other beafts, yea and fometimes of men, yfed to be throwne. Now it was observed by Lagoras, That the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rockes, and to pitch upon the wals; where they refted without any diffurbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded rhat those partes of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapproachable. Heereof hee informed the King: who appropued his judgement, and gaue vinto him the leading of fuch men, as hee defired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The successe was agreeable to that which Lagoras had afore conceived: and, though with much labour, yet without relistance, he scaled those Rockes, and (whileftagenerall affalt was made) entred the Towne in that part; which was, at other times vngarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the Persians, under Cyrus, gotten into Sardes; when Crasfus thought himselfe secureon that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a loffe many ages paft; and therefore out of memorie. Acheus held still the Castle: which not onely feemed by nature impregnable, but was verie wel stored with all necessaries; and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well affured . Antiochus therefore was constrained to wast much time about it; having none other hope to prevaile, than by familhing the inclosed. Besides the vsual tediousnesse of expectation; his busineffe called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Backrians, and Parthians with the Hyreanians, had erected Kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, voon which they still encroched. But he thought it not safe to let Acheus breake loose againe. On the other fide, there were fome Agents of Ptolemie the Agyptian , and good friends vnto Acheus; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this befeiged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more : but prefumed, that when he should appeare in the Countries under Taurus, he would soone haue an Armie at command; and be strong enough to hold Antiochus as hardly to worke, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the waies in the Countrie; and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of Sardes flood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive

5º of Sardes flood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of Polemie, as well as of Adhaus; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vndertookethe busines: and gaue such likelie reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote vnto Achaus by one Arians a trustie messenger; whom Bolis found meanes to conucigh into the Castle. The faith of the Nego.

"Among thefe few I doe not except one, felfe Eudemon John Andrew, a Cretan : who in one of his lare fhameleffelibels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Countrie, with all the good & worthic men of whom he could learne the names; hath, by inferring my name, twice belied me; in calling mea Puritani& one that have been dangerous ynto my Soucraigne. It is an ill spoken of by fo diligent a Supporter of Treasons, and Archite@of whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Creticisme no leffe volum:yond any the Cretians in elder times, that were alwaics Lvers, cuill beafts, and he Polyb Stiff A.3

tiators Achaus held most affured. They also wrote vnto him in privile characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none faue he and they were acquainted: whereby hee knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the mellinger; he was a truftie fellow, and one whom Achaus found, by examination. heartily affected vnto the fide. But the Contents of the Epifile, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus whom Bolis had wonne vnto the bufinesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne : and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus; under whom he had the commaund of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Calle of Sardes. Neuertheleffe other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to to some adventure. When the messinger had therefore passed often to and fro : it was at length concluded, That Bolis himselfe should so me speake with Achaus, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the relt. faue onely by Bolis and Cambylis; which were Cretans, and (as all their Countrimen. \* fome few excepted, have beene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a confultation together, that was, as k Polybius observes it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the fafetie of him whose deliuerance they undertooke, nor touching the discharge of their ownesaith; but onely how to get most, with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally fhare betweene them ten Talents, which they had alreadie received in hand : and 20 then, That they would reucale the matter to Antiochus; offering to deliver Acheus vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present monie, and with promife of confideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it should be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no lesse glad; than were the friends of Acheus well pleased with the comfortable promises of Bolis. At length when all things were in readinesseon both sides, and that Bolis with Arianus was to get up into the Castle, and conneigh Acheus thence : Hee first went with Cambylus to speake with the King, who gave him veric private audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the affurance of his liberall promifes, And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto Ptolemie whom he long had ferued, Hee accompanied Arianus vp into the Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was souingly entertained; yet questioned at large by Achaus, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But he discoursed fo well, and with fuch gravitie; that there appeared no reason, of distrusting eyther honour to bee his faith or judgment. Hee was an old Souldior, had long beenea Captainevnder Ptelemie, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his: who kept a Fort that flood in their way; and there-Lies: in regard by had alreadie fundrie times, ginen fafe paffage and repaffage vnto Arianus. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduenture stirred 40 vp some diffidence. Achaus therefore dealt wisely, and said, That hee would yet flay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with Bolis three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would hee iffue forth himselfe. Hereby in multiplicitie he tooke order, not to commit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But, as Polybius well notes, He did not confider that he plaid the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to fay, That he had to doe with one, whose knauerie could not be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambylus had laid their plot thus, That if Acheus came forth alone, then should be easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should Arianus becappointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and Bolis following behind, should have an eye vpon Acheus, to prevent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might bee to Antiochus the more welcome Pre-

CHAP.5. \$ 2. fent. And in such order came they now forth: Arianus going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way served, and Bolis in the Rere. Acheus made none acquainted with his purpose, till the vericinstant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his wife Laodice; and comforting her with hope as well as hee could, appointed foure of his especiall freinds to beare him companie. They were all difguised : and one of them alone tooke vpon him to have knowledge of the Greeke tongue, speaking and answering, as need thould require, for all, as if the rest had beene Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily deuising vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (faith Polybius,) Though hee were of Crete, and prone to surmife to anything to the mischeise of another: yet could bee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was Acheus, or whether Acheus himselfe were there. The way was verievneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to staie in diners places, and helpe one another vp or downe. But vponeuery occasion, they were all of them verie officious toward Acheus; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as cassly gaue Bolis to vnderstand, that he was the man : and so by their vnseasonable dutie, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus laie in wait; Bolis whiftled, and presently clasped Achaus about the middle, holding him fast that hee should not stirre. So they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to 20 Antiochus: who sat vp watching in his Pauliton, expecting the cuent. The fight of Acheus, brought in bound vnto him, did so assonish the King, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was hee before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration : as also the next morning betimes affembling his friends together, He condemned Acheus to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pittic towardes this vnhappic man. Whereforeit was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the raritie of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it bee so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischeiuous knaues against one Traitour, doth not rarely succeed 30 well; according to that Spanish Prouerbe, Aun traydor dos alleuosos. The death of Achens brought fuch aftonishment upon those which held the Castle, that after awhile they gaue vp the place and themselues vnto the King; whereby hee got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia. Some yeares passed after this ere Antiochus was readie for his Expedition against the Parthians, and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings; and commonly subject vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinces after the death of alexander, the Government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to Eumenes : then to Antigonus; and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleucus: vnder whose po-40 fteritie they continued untill the Reigne of Seleneus Callinieus, being ruled by Leiutenants of the Syrian Kings. The luftfull insolencie of one of these Leiutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished and thought to bee flaine by the Gaules; did firre vp Arfaces, a Noble man of the Countrie, to feeke reuenge of injuries done, and animate him to rebell. So he flew the Kings Leiutenant, made himselfe King of the Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperoully with those that diffurbed him in his beginnings; and tooke Seleucus Callinicus prisoner in battaile, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wanne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good government of his Countrie, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his subjects, that his name was continued vnto his Successors; 10 like as that of the Prolemies in Egypt , and that of the Cefars afterwardes in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucida beyond Euphrates, encreased the Parthians Dominion.

Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet

him in plaine feild; but keptthemselues in Woods, or places of strength, and de-

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fended the Streights and paffages of Mountaines. The refiliances they made auailed them not. For Antiochus had with him fo great a multitude, and fo well forted. as hee needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their Mountaines, it being easie to spare out of io great a number, as many as fetching a compaffe about, might eyther getaboue the Enemies heads; or come behind and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often employ against them his light ar mature: wherewith hee caused them to dislodge, and give way vnto his Phalanx; vpon which they durft not adventure them-Iclues in open ground. Arfaces, the fecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though hee was confident in the fidelitie of his owne fubicets; yet feared to encounter with fo mightie an Inuader. His hope was, that the bad waves, and defarts, would have caufed Antiochus, when he was at Echatane in Media, to give over the journie without proceeding much further. This not fo falling out; He canfed the Wels and Springs in the Wilderneffe, through which his Enemie must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which meanes, and the relistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew him felfe out of the way: fuffering the Enemie to take his pleafure for a time in wasting the Countrie; wherein, without some victoric obtained, hee could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found, That Arfaces was nothing strongly prouided for the warre. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of Parthia: and 20 then forward into Hyreania; where he wanne Tambrace the chiefe Citie of that Pronince. This indignitie and many other loffes; caused Arfaces at length, when hee had gathered an Armie that feemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The iffue thereof was fuch, as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his defires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore Arfaces craued peace, and at length obtained it: Antiochus thinking it not amiffe, to make him a friend, whom Hee could not make a subject.

The next Expedition of Antiochus, was against Euthydemus King of the Baltrians; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors; but having gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With Euthydemus he fought a battaile by the River Arius, where he had the victorie, But the victorie was not fo greatly to his honour; as was the testimonic which hee gauge of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His Horse was flaine vinder him: and hee himfelfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby hee loft fome of his teeth. As for Euthydemus; He withdrew himfelfe back into the further parts of his Kingdome; and afterwards protracted the Warre, feeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadours passed betweene the Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a Countrie of his was vniuftly vfurped from him; Enthydemus answering, That He had wonne it from the children of the Vsurpers: and further, 36 That the Bactrians, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, faue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should joyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified Antiochus; and made him willing to grant peace vpon reasonable Conditions. Demetrius, the sonne of Euthydemus, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father as Embaffadour in this Treatic of peace; was not a little auaileable vnto a good conclusion. For Antiochus liked him fo well, that he promifed to giue him in marriage one of his owne daughters; and therewith all permitted Euthydemus to retaine the kingdome; causing him neuerthelesse to deliver vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to fuch Coucnants as he thought requifite.

So Antiochus leauing the Ballrian in quiet, made a journie ouer Caucasus, and came to the borders of India: where he renewed with Sophagasensus, King of the Indians, the Societie that had beene betweene their Ancestors. The Indians had re-

mained subject ynto the Macedonians, for a little while, after Alexanders death. Enmenes in his Warre against Antigonus, rayled part of his forces out of their Countrie. But when Antigonus after his victorie turned Westward, and was ouer-bufied in a great civill Warre; then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, ftirre vp his Countrimen to Rebellion; making himfelfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him as Protestor of their libertie. This Office and Title hee foone changed, though not withour some contention, into the Name and Majestic of a King. Finally hee got vnto himselfe, (hauing an Armie of sixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had beene Alexanders. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe, 10 ere Seleneus Nicator could find leifure to call him to account. Neyther did He faint, or humble himfelfe, at the comming of Seleueus; but met him in field, as readic to defend his owne; fo ftrongly and well appointed, that the Macdonian was contented, to make both peace and affinitie with him, taking onely a reward of fiftie Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of lone betweene their children, and now renewed by Anisochus: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the Indian King, to an hundred and fiftie; as also he was promised, to have some treasure fent after him; which hee left one to receive. Thus parted thefe two great Kings. Nevetter had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any buli-20 neffe worthie of remembrance with the Westerne Countries. The posteritie of Sanarezettus, is thought to have retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of Auguilus Cafar: 10 whom Porus, then reigning in India, fent Embassadours with Presents, and an Epittle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, Hee faid, That Hee had command ouer fix hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diver: Ages, even vnto the time of Constantine the great: being all peraduenture of the fame race. But Antioches, who in this Treatie with Sophagafenes carried himfelfe as the worthier person, receiving Prefents; and after marched home through Drangiana and Carmania, with fuch reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Asia, but on the hi-30 ther fide of Taurus, humbled themselves vnto him, and called him The Great: faw an end of his owne Greatneffe within few yeares enfuing, by prefuming to fland vpon points with the Romans; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was onely in feeming.

#### d. III.

The lewd reigne of PTOLEMIE PHILOPATOR in Agypt: with the tragicall and of his fauourites, when he was dead. ANTIOCHVS prepares to warre on the young child PTOLEMIE EPIPHANES, the Sonne of PHILOPATOR. Hisirresolution in preparing for divers warres at once. His Voyage toward the Hellespont, Hee feckes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly flow to him; intending neuertheleffe to have warre with him. His doings about the Hellefpont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.



His Expedition being finished; Antiochus had leisure to repose himfelfe awhile, and fluide which way to consure the terror of his pulffance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeares Pstelmie Philostrae diedle leaning his fonce Pstelmie Philostrae diedle leaning his fonce Pstelmie Philostrae diedle leaning his fonce Pstelmie Philostrae diedle leaning his fonce Pstelmie Philostrae diedle leaning his fonce pstelmie philostrae a young Boy, his fuccessor in the kingdome; valikely by him to bee

well defended, against a neighbour so mightie and ambitious. This Pto emic surnamed Philopator, that is to fay, alouer of his Father, is thought to have had that furname given him in meere derifion; as having made away both his Father and Mo. 14/6/11/20; ther. His yong yeares, being newly past his childhood when he beganne to reigne,

may feeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death : yet the beaftlineffe of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to have done any mifcheife, whereof he could be accused. Hauing wonne the battaile at Raphia, He gaue himselfouer to sensualitie; & was wholy gouerned by a Strumpet called Agathoclea. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had adventured herselfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honor. The Leiutenant-ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatfoeuer; were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this Agothoclea, and her brother Agathodes, and of Oenanthe a filthic Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to 10 the great greife of all the Countrie, till Philopator died ; who having reigned feuenteene yeares, left none other sonne than Ptolemie Epiphanesa childe of fine yeares old, begotten on Arimoe that was his fifter and wife. After the Kings death; Agathocles beganne to take vpon him, as Protector of young Epiphanes, and Gouernour of the Land. He affembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinarie forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Agypt with Ptolemie the first, and would not be accounted Egyptians; as neyther would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth vnto them his fifter Agathaclea, with the yong King in her armes; beganne a folemne Oration. He told them, That the deceafed father of this their King, had committed the child into the armes of his fifter, but vnto the 20 faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdome did now relie. He befought them therefore that they would be efaithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one Tiepolemus, an ambitious man. who traiteroufly went about to fet the Diademe you his owne head, being a meere firanger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall hee produced before them a witneffe, that should justifie his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delinered all this with a fained passion of forrow, and counterfeiting of teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that hee Spake; but flood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake vp the 20 Affembly: Hee that had called it, being scarce aware how. Agathocles therefore, whom the old Kings fauour had made mightie, but neyther wife nor wel qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly beene his manner, by vfing his authoritic, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. Hee haled out of a Temple the mother in-law of Tlepolemu; & cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to fuffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and otter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the prefent injurie done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also mooned with feare of 49 harme; which, in way of requitall, Tlepolemus was likely to doe vnto the Citic. For He was, though a man most ynapt for Gouernment, as afterwards hee projed: yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie, It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motiues wrought with the people; fo by the remedie which Azathorles vied, were the Macedons more haltily, and more violently stirred vnto vprore. Hee secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; and deliuered him vnto a follower of his owne, to be examined by torture. This poore fouldior was carried into an inner roome of the Palace and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But while strike whippes were brought forth, and all things even in a readine see for that purpose: there was brought who the Minister of Agathoeles, a lad report of Tlepolemus his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving Moeragenes the Souldior alone by himfelfe, and the dores open. Hee perceiung this, naked as

he was, conneighed himfelfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians, of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Statedonians were as ferce in maintenance of their Priniledges, as are the Twikes laintains. Being affured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene vset; they fell to Armesin a great rage, and beganne to force the Palace: crying out. That they would see the King, and not leave him in posselion of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citic, with lowd clamours, made no lesse about the Souldiors, though to lesseeffect. So the old Bawd Genanthe sted into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter staid in the Court, untill the King was taken from them; and they, to by his permission which hee easily gaue, and by apointment of those that now had him in their hands, delinered up to the burie of the people. Agashockes himsselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked up and downe the streetes, as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tea-

ring them in peeces.

CHAP.5. \$ 2.

These troubles in Agypt, served well to stirre vp King Antiochus; who had verie good leifure though he wanted all pretence, to make warre vpon yong Ptolemie. Philip of Macedon had the same defire, to get what part he could of the childes 20 estate. But it happened well, that Ptolemie Philopator in the Punick Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therfore the Agyptians addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two Kings: who though they fecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into copenant, to divide between them, all that belonged vnto this Orphan; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So \* M. Lepidus was fent from Rome, to \*Infinitizon protect from all violence the King of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian; Hee was verie soone found busied, with warreat his owne doores. Also Scopus the Etolian, being a Pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece to rayle an Armie of Mercinaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I doe not find: and 20 therefore thinke it not improbable, that Hee was fent thither onely one of the three Embaffadours, oin the beginning of the Warre with Philip, as hath beene o Linder; shewed before, As for Scopas; He shortly after went vp into Syria with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, He subdued the Ierres, who feeme to have yeelded themselves a little before vnto Antiochus, at such time as they faw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of recei uing helpe from Egypt. But Vide to sphant, it was not long, ere all these Victories of Scopas came to nothing. For the verie next yeare following, which was (according to Eusebius) the same yeare that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephala; Antiochus vanquilhed Scopas in battaile, and recoucred all that had beene loft. Among the rest, the Iewes with great willingnesse returned 40 vnder his obedience; and were threfore by him verie gently entreated.

The Land of Legypt this great King did forbeare to inuade; and game it our, that he meant to beliow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon Ptolomie: either hoping, as may feeme, that the Countrie would willingly fubmit it felfe vnto him, if this yong child fhould happen to mifearrie; or elfet hat greater purchale might be made in the Westerne parts of Asia, whilest Philip was held ouer-laboured by the Romans. I tappeares that he was verie much distracted; hunting (as weslay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarries betweene Lesting, Philip, and the Greekes, promised to affword him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armite to the steelegons. On the other side, the state of Legypt being such as hath beene devaluate could get in Spris: where all were willing (and the Inves among the rest, though hitherto they had kept saith with the Legyptian) to yeeld him obedience. An other while, letting Legypt alone, He was about to make inussion vpon Attalus his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe casily to be persuaded by the Roman Embase.

fadors

fadors, and delisted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the Romans; He fends Embaffadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amitie betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpassed, That these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate. altogether to the honour of King Antiochus. But this answer of the Romans was not lincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not as yet made an end with Philip: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not flanding much you the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour; they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time Antiochus fights to with Scopas in Syria: and shortly prepares to win some Townes elsewhere, belonging vnto Ptolemie; yet withall hee fends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit hee can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irrefolution, How notwithstanding his attempts your both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to Ptolemie, and another to Eumenes the sonne of Attalus, newly King of Pergamus : feeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was heacting and deliberating at once : being carried with an inexplicable defire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and over-swelling fortunes. How-focuer it was, He sent an Armie to Sarder by Land, vnder two of his owne some 20 willing them there to flay for him; whileft he himfelfewith a Flecte of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veffels, intended to paffe along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in fuch places as held for the Aegyptian. It was a notable Act of the Rhodians, that, whileft the war of Philip lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great Antiochus. I hey sent vnto him a proud Embaffage: wherby they gaue him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meete him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him; but because hee should not joyne with Philip their enemie. and helpe him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King. yet he tempered himselfe, and 30 without any flew of indignation gaue a gentlean fwer; partly himselfe to their Embassadours ;partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embassadours which he thither fint. He shewed his delire, to renew the ancient Confederacies betweene his Ancestors and them; and willed them not to be afraid, left his comming should tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest : they were (he said) his verie good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his Embaffadours:

The Rhodians appeare to have beene a cunning people, and fuch as could forefee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what 40 had passed betweene his Embassadours and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the Afacedonian war was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephale. They knew that Antiochus his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to fit (till; vnleffe the Townes on the South Coast of Asa, belonging to Ptolemie their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever beene greatly beholding, to all the race of the Ptolenses. They therefore, in this time of necessitie, gaue what aid they could vnto al the subjects of the Azyptian in those parts. In like manner did King Eumenes, the fonne of Attalus, prognoficate as concerning the war that followed, betweene An- 50 tinchus and the Romans. For when King Anticchus made a freindly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in mariage: Hee excused himselfe, and would not have her. Attalus and Philetarus, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them. that the Romans would furely make warvpon Antiochus; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he faid, That by abitayning from this affinite, it hould be in his power to ioyne with the Roman, and itrengthen himselfig greatly with their treind-lihp. Contrariwish, if he leaned to Anticolus: as hee muit be partaker in his oer-throw; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an ouer-mightie neighbour, if he happened to win the victorie.

he happened to win the victorie. Antiochus himselfe wintered about Ephelus: where hee tooke such order as hee thought convenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lamplacus to obedience; that had vsurped their libertie, and obstinately strone to mantaine it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he failed ynto the 10 Hellespont: where having won some Townes that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed ouer into Europe side; and in short space mattered the Chersonesus. Thence went hee to Lylimachia: which the Thracians had gotten and deftroied, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman warre. The Ætolians objected as a crime vnto Philip, in the Conference before T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lysmachia, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hercunto Philip made answer, that his Garrison did not oppresse the Towne, but saue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and fackt it, as foone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not accepted as such; might appeare by the miferable case, in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his comming 20 thither. For the Towne was vtterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people, caried away into flauerie. Wherefore the King tooke order to haue it reedified : as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Countrie thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promifes, new inhabitants; and to replenish the Cittie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwel, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians; he tooke a journic in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Armie; leaving the other halfe, to repaire the Citic. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient situation, and former glorie of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it 30 highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts, which his fore-father Seleneus Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearely pay : and as after that victoric against Lysimathus, the death of King Seleucus followed shortly; so shall a deadlic wound of the Kingdome founded by Seleucus enfue verie speedily, after the reconquest of the fame Countrie, which was the last of Seleucus his purchases,

# ð. 1111.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochvs, during their warre with Philip: after which they quarreliwith him. The doings of Hannis and Carthage: whence he is chaced by his enchnics, and by the Romans: His light winto the King Antiochvs. The Arolium marmure against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achains, with Nabis the Tyrans of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Qvintivs his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochys & the Romans.

or the Roman, though they were vnable to function their defire of war with Antiochus, whereof notice was alreadie taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much againft their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant thortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about Lysimachia. It

was not long, tince King Attalus, a friend and belper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antierbus, than Embalfadors to fipcake for him; becaufe the one of the Kings was held no leffe a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paffe between them any other offices, than verie friendly. Antierbus, at the requeft of their Embalfadors, withdrew his Inustion from the Kingdom of Pergams: allo verie thortly after he fent Embalfadours to them, to make a perfect League of amitie between them. This was while as yet they were builed with Philip; and therfore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward flew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Cli-10 enes with the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed, into termes of worfe, but more plaine, meaning. For T. Quintius, with his ten Counfailors fent from Rome, required (as hath beene \* flewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratuation of their victorie; as also his long-profested amitic, and defire

to continue in the fame.

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These ten Counsailors were able to informe T. Quintin, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before ; fince, in regard of Antiochus, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progresse through diuers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them 20 should visit King Antiochius; and the rest, where occasion served, vse diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vinmindfull of the busines: wherein lest T. Quintius, with his ten Ashstants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging ; L. Cornelius was lent from Rome of purpole, to deale with the King about those controuersies, that were betweene him and Ptolemie. What other private instructions Cornelius had; wee may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embaffage. For comming to Selymbria: and there vnderstanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having beene sent by Titus, were at Lysimachis, He hastned thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten Counfailours) from Bargilla, to be present at the Conference. Hegesianax and Lysias were 20 also there; the same, who had lately brought from Titus those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embaffadours present shall expound vntotheir Master. After a few daies Antiochus returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene Him and these Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the busines in hand; this good mood was quitealtered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome: which was, That Antiochus had reason to deliuer backe vnto Ptolemie those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that verie earnestly, That he must also give vp the Townes of late belonging vnto Philip; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abfurd, than fuch folly in the 40 Romans zas to let Antiochus enioy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured fo much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that hee should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally Hee demanded of him, vpon what reason he was come ouer with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his journie there was none probable, than a purpose to make war vpon the Romans. To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the Romans fhould so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of Asia: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; euen as He, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into Europe: they faw well enough what bulines had drawne him thither ; namely, the warre against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recourie of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace and Cherfone fus. Now concerning his title vnto that Countrie, He derived it from Seleucus: who made conquest thereof, by his victoric against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie

betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Agyptians; but had beene feized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at fuch time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of busines, from looking vnto al that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to fland in feare of him, as if hee intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this Citie vpon one of his sonnes, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be greized with his proceedings in Alia; either against the free Cities, or against the King of Agypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to joyne ere long with Ptolemie, not onely in freindship, but in a bond of neare affinitie. Cornelius ha-10 uing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needes heare further, what the Embaffadours of Smyrna and of Lampfacus, whom he had there with him, could fay for themselues. The Embassadors of Lampfacus being called in, began a tale: wherein they feemed to accuse the King before the Romans, as it were before competent ludges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace : for a fmuch as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

CHAP.5. S.4. of the Historie of the World.

Thus the Treatic held some sew daies, without any likelihood of essect. The Romans, hauring not laide their complaints in such fort, as they might be a conuent condition of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well as the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boilstrous Gallo-Greekes, pretend onely the goodnes of their (wordes; nor yet ouer modelly, to retain among the Greekes an opinion of their institute, forbeare the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet sacre knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That Ptolemie was dead. Hercof neither the King, nor the Roman; would take notice, though each of them were desirous to has seen into a segret: Antiochus, to take possession in good order. Cornelius was seen.

130 ims, to predere thin thereof, and let the Countrie in good order. Earlian was the from Rome Embalfadour, both to Antischus and to Ptolemie: which gaue him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his Legiptian voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embalfadors, had good leaute to depart all together: and the King forthwith made readie, to be in Legipt with the first. To his fonne Seleusus he committed his Armie; and left him to ouer-fee the building of Lyfmechis: but all his Sea-forces Hee took ealong with him, and failed with Ephelius. Thence he fent Embalfadours to T. Quintins: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of Peace, after such fort, as might shand with honestic and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage; He was perfectly informed that Ptolemie was aline. This made him was accommended to the proceeding on his voyage; and the many from Legipt: and afterwards a tempers, with a greatous ship-wrack, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to baue safely rewards a tempers.

coursed his Port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintered : secure, as might appeare, of the Roman war.

But the Romans had not fo done with him. During the Treatic at Lyssmachias, (at leastwife not long before or after it) one of their Embasiladours that had beene fent vinto the Assachiam gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to reficontented with the Peace which was granted vinto him by the Romans, but to desire societie with them, whereby they should bee bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he adulted him to doe quickly before the Warre brake out with Anisohus; lest otherwise he might seeme, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greeks were follicited; and particularly the Anisohus, That constantly and faithfully they should ablide in the friendship of the People of Rome. It was needlesse to say plain-

by whereto this entreatic tended: the froward answere made by the Estalians, deciares them to have well vinderflood the purpose. They complained, that they were notalike honoured by the Romansafter the Victorie, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promifed vinto them: vipbrayding withall the Romans, as mento them beholding; not onely for their Victorie ouer Philip; but even for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they power could have done. Hereto the Roman gaue gentleanswers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Secretary and the good and then good and the most set where the interfece and then should like well.

nate, and otter their griefes; and then should all be well. Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against Antioclus. The fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave mater vnto the enemies of Hanribal, wherewith both to pick a thanke of the Roman Senare; and to chace out of their Citie this honourable man, whom they fo greatly hated. He had of late exercifed his vertue against them in the Civill administration; and given them and ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the fway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and having subject vnto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the reft. Neyther did they yie this their power with moderation; but conspired in such wife together, that who so offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne. He was fure to 20 be foone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the Citie, Hannibal was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though hee was superiour vnto them during that yeare; yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard vinto fuch an annual Magistrate, as at the yeares end must be accomptable to them. if ought were laid vnto his charge. Hannibal therefore fending for one of the Ouxftors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him : the proud Ouxflor fet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerfe Faction to Himibal; and men of his place, were to bee chosen into the Order of Indges; in contemplation whereof, he was filled alreadic with the foirit of his future Greatpeffe. But he had not to doe with fuch a tame Practor, as were they that had occur 30 pied the place before. Hamibalfent for him by a Purliuant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique affemblie of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vidutifull stubbornesse of this Queftor had beene; but how vnfufferable the infolencie of all the Indgesatthe prefent was: whose vnbridled power, made them to regard neyther Lawes nor Magifirates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which paffed with the generall good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from yeare to yeare, & no one man be continued in that Office two yeares together. If this Law had beene paffed before he passed ouer Iberus: it would not perhaps have beene in the power of Hanno, 40 to have brought him vnto necessitie of reforming another greinance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to levie by Taxation laied upon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting monie in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray eyther that, or divers other needfull charges. Hannibal confidering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuennes; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by waves and meanes what focuer; and in what fort it was thence laid out. So he found, I hat the ordinarie charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vie, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to reflore, with flame, what they had gotten by knauerie; and fo the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts; as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the valew of their owne Estate. But as

the vertue of Hannibal, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: fo they of the Roman Faction, which had, fince the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their ilgotten goods, and il-employed authoritie, both at once, even when they thought themselues to have beene in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they fent letters to their friends at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the Barchine Faction grew strong againe, and Hannibal would shortly be in armes. Queftionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by injustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome : these enemies to the Barchines 10 might well crie out, That having done their bestalreadie to keepe all in quiet, they faw none other likelihood than of Warre. But having none other matter to alleadge, than their owne inventions: they faid, That Hannibal was like vnto a wild healt, which would never be tamed: That fecret melfages past betweene him, and King Antiochius : and that hee was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to Carthage; with what elfe to like effect they could imagine. These accufations they directed not vnto the Senate : but addressing their letters craftily, cuericone to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neyther publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage; nor the authoritic of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their 20 malicious purpose. Onely P. Scipio is faid to have admonished the Fathers, that

20 malicious purpole. Onely J. Sapph is laid to hate datholiment the Fanots, was they should not thus dishonourably stablerite, and become Seconds to the accupiers of Hamibal: as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the Man; against whom in warre they had not of long time preualled, nor vied their Victorie in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as Seipie: they wissled for some sites at unanage against Hamibal, and were glad to have sound it. Three Embassadours they sent ouer to Carthoge, C. Sernilius, Q. Terentius, and O.M. Claudius OMarcellus; whose verie names import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hamibal. These nating past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their commings and, being by them instructed how to carrie themselues, gaue out, That they were fent to end some controuers see sevene the Carthogians and Massinss. But Hamibal had kept such good espial upon the Romans, that hee knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say. That thee estaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it.

not impertment to rehearfe the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe,

as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it begannet to wexe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as hee might well trust. Hee had appointed Horsesto bein a readinesse at certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-lide. There had hee a Ship surnished with all thinges needfull; as having long expected the necessific of some such journie. So Hee bad Assiried farewell; lamenting the missortune of his Countrie, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the lele of Cercina; he found there in the Hauen some Marchants ships of Carthsgae. They saluted him respectively: and the chiese among them beganne to enquire, whither he was bound. He said, Hee went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he intended there in the lland to make a facrifice; where the cleanistical all the Merchants, and Masters of the Shippes. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be ved in stead of Tents. They did so, and sealed with him till it was late at night: at which time hee less that the stead of the ship of the ship of the said of the sa

I hey did 10, and reasted with until twist as a task at the state of the control of the meter called epe; and putting to Sea, held on his courfe to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, Hee was fure not to be epurfued. For the Merchants did neither make half to fend any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embalfadour: neyther could they, without fome lofte of time, fuch of them as Kkkkk made

made most speed homeward, get away from Cereina; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the misse of to great a person was diuersly constitued. Some ghetical aright, I hat he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Roman had made him away. At length came newes where hee had bin seen e and then the Roman Embassacours, having none other errand thither accurded bim (with an eull grace) as a troub er or the Peace, whereby they onely discourred the mischiefe by them intended against him, and the makee of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and cauting men to vnderstand, that Hee sted not thus without great reason.

Hamnbal, comming to Type the Mother-Citic of Cathage, was there entertained I Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrian, by reason of affinite betweener then Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence wenthe to Antioch; and, finding the King departed, visited his sonne in Daphne: who friendly welcommed him, and sent him with his Father at Ephesia, that exceedingly re-

joyced at his comming.

As Antiochus had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten Hannibal: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much difgraced themselues, by discouerie of their impotent malice, in chacing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not proue alike casie vnto this great Commander. to make front fouldiors of base Afiatiques; as it had beene by his trayning and discipline, to make verie feruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that were hardie though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinarie, could alter the nature of a cowardly people : yet was it therewith all confiderable, that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his Court, the balencife of his Flatterers, and a thoufand other fuch vexations, would be farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of Hannibal; now a defolate and banished man, than had beene the villanic of Hanno and his Complices, hindering him in those Actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely helpe to ennoble the Roman Victoric or if it further (crued to hearten Antochus, and make him leffe carefull to auoid the warre; then should it further serve, to justifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it feemes indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For Antiochus, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadours to T. Quintius, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that Hee had any meaning to take armes; vnleffe by meere violence hee were thereto enforced. Onely the Ltolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent peoplc, desirous of innovation, and therefore practifing with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appeale them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the tenne Counsailours, 40 That the Senate would grant them what soener with reason they should aske. But this promife was too large, and vnaduifed. For when their Embassadours came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to T, Quinttus, who fauoured them leaft. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselues: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for verie shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of warre with Annothus, but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the Countrie. For the Annothus, were wont to vpbraid the rest of the Greekes, with the vaine libertie which the Romans had proclaimed: saying, That these their Deliverers had laid heavier setters youn them, than formerly stopy did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likew ise, That it was a gracious as to firms, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying loger in Greece, sisthe Romans had no other mening than what they precended For Philip had made no de-

laie, in accomplishment of that which was laid you him; all the Townes of Greece were at libertie; and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the Romans, and within it felfe. As for Antiochus: He made it his daily fuit, That the Peace betweene him and Rome, fuch as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthned by a League of more affurance. Neuertheleffe T. Quintius would needs feare that Antiochus means forthwith to feize vpon Greece, as foone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained ftill in his own hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the A. crocorinthus: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inualion like to be made by Antiochus. Suteable vnto the doings of Outntius were the reports of the tenne Embassadours, that had beene sent ouer to affist him; when they returned backe into the Citie, Antiochus, they faid, would questionleffe fall upon Greece: wherein he should find not onely the Etolians, but Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, readie to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe fomewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against Nabis, who could worst make resistance; whilest Antiochus was farre away in Syria, and not intentine to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citiel, among the vulgar: but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeare, against which time it was expected that Antiochus should bee readie to take his great enterprise in hand ; P. Cornelius Scipio the African defired, and obtained, a fecond Confulthip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his Hannibal, For the prefent, the bulineffe with Nabis was referred vnto Titus; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment; whereofalfo heeknew that many of the Greekes would not be forrie; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeares before this, as is alreadic shewed, whilest he had warre with Philip: and had further beene contented for the Romans fake to bee at peace with the cheans, neyther fince that time had be done any thing, whereby hee should draw 30 vpon himselfethis Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Acheans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions had formerly done to them great mischiefe. Titustherefore had a plausible Thome, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which hee caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the warre with Philip, not onely the Greekes, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearfed) that fliould flirre them vp, and cause them to be carness. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning Nabis, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their bonour, in setting all Greece at libertie: which noble Action was in some fort maimed, or incompleat. 40 whileft the noble Citie of Argos was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greeks, duly to confider, whether they thought the deliverance of Argosa matter worthic to be undertaken; or whether other wife to avoid all further trouble, they could bee well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who intaking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselues. The Athenian Embaffador made answere hereunto verie eloquently, and as pleasing as he could deuife. He gaue thankes to the Romans for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequefted they freely made offer to continue that bountie, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had alreadic of late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, fuch notable vertue and high deferts ill spoken of by some : which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imaginations to foretell, what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter; when as Thankfulnes rather would have required an acknowledg-Kkkkkk 2

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ment, of the benefits and pleasures alreadie received. Everie one found the meaning of this last clause; which was directly against the Atolians. Wherefore Alexander the Atolian role vp , and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient gloric, in those times when their Citie had beene the Leader of all Greece, for detence and recoverie of the libertie generall : from which honour they were now fo farre fallen, that they became Paralites vnto those whom they thought mo ft mightie; and by their bate affentation, would lead all the reft into seruitude. Then spake He against the Acheans, Clients that had beene a long time vnto the Macedonian; and fouldiors of Philip, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These Heesaid had gotten Corinth, and must now have warre be made for their fakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Argos: whereas the Ætolians, that had first made warre with Philip, and alwayes beene friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Nevther did hee thus containe himselfe, but objected vnto the Romans fraudulent dealing : for a fmuch as they kept their Garrifons in Demetrias, Chaleir, and the Acrocorinth; having beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could never be at libertie, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with Nabis, than businesses wherewith to find themfelues occupied, that fo they might have fome feeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrie? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carrie 20 their Legions home out of Greece: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for Nabis; the Atolians themselves did promise, and would undertake, That they would exther cause him to yelld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit him selfe to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at vnitie. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common libertie wrought fo much with these Atolians; as did their owne rauenous defire of oppreffing others, and getting vnto themfelues, that worfe would yfe it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip had loft. Neyther could they well discemble this; making it no small part of their greiuance. 30 That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene conenanted, That the Romans should enjoy the spoile of all, but leave the Townes and Lands in possesfion of the Liolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefes by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the Achans, crie out vpon them; entreating the Romans to take fuch order before they went, that not onely Nabis might be compelled to doe right; but the Atolian theeves be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleafure of Titus: who faw, that by discountenancing the Ltolians, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that Antiochus his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some 40 good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answere : telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsailors which had beene fent vnto him from Rome to be his affistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedemonian warre; it was verie foone ended. For Thus vled the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againft Nobis, both by Land and Sea, as it he floud had used to doe with Philip. Befleds the Raman forces, King Eumene with a Nauic, and the Rhodian Fleet, were inuited to the ferrice: as also Philip of Macedon fent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether 50 it were to get favour of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in feeking reuenge ypon Nabis, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Abeans, who see four ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the Abelians: rather to hold good fashion, and found their disponents.

fitions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; wherof they excused themfelues as well as they thought best. Thus are the Asheans now become the prime freinds of the Romans in Greece; basing remoued the Asheans from that degree of fauour like as they themselues hereaster (though not in all hash) shal bee supplanted by the same Lacedenomians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Arginess more bold than wife, began a confpiracie against the Lacedomnium that held their Towne; meaning to open their gates who the Roman, But ere Titus drew neare, they were all detected and faline: excepting a verie few, that escaped out of the Towne. The same of this Commotion, caused the Armie or march apace toward Argos; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stirre within the Walles: the execution done yon the first movers, having terrified all the reflorthe Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to assain gretrified all the reflorthe Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to assain the head of his strength at Lacedomon, than to consume time about other places; escaped by the consumer of th

Nibis had in readines an Armie of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himfelfe against these Inuaders. Five thousand of them were Mercinaries : the rest, of his owne Countrie; but fuch as were of all others the worst, as manumifed slaues, malefactors, and base peasants, vnto whom his T yrannie was beneficiall. Of the good and worthic Citizens he flood in doubt: and fince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an Affemblie : and compaffing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves ; they might, he faid, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and ( withall) the mildest course, to arrest before hand and put in ward, al those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby presente not onely the 30 Citie and his owne person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he fure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abrode : what could it else doethan terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose, his crueltie extended it selfe vnto fome poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemic. These were openly whipt through all the firects, and flaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens; Heeturned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that 40 came on apace. He welcommed them with a fallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the fouldiours of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loffe. Titus abode not many daies before Sparta: but ouer-ranne the Countric; hoping belike to prouokethe Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time, with King Eumenes and the Rhodians, laid siege vnto Gyttheum, the onely or principall Hauen-towne that Nabis had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Towne, equall in authoritie : whereof the one, either for feare, or defire of reward, had a purpose tolet in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, flue the Traitor; after 50 whose death, he himselfe alone made the better desence. Yet when T. Quintius with part of his Armie came thither to Gyttheum: this Captaine of the Towne had nor the heart to abide the vttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to give vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to depart in safetie to Sparta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the sonne-in-law of Nabis, and brother vnto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the Gouernment Kkkkkk 2

with a thousand fouldiors Mercinaries, and two thousand Argines: it being (as may feeme) the T yrants purpofe, to relieue Gyttheum : which hee thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was loft : then began they to thinke vpon finishing the war, by some reasonable Composition. Prthagoras therefore was fent Embaffador to Titus: requesting onely, that he would appoint a time and place for Aabis to meet and speake with him . This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake veric reasonably for himselfe: prouing, that hee suffered wrong, and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the fumme was. That what socuer they now did, or could, object vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That nei. 10 ther for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleadged, they ought to make warre vpon him; fince arges, and all other their allegations whatfocuer, had not hindred them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quinting was not herewith fatisfied. Hee charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as casily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, for a funch as they knew this Mabis to be quiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that fre, before they made react and Confedence in the form other cause of this Inuation should be alledged. Wherefore hee said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Meffene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans: That he had bargained to joyne with Philip, when he was their enemic, not onely in League, but also in affinitie : and That his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Piracie, fince in the Articles by Titus propounded vnto Mabis there was no reflitution mentioned, other than of thips by him taken from the Greekes his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may feeme to have beene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise verie friuolous. As for Meffene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with Philip : they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant; and therefore notto haue beene mentioned. All this it feemes that Ariflanus, the Prætor of the 30 Acheans, verie well perceived: who therfore doubting left the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne inflice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to an other end. He entreated Nabis to confider well of his owne effate; and to fettle his fortunes, whilest he might doe it without hazard: alleadging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, & therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to forrender their Estates, and lived in great securitie, honour, and happines, as private men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Argos; and requested them, to de- 40 liver vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counfaile with his friends. The iffue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the Citie of Sparta: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon fuch Conditions as Titus should thinke meete. Belides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending; Titus propounded many other Conditions to Nabis, and some of them verie

greiuous. He would not suffer the Lacedamonian to have ought to doe in the lle of

Crete; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iland or elf-where;

shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome injunctions;

with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie ta-

lents yeerely, for eight yeares next enfuing. For observance of these Couenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be

not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne lands; not to keepe any other 50

the T yrants owne fonne. If it had beene the meaning of Time, to withdraw the war from Nibis, because it was not grounded vpon inflice; then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him; which hee himfelfe did ofter, though it were for feare, to deliver vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispensed little with the Romain faith; in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound who the state of their belt freinds in Greeze, by the extirpation of this Tyranie: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have beene prosecuted vnto the verie vtmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them: nor peasing to the Adhern who loaded it rough.

10 of one that had not offended them: nor pleafing to the Acheans, who indged it cuer after a great blemish to the noble acts of Titus: lo did it minister vnto the . Ætolians, and to fuch as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subiect of malicious discourse. For since Philip, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masteriae Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in Greece, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought verie strange, that Lacedaman, once the most tamous Citic among all the Greekes, was by the same Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had virped it but yesterday; and He therein rooted by their authorities, as their freind and Confederate. Nation on the other side shought himssifts was

or mercifully dealt withall, by the lelfe-fame Romans, whose amite he had preserved in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinite of the Macadonian King, that had committed the Citic of Ago into his hands. But failfly had hedealt with the Macadonian and failfly was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake him felife. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, saue onely that for the banished Lacadonnians, soft whom a great number were in the Roman Campe, having among them Agospois the natural King of Sparta, that being a yong child was driven out by Lyangus, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored vinto their Citic and Estates; but onely leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to gine consent vinto these demands and sustained an assume that the remeines would soon.

manns; and untained an analute of two noping belief that the enemies would foone be wearie. But his fearefull nature flortly ouercame the refolution, which the fence of the feinitudes had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had beene propounded, Hedeliuered the hoftages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, Hee thought the Romans more wicked than himfelie; and was readie vpon the first advantage, to doe them all mischiefe that be could.

The Argines had heard newes that Lesedamon was even at point of being taken.

This creeked them, and game them heart to thinke ypon their owne good. So they aduentured to fet ypon the Garrifon, which was much weakened, by the termoue of the three thouland carried thence by Pythagoras, to helpe the Tyrant at Sporta. There needed vnto their liberite no more, than that all of them joyntly should fee their hands to the getting of it; which no somer they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came T. Quintius to Argas, where he was joyfully welcommed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Cittizens had laied hold without flaying for him: and that he might the better entitle himfels thereto, hee caused the libertie of the Argines to be proclaimed at the Nomeau games; as ratifying it by his authoritie. The Citic was annexed again to the Councell of Arbain, whereby the Arbain were not more fittengthened, than the Argines to themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of the missing when the Argines.

which they had newly escaped.

After this, Tinus found little busines or none wherewith to set on worke his Armie in Greece. Antiochus was about to send another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance who

ly disposed vnto quiet; Scipio the African, that was chosen Consulat Rome, could not have his defire, of being fent Commander into Greece. The volincere meaning of Aniochus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Atolians, were held as considerations worthie of regard; yet not sufficient causes of making Warre. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the Atolians, and of throughly perfivading all the Greekes (which was not to be neglected by those that meant to affure unto themselues the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrie, was their foleintent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation vnto it felf, til occasion should be ripe, and cal them ouer again. Wherfore after Titus had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, eyther found, or at 10 anie neare distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where hee meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto headded some wholesome counsaile; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Laftly hee gaue vp Acrecorinthus to the Acheans; withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, and promiting to doe the like (which verie soone he did) at Chalcis and Demetrias; that so it might bee knowne, what liers the Atolians were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those pla- 20 ces. With joyfull acclamations did the Greekes testifie their good liking of that which Titus had faid and done : as also (at his request) they agreed to ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had bin fold into their Countrie by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happie end; and by leaning the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behind him the memorie of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by jealousic and suspition of any cuill meaning. At his comming to the Citie, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieft of all that Rome had vntill that day beheld. Three dayes together the thew of his pompe continued: as being fet out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthie of fuch a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had 30 before made Warre. All forts of Armes, with Statues and curious peeces of Braffe or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The fecond day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought; some, in diuerse sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of fundrie kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shieldes, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day Titus himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteene Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diverse Cities. There were also led the beafts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, Demetrias the sonne of King Philip, and Armenes the sonne of Nabis, were principall. After him sollowed his Armie; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the Roman Captines, by his procurement redeemed from flauerie in Greece.

Not long after his Triumph. He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaffages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all verie fauourable answeres, excepting those of King Antiochus: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to T. Quintius, and the tenne that had beene his Counsailors; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embasfadours wondred. They faid vnto Titus and his Affociates. That they could not discerne wherein consisted any perplexitie of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquished; be- 50 tweene those, that having warred together were voon equall termes of advantage; or betweene those that had lived alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they faid, that the vanquilhed must yeeld; and patiently endure

CHAP.5 . S.4. of the Historie of the World. the impolition of some Couenants, that else might seeme vnreasonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it viuall to demand and make restitution, of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of chablishing friendship to bee proposed ! since it was reasonable. that each part should hold their owne, and neyther carrie it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind. was the League and friendship that had beene so long in conclusion, betwixt Antiochus and the Romans. Which being fo : they held it strange that the Romans 10 should thus infift on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of Asia he lhould set at libertie; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; eyther putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto Ouintius answered. That since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vato them two Conditions, and gaue them their choice whether to accept : Eyther that it should be lawfull for the Romans, to take partin Asia with any that would feeke their friendship; Or, if King Antiochus misliked this, and would have them forbeare to meddle in Afa, that then Hee should abandon what focuer he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing; but no 20 reasonable nor pertinent answere, to that which the Kings Embassadours had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that Antiochus had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of Smyrna, Lamblacus, or any other Miatiques, whome they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make warre with a King that fought their loue, and had neuer done them injurie. But they knew very well, that Antiochus could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of Lylimachia, whereon of latehe had bin at fo much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants, that had all beene dispersed, or captine to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadours with great indignation 30 alleadged: faying, that Antiochus desired friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might fland with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to fet at libertie those Townes, which the King would oppresse and hold in subjection: especially fince those Townes were of Greekish bloud and language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which Rome had affoorded unto all Greece befides. By this colour they might soone haue left Antiochus King of not many fubicets on the hither fide of Euphrates. Neyther did they forbeare to fay, That, vnleffe he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to 40 protect those which relied vpon them in Asa, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadous to come to a point, and tel them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a plealing answere, which the Embassiadours could not hereto make; little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to bee entreated, and were contented once againe to fend ouer P. Villius, and others that had beene alreadie with the King at Lysimachiasby whom they might receive a finall answer, whether these demands made by Quintius and his Affociates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this refpite of time, and the fruitleffe Treaties enfuing, Antiechus got the leifure of two yeares, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans, all that while, no 50 disposition to let him liue in peace.

Ch.2.\$.8. of

ð. V

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligarians, and Spamards. Of M. Porcivs Cato. Invites done by Masaniss at the Carthaginian: that fue to the Romans for inflice.

He Insubrians, Boijans, and other of the Cisalpine, Gaules, together 10 with the Ligurians; made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italie, euen from such time as thamibal and his brother Mago departed thence, vntill such time as they themselues were vtterly subdued : which was not, before the Romans were almost at the height of their Empire. These Nations, having served vnder Mago for wages, and afterwards having gotten Amilear a Carthaginian, to be Leader vnto them all, as hath beene alreadie shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes, grew to be fuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that foldome afterwards eyther the Gaules or Ligurians did stirre alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were readie to fecond them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possession 20 Gallia Cifalpina now called Lumbardie; it hath beene long fince rehearled, betweene the first and second Punick Warres. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of Hannibal his passage there-through. Neyther is it likely that the reconquest would have beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase:if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this warre had not beene distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a flout Nation, light and swift of bodie; well practifed in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith readie to fight againe. 20 Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, woodie, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature : fo as without much labour, they could neyther bee taken nor belieged. They were also verie poore; and had litle or nothing that might give contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoile their Land. In these respects they ferued excellently well, to traine up the Roman Souldiors to hardnesseand militarie patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begunne, seemes to have beene grounded vpon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgment and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vling their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they bee demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, vie commonly this answere, It hath fill beene the custome for is and them, to fight one against the other.

Diners ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligarians gaue vnto the possible statements of

not fending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, saue on their owne ground.

CHAP.5. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

The Countrie of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italie that became subject vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Oxe hide: and the Romans found in it the propertie of that Oxe hide, which Calanus the Indian shewed vnto the Great Alexander, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any fide of it, the further parts would rife from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those parts, from which the Roman Armies lay furtheft, were not vo in rebellion. The Spaniar de were a verie hardie Nation, and eafily stirred up to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselues: and being divided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they feldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had vnited themselves together, for chacing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes : as delire of libertie, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking ermes.

The Carthaginian had been accustomed, to make cuacuation of this Chollerick Spanish humour; by employing, as Mercinaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vinquiet at home. They had also taken souldiers from one part of the Countrie, and wied them in an other: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raysed ypon the whole Countrie; as being farre better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the Remans, in that kind. But contrariswise the Remans, wing the service of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latine, had little buffiels for the Spanier's, and therefore were saine to have much businessite with them. Spaine was too farre distant, and withall too 30 great, for them to send our Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in staire. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintaine such Armies in the Countrie, as might serve to hold it in obedience persorce, and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still readie to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did and thereby held

the Countrie; though seldome in peace. Verie soone after the departure of Scipio, there was raised warre in Spaine against the Romans, even vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish warres following. It was thought unreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Remans, and another while the 40 Romans against the Corthaginians; basely forgetting to helpe themselves against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left behind him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and. together with subjection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted fine veares. This Victorie of the Romans, though it happily ended the warre : yet left it still remaining the cause of the warre; which after fine yeares brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconful, whom they flew; and had agreat Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happie fuccesse of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to fend thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that M. Porcius Gato, who was Conful the yeare following, and fent into that Province; found at his comming little leffe to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: fome were faithfull to Rome; and fome were idle beholders of the paines

not

that others tooke. Yet when Cato had wonne a great Victorie vpon the chiefe of them; they role against him in many parts of the Countrie, and put him to much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a journie against those that were as yet vnfubdued : fome of the lately vanquished, were even readie to rebell. Hee therefore difarmed them: which they tooke so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for verie griefe. Hearing of this, and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Heecalled vnto him the principallamong them; and commending vnto them peace and quietneffe, which they never had diffurbed but vnto their own great loffe. He praied them to deuise what course might be take, for holding them affured vnto Rome, without further trouble. None 10 of them could, or would give counfaile in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gaue expressecharge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the wals of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with fingular industrie finished it in short time. Neyther thought he it any difgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Armie of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignitie, such as it seemed, with a left, That if he were vanguished and flaine, then should hee need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victorie, he could pay them with the Enemies monie. Finally Hee brought the 20 Warre to so good end, that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublefome, yet was it in no danger of being loft. Heeincreased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by caufing fome Mynes of Iron and Siluer to bee wrought. that had before laine vnregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth.by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this M. Cato was not onely verie notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed The Occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other vseful qualities, that verie litle was wating in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was verie skilful in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not vnprofitable in any busines eyther private or 20 publike. Many Books he wrot: wherof the principal were, of the Roman antiquities. and of hulbandrie. In matter of hulbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increafed his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: fo as hee lived in perfect health to verice oldage. But that which most commended him vnto the better fort of the Romans, was his great funceritie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citic. Herein he had merited fingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maliene the vertue of that Noble Scipio the African, and some other worthic men; that were no lesse honest than himselse, though sarre lesserigid, and more gallant in behaui-our. Otherwise, Hee was a veriegood Citizen, and one of such temper, that hee could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he neuer were out of his Element. He loued businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnessly; that even vnto the end of his life, He was exercifed in defending himfelfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and six yeares, He pleaded in his own defence; and soure yeares after, he accused Sergius Galba vnto the People. So beganne the Nobilitie of Caso his family, which ended in his great grandchild M. Caso the Viscan: one, that being of like vertue and feruencie, had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish Warres, after Cato his departure out of the Countrie, though they 50 were not verie dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie feldome free from infurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two eneric yeare were sent ouer Commanders into Spaine (that was divided into

two eueric yeare were sent ouer Commanders into spaine (that was deuided into rwo Gouernments) did rarely faile of fuch worke, as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One flew thirteene thousand Spaniards in a battaile: another tooke fitrie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to fue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; yet so. that commonly there were of men townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were flaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have alreadie pointed : and therefore thinke it enough to fay, That the bulinesse in Spaine requio red not the employment of a Roman Conful, from fuch time as Cato thence departed vntill the Numantian Warre brake out; which was verie long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace: but so had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine House promised al felicitie which Rome could grant, vnto themselves and their obedient Citie: Masanissa fell to disputing with the fword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He beganne with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the leffer Syrtis: wherein among other Cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This Countrie the Numidian challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. He had a great aduantage: for that the Carthaginians might not 20 make any Warre, without leaue obtained from their Masters the Romans. They had none other way of redreffe, than by fending to Rome their Complaint of his doings. And furely they wanted not good matter to alleadge, if the Judges had beene unpartiall. For belides that Scipio, in limiting out vnto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrie: Masaniffa himselfe, now vericlately, pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, defired leaue of the Carthaginians, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to Cyrene : thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrie was theirs. This notwithstanding, Masanissa had wherewith to justific his proceedings, especially vnto the Roman Senate. Hee gaue the Fathers to understand by his Embassadours, what 30 faithlesse people the Carthaginians were, and how il assected to the State of Rome. There had latly beene fent vnto them from Hannibal one, that should perswade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined, vpon some suspition of his errand; yet neyther arrefting him nor his shippe, had thereby affoorded him meanes to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keeke them downe. As for the Countrie of Emporia: it had alwaies, hee faid, beene theirs, that were able to hold it by firong hand: and so belonged sometimes vato the Numidian Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were knowne: the Citizens of Carthage had no verie warrantable title, vinto any more 40 ground, than that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in Africk, that had gotten leave there to build vpon fo much ground, as they could encompasse with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs: Whatfoeuer they held without fuch a compaffe, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull enchrochments. This confidered, Mafaniffa requested of the Senate, That they would not adjudge vnto such vsurpers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing ralhly, they fent ouer three Embaffadours, of whom P. Scipio the J-50 frican was one and the chiefe, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaffadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that Masanissa with a strong Armie should quickly prevaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By fuch arts were the Carthaginians held, not onely from flirring in fauour of King Antiochus,

Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their sinall destruction: that came vpon them, when the Roman had leisure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

## ð. V I.

The Ætolians labour to prouse ANTIOCHYS, PHILIP, and NABIS, to warre vpon the Romans, by whom they bold themssluss wronged and dispraced. NABIS besiggets Offsteam, and wasselfet some part of chear. The exact stull of PHILOPOP IN MEN, in advantage of ground: whereby her viterly vanquisheth NABIS. A NITOCHYS being denied peace by the Romans, in proses with the Ætolians, The A-tolians surprise DENETRIAS, and by kiling NABIS their considerate size upon Sparts. But they are drinen out by the Citizens: who at PHILOPOEMEN his personal mannes themssluss to the Achaeus.



LL. Greece being at peace, and the Reman Armies thence departed: it greened much the \*\*Letian\*to thinke\*, that they who had promifed vnto themfelues the whole spoile of \*Philip\*, and the highest reputation among the Greekes\*, were not onely disapointed of their concrous 10.

hopes, but quite forfaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the Macedonian. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not beene immoderate: and their indignation, more vehement, than their defire. But they were not fo pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselues to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnfufferable wrong. Wherefore they denifed, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and give the Romans a for- 30 rowfull knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmitte and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not onely perswade Antiochus to make warre vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused peace; but that they would deale with the King of Macedon their ancient Enemie, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, to joyne al together in a new Confederacie: whose ioynt forces could not in al likelihood but farre furmount those of the Romans, Acheans, Rhodians, and King Eumenes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the Atolians tooke in hand, and well befeeming them, for they were great darers. They fent Embaffadors to all these Kings, with perswasions as they thought most forcible. But Phi- 40 lip was irresolute; and Antiochus willing to trie first all other courses. Nabis the Lacedemonian, who neyther (as Philip) had lost much, nor (as Antiochus) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward : and not staying so much as to feeke any good pretence, beganne immediately to lay fiege to Gyttheum. that had beene lately taken from him by the Romans. The Achaans, to whose care chiefly Titus athis departure had commended the affaires of Peloponnesus, were not flow to admonish Nabis of his dutie: neyther would they have staied long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisedome to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintius, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent the time in 50 fending Embassadours, and were adulfed by Quintius to let all alone, and to wait for the comming of the Roman forces that would shortly bee amongst them: Nabis was bold to give them infler cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territorie.

Philopamen was then Prator of the Acheans, who had long been cablent in Creie,

making warthere for his mindes fake and recreation. Vinto him the Acheuns referred themselues, giuing him leaue to order the war at his pleasure; either staying vntill the Romans came; or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haftto releiue Gyttheum, by Sea; fearing leit the Towne, and the Achean Garrison within it, should be lost, if hee vsed any delay. But Philogamen was so bad a Scaman, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gallie his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe beene counted a gallant vessell, in the Nauie of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was the rest of his Fleete lo good, as might encounter with that of the Lacedemonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselse to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fait, that she was faine to yeeld without further refiltance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall; all were prefently discouraged, and faued themselues with what foced they could. But Philopamen was not here with danted. If hee had failed in Sea-seruice, which was none of his Occupation; Hee said that hee would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the liege of Gyttheum, to flop the Acheans if they should inuade his Countrie, But vpon these which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopamen came inexpected; fired their Campe; and put all, faue a verie few of them, to the fword. Then marched he with all his Armie towards Lacedamon ; within ten mile whereof he was, when the T yrant met him; that had alreadic taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nabis would have beene readie for them so soone. Or if hee should come from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must ouertake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fine miles: having their Horse and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to beare off any fudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take : appeared in the front of them with al his Armie; encamped there where they meant to hauelodged. It was the custome of Philopamen, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his freinds, to marke the fituation of the Countrie about him ; and to discourse, what might befal an Armie marching the same way. Hee would suppose, That having with him there such a number of fouldiours, ordered and forted in fuch manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vponthat ground encountered by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would be put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what peece of ground it were meete for him to seize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe i.? in what fort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and under what Gard? in what fort 40 encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation Hee was growne so perfect, that hee never met with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time he made a stand : and having drawne vp his Reare, He encamped neare vnto the place where he was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie . His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his souldiours. The ground was rough, the waies bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as Nabis could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the Acheans lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philopamen understood this; and layd an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercinaries of Nabis fell, and were flaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the Acheans had a purpose to get betweene him and Lacedamon, whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people, to take armes for the recoucrie of their LIIIII 2

freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe. which hardly otherwise would have beene forced. Some Companies he made to flay behind, and flew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But Philopamen was not fo to be beguiled. He casily won the Campe; and gaue chace to Nabis: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The Enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; Philopamen conceived aright, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselves, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when he had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whilest it was day; Hee jed to forth the rest that had well resreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinarie passages vnto Lacedamon. So Nabis his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in Philopamens Campe great ftore of lights; thought that all had beene at reft: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirtie daies together after this, did Philopamen wast the Countrie round about, whilest Wabis durst not iffue forth of his Towne; and then returned nome, leaving the Tyrantin a manner without

The Roman Embassadours were then in Greece, and T. Quintius among them; labouring to make their partie strong against Antiochus & Nahis, whom they knew 20 to be sollicited by the Atolians. Verie faire countenance they also made vnto Philip; and with comfortable promifes drew him to make shew, whatsoener hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that hee should receive other favours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against antiochus in Greece; whilest their Embassadors that were with him in Alia, denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long abfence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene Ptolemie and his daughter : together with the death of yong Antiochus the Kings son, 30 which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vicertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have beene, and partly was, beneficial vnto them, they brought to paffe during their abode at Ephefus; either by cunning, or (as Linie rather thinks) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto Antiochus, vpon a causelesse suspition wherein hee held the Romans: that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that P. Scipto was one of these Embassadours; and that he, among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had lined, Han- 40 nibal indged the most worthie? So Hannibal gauc to Alexander of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But Scipio who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be fo forgotten : asked yet further, What wouldest thou have faid then Hannibal, if thou hadst vanquished mee ? To whom the Carthaginan replied, Then would not I have given the first place to Alexander, but have claymed it as due vnto my felfe. Now whether this were fo, or otherwise: the often and freindly conference of Hannibal with the Roman Embassadours, made him suspected of Antiochus: who therefore did forbeare awhile to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the King : and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He 50 easily recoursed his former grace, and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when hee was a little boy, That hee neuer should be freind vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine furmiles: but to know thus much, That as long as hee thought vpon war with Rome, fo long would Hannibal doe him all good feruice : whereas contrariwife if he intended to make peace, then should it behoue him to vsethe counsaile of some other

The £tolians, and their freinds, were no leffe bufie all this while, in making their partie from against the Romans : than were the Romans , in mustering vp their treinds in Greece. They had to often dealt with Antiochus, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victorie against Philips that finally they prevailed with him: especially when the Roman Embaffadors had left him, without hope of peace, vnleffe he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian. But in vaine . Hee understood the Romans. and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improoue their owne forces to the vtmost : as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon Antiochus and themselves, without helpe from anie; saue only from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King Antiochus that animated them to resolution : the Athenian Embasfadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neare at hand. For want of a readie answer hereto they were contented to approue the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the bulines worthie of his presence. For since Antiochus had now declared himselfe against the Romans: it would be no small peece of seruice, to with draw from his freindship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore he came to their Panatolium, or Great Affemblie of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ferue to appeale them. Hee willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they tooke in hand; whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Countrie, the Romans, and King Antiochus, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Masterie: the Atolians, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becomming \* the Sticklers . As \* Lim. Lak. . . . of for those greinances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent miss. Example 20. courses, He willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they defired : than thus to fet the world in an vorore. and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what hee said or could say, it skilled not much. They had alreadie done ill, to make the Embassador of the King. whose helpe they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to do obtaine what they defired seither as their right, or elfe by way of fauour. For with fuch Termes had they beene feafted once alreadie : and were by the Senate rele-Red vnto Titus: who, having it in his owne power, gaue them no fatisfaction; vet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King Antiochus the great should be entreated to come ouer into Greece, as well to fet the Countrie at libertie, as also to decide the controucrsies depending betweene the Romans and Atolians. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings minde before. Having made it; they forgot no point of brauerie, whereby to vant themselves to the Kings Embasfadours, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, & their further answer, they would shortly let him know. ifhe came to their camp in Italie vpon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have LIIIII 3

done better as the Atolians are like to understand herafter. But having thus begun. they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the war they referred vnto the more private Councel of their Nation; that no occasion might flip, in waiting for the authoritie of a generall Assemblie. The Apocleti (so were the Priuie Councell of Ætolia called) went as hotly to worke, as any of the yongest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta: to each of which they fent men for the purpose. Demetrias they tooke vpon the sudden: entring, some of them as freinds to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against T. Quintius, had beene driven to flie thence, but was, by intercession of those that lo- 10 ned him, againe recalled. His Etolian companions that were not many, feized vpon a Gate: whereat they let in a Troup which they had left not far behind them: and fo fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman faction. At Chalcis they feed not fo well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home : but they came so strong, that their purpose was discoursed, and the Towne prepared to defend it felfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer: faying, T hat they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliper the Towne from the Romans : who more infolently dominered oper it, than euer the Macedonians had done. By such R hethoricke they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force. For the Townef-men replied, That they neither 20 found any abridgment of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keepe them from the Romans; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injurie. So this busines was dasht. The attempt your Sparta was more strange and defperate. Nabis their good freind, was Lord of the Towne : styling himselfe King; but, more truly, by all men called T yrant. He had wel-neare loft all, by meanes of the ouerthrow which Philopamen had lately given him : fince, he durft not ftirre abroad : and daily expected the mischeife, that on all sides threatned him. Wherfore he fent mellingers, one after other, to the Atolians: requelling them, That as He had not beene flow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so They would be pleased to 30 fend him what helpe they might, fince his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath beene often faid, That the raucnous Atolians were onely true to themselves, & regarded neither faith nor freindship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne endes. And so dealt they now. For since Nabis his mercinarie forces, which vpheld his T yrannic, were in a manner confumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to affure Lacedamon vnto themselues. To this purpose, they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man sit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by Damecritus the Prætor brought into the Councell of the Apocleti, where they were commanded to be no wifer than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make war with the Acheans, or to doe ought elfe, faue onely what Alexamenus should command them: which were it never fo desperate, and in seeming against all reafon; yet must they understand, that unlesse they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue wordes: telling him, that Antiochus was alreadie in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mightic Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of work, than of late with Philip: fince the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would fuffice to tread them downe. As for the Atolians, He faid, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to Lacedamon all the forces that they could raise: But that they were verie desirous at the present, to make as goodlie a muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore

with no greater companie. Hereupon he willed Nabu to take heart; bring forth his men, that had beene long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. Nabis was glad of this; and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with his Alexamenus, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his falhion to step aside alone to his Atolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned agains to Nabis. But when he saw time for the great worke that he had in hand : Hee then went aside to his thirtie Horse-10 men, and bad them remember the taske enjoyned them at their fetting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, valesse they would anon come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neare them : and Alexamenus making towards him, charged him on the fudden; and struck him dowr. The thirtie Atolians neuer flood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently vpon the fact committed, the T yrant his Mercinaries ranne vnto the dead bodie: where in stead of secking reuengethey stood foolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus with his Etolians hasted into the Citic, and seized on the Palace: where hee fell 20 to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were alreadiedone. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens; who seeing themfelues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall flocke, that had beene brought vp with Nabis his children; whom they mounted vpon a Good Horse, and made him their chiefe. So they fell vpon the Atolians that were idely stragling about; and put them all to the sword. Alexamenus with not many of his Companie, were flaine in keeping the Citadell: and 30 those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates; who fold them all as bond-flaues, In this doubtfull Effate of thinges at Lacedamon, Philopoemen came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words unto them, as Alexamenus should have done after hee had flaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safetie, to incorporate themselues with the Achaans, Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the Atolians, and the small but effectuall, travaile of Philopoemen; the Acheans made a notable purchase : and Lacedemon, that had hitherto bin gouerned eyther by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themsclues Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof

the name had fearce any reputation, when *Sparts* ruled ouer all *Greece*.

à. VII.

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ANTIOCHUS, perswaded by THOAS the Ætolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundrie paffages betweene him, the Atolians, Chalcidians and others. Hee winnes Chalcis and therby the whole He of Euboea. The vanitie of the Kings Emballadors and the Etolians, with the Civil answere of TITV's to their discourse, before the Acheans. That it concerned the Greekes to have defired peace, betweene the Romans and ANTIOCHUS; as the best affurance of their owne libertie, Of many pettie Estates that fell to the King. Of AMINANDER; and an idle vanitie, by which King PHILIP was loft. HANNIBAL gives good counfaile in vaine, Some Towneswonne in Theffalie. The King retires to Chalcis; Where hee marrieth a young Wife, and reuels away the rest of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Conful all forfake ANTIOCHUS. Hee with two thousand Etolians keepes the Streights of Thermopyle. Hee is beaten , and flies into Asia : leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.

NTIOCHUS was troubled much in Asia with Smyrna and Lampsaem, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither fale nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behind him and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee defirous with all fpeed conumient to shew himselfe in Greece.

where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was faid, That in all the Countrie there was a veric small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That Nabis was alreadic up in Armes: That Philip was like a Bandog in a chaine, defiring nothing more than to breake loofe; and that the Atolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were readie to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made fuch a noife, as added credit vnto all the reft. Whileft therefore the King was thinking to fend Hannibal into Africk, there to moleft the Romans, and fogine him the better leifure of vling his owne opportunities in Greece: Thoas the Etolian came ouer to him, and bad him lay all other care afide; for that his Countrimen had alreadic taken Demetrias; a Towne of maine importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut offall deliberation. As for Hannibal: Thomas was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at fuch a time, when the verie reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might scrue to lay open vnto him all places, without need of vsing violence: and fecondly, That in any fuch great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vnfit man to be employed in the Kings feruice, than was that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian. For he faid, That the King should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing under such a notable Commaunder if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner qualitie : whereas neuerthelesse if Hannibal prevailed; Hannibal alone should have all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this regard he was of opinion, That fuch a renowned Warriour should beealwayes neare vnto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the fourraigne Command; even of the King himfelfe. Antiochus gladly hearkned vnto this admonition; being iealous of the vertue, that this ned brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And thereupon hee laid aside the determination; which tended more to the advancement of his defires, than did any thing elfe by him then or after thought vpon.

Presently after this He made readie for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friun-

CHAP.5. S.7. of the Historie of the World. lous pomp of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-fide to Ilium; there to do facrifice to Minerua of Troy. Thence passing ouer the Agean Sea, Hee came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the Magnetian, the same whome the Atolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wanne Demetrias; was now the chiefe man and Ruler of his Nation. Hee therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this; and tooke it as a figne of good lucke, to bee fo entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of iov. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie fomewhat like to that 10 of Xerxes: they faw three hundred thips, of which no more than fortic were feruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of tenne thousand Foot, sine hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The Atolians no fooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would fo doe; and was therefore wel onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to Lamia, the Etolians gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein hee defired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he faid, in true estimation a signe of his good will; in that hee staid not to 20 make all things readie; but hafted vnto their aid, even whileft the feafon was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it should not bee long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be fatisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neyther would hee spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which hee had vindertaken 5 euen to drive the Romans and their authoritie out of Greece; leaving the Countrie free indeed, and the Etolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be veriegreat: so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not bee any way bur-

denfome vnto his Confederates. But at the prefent he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aid, unprouided of manie necessaries; that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof hee stood in need. So he left them to their confultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little difpute, (for a vain motion was made by fome, that the differences between the Romas and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of Antiochus) That they would veild vnto the Kings defire and affift him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did Antiochus, in a bufineffe of dangerous importance, vpon the promifed affurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of Thors, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell : the Atolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of fuch gaine that might have deceived them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the diferetion of the Romans. And what remedie had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himselfe to Thous, and complained of the wrong; but he must have bin contented with this answere, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom Thoras would therefore have pronounced to bee verie wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the Ltolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces; and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to bee about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute

so where they should beginne the Warre. Chalcis was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture need to vie much force. The King had brought with him into Liolia but a thoufand Foot; leaning the rest behind him at Demetrias. With these hee hasted away directly toward Chaleis; being ouertaken by no great number of the Etolians,

which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, iffued forth to parle with him. There the Etolians beganne as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had only in words and falle femblance, fet Greece at libertie. But fuch libertie, as might be true and vscfull , they faid would neuer be obtained; vntill by remouing the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euerie seuerall Estate had where to find redresse of any preffure. And to this end was the great Antiochus come thither; a King wel able to counterpoile, yea to our weigh the Romans : who neuertheleffe defired them only, fo to joyne with him in League, as that if eyther the Romans or Hee should offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to seeke redresse at 10 the other hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answere, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the Romans; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they foake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the Greekes; forafmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept under, by any Garrison; or lined o. therwise than by their owne Lawes, and without being tied vnto condition which difoleafed them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliuer Cities that were alreadie free. But fince he, and the £tolians. requested their friendship : they befought both him, and the £tolians , to doe a 20 friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in fuch good case as they were. With this answere the King departed : for he was not, as then strong enough to force them. But verie soone after, hee brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the fuccours could arriue, which Titss had fent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of Enburs being thus gotten; all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to Antichus. Four cor shu bundred Roman Souldiers, that came over late to have defended Chaliss, reposed themelicus at Delium, a little Towne of Beatis, lying over against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated vnto Apple, that had the privilledge of an invoidable Sanctuaric. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to bee seene, whilest others were builted as they sound cause: without scare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre bitherto proclaimed. But Memppus, one of Antichus his Captannes, that had wearied himselfs in maine vaine Treaties of peace; tooke advantage of their carelessement, which was the such that we warre. Verie sew of them escaped: fiftie were taken; and the rest slains. Herea Quintius was grieved; yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his Romans had now more just cause than before, to make warre you the King.

Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadours into all quarters of Greece; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. 40 The wifer fort returned fuch answere, as the Chalcidians had done. Some referued themselves vntill hee should come among them : knowing that eyther, if hee came not, Hee must holde them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if hee came, the Romans must pardon their just feare, in veelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning; faue the Eleans, that alwayes favoured the Atolians, and now feared the Acheans. Little reason there was, that he should thinke to draw the Acheansto his partic. Neuerthelesse hee assayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuic, which Titus was faid to beare vnto Philopamens vertue, had bred a fecret diflike betweene that Nation and the Romans. Wherefore both Hee and the Etolians lent Embassadours to the Councell at Agium; that spared not braue words, if the A-50 cheans would have so been etaken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming: reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Elimeans and Cadufians; names that were not enery day heard of, and therefore as hee thought,

the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the Sydenians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were; fuch indeed as could not be refifted. Now concerning monie, and all warlike furniture : it was, he faid, well knowne . that the Kingdomes of Alia had alwaies thereof great plentie. So as they were much deceiued: who confidering the late war made against Philip, did thinke that this with Antiochus would proue the like : the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the libertie of Greece was come from the vtmost parts of the East; requested no more of the Acheans, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilest He tooke order with the Romans. To the 10 Jame effect spake the Actolian Embassadour : and further added, That in the battel at Cynolcephale, neither Titus had done the part of a General nor the Romans of good fouldiours : but that both He and his Armie had beene there destroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the Aetolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have beene defired. He told the Acheans, That neither the Kings Embaffadour, nor the Aetolian, did so greatly labour to perswade those vnto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vant themselves the one vnto the other. So as a man might well discerne, what good correspondence in vanitie it was, that had thus lincked the King and the Aetolians together. For even fuch bragges as here they made, be-20 fore the Acheans who knew them to be liers, had the Actolians also made vnto king Antiochus: proclayming the victoric ouer Philip to be meerely their Act: and the whole Countrie of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told even now; of Dahans, and Aradians, and Elimeans, and a many others: that were all but a companie of Syrians, fuch as were wont to be fold about for bondflaues, and good for little elfe. These diverse names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diversitie of Venison, wherewith a freind of his at Chaleis (no such vanter as were these Embasfadours) had fometime featted him. For all that varietie, whereat hee wondred, was none other, as his Hoft then merily told him; than fo many peeces of one 30 tame swine, dreft after seuerall fashions with varietie of sawces. Setting therefore aside this vanitie of idle pompe : it were good to make judgment of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Armiche was faine, in a manner, to beg victuailes of the Aetolians; and take vp monie at v furie, to defray his charges. And thus he ran vp and downe the Countrie; from Demetrias to Lamia; thence backe to Chalcis; and being there shut out, to Demetrias againe. These were the fruits of lies : wherewith fince both Antiochus and the Actolians had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps alreadie they did, repent, whilest

other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps alreadie they did, repent, whilest wifer men tooke beed by their example. To a fauourable Auditorie much perfwasion is needlesse. The Athans did not love so well the Actolians, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the verical abieds. Wherefore they stood not to harken after newes, what Antiochus did, how he spedin Eubea, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaymed war against him, and against the Atolians.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inueterate; sufficiently appeares in the storie foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the other, King Antichus. Hereindid each of them waiting though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent spirits of the Etoliam. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and lest the Countrie at rest: there was nothing more greatly to haue beene desired, than that they might neuer sinde occasion to returne with an Armiethitheragaine. And in this respect ought the Greekes to haue sought not how Smyrna and Lampsaus might recourt their libertie (which had neuer beene held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept assumed their Countrie, as two

Seas by an Ifthmus or necke of land, might be kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the Remans any better pretence for their feeking to make free thofe bade Afaitiques, which originally were Greekiff; than the generallapplaufe, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were Lymachis, and the Townes in Thrace, lately gotten by Anticelus, pretended as a verie great cause of feare, that flould moue them to take armes even in their ownedefence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, & requested that things might continue as they were, promising loyntly to affilt the Remans, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whenfoeure King Anticelus should make the least offer to shire against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end 3 but the Ro. 10 man Patronage over the Countric, had been far from growing, as soone after it did, just a Lordy rule.

The Acheans were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the Romans, their freinds and benefactours. All the reft gaue doubtfull answers of hope vnto both sides ; or if fome few, as did the The fail ans, were firme against Antiochus; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The Bastians willingly received him, as foone as he entered your their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Romans, by whom they had beene somewhat hardly vied. Aminander the Athamanian, 20 belides his old freindship with the Aetolians, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idle-headed man, and vanted himselfe to be descended from Alexander the Great; naming his two sonnes, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his fifter to the poore Court of Athamania: where having made his follie knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by Antiochus and the Aetolians, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memorie of Alexander his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of Micedon to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title 30 as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto ; it behoued him to draw Aminander to their partie, that fo they might the fooner have done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleafed herewith; and by perfualions of himfelfe, or of his fifter, effected as much as they defired. But the first peece of service done by this imaginarie King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get loue of the Macedonians that should be his subjects; or whether from some vanitie in King Antiochus that employed him ) wrought more harme to his freinds, than he and Aminander were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto Cynofcephale, there to gather vp the bones of the flaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had fuffered all this while to lie vnburied. The Macedons troubled not themselves to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King Philip tooke it in high indignation: as intended meerely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto rhe Romans; and gaue them to understand, that hee was readic with all his power to aid them wherein focuer they should be pleased to vie him.

The Actolians, Angenetians, Eubeans, Baetians, and Athemanians, having now all ioyned with him. Antiochus tooke counfaile of them about the profecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe quefilion was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade Tiefdile, that would not hearken to his perfusations; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring; becaufe it was now mid-winter. Some thought one things and fome another: confirming each his sowne fentence, with the weightieft realons which he could alleadge; as in a matter of great importance. Hamibal was at this meeting; who had long been each flade, as a veffell of no vie 5 but was now required to deliuet his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he flould now ve-

ter, was cuen the fame which he would haue fpoken, had his counfaile at any time before beene asked fince their comming into Greece. For the Magnetiam, Baptian; and other their good freinds, which now fo willingly tooke their parts: what were they elfe than fo many poore Eflates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselhees for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present a yand would atterwards, when they faw it expedient, be asreadie to fall to the contrarie side, alleadging the same feare for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behoughill, to win King Philip of Nacedon vnto their partie: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and for lake them at his pleaned.

ged, he mouth afterwards mate power to the the means to furthing the prince, and one that had meanes to furthin the Roman warre with his proper forces. Now that Philip might be eafily perfunded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound winto himselfe, by their focietie, was a verie firong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, faid Hee; Thefe details the reprefent; and name-ty this T is on a sching lately Embalfador from them into Alia, somong other Motiuse Whish be then vied to excite the King winto his Expedition, infifted mainly on the lamepoint. He told wis that P H I I I V was mound beyond all patience, with the Lordy infolence of the Romans: likeming that King is folow wild boad, that was chained or lock to p within fome grate and would fame breakeloge. If this be fa: let when the lordy with an any all all advances the grate:

and would a une or electric logic, I to the one of the source construction and would are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proone otherwife, and that his fear be greates than his indication: then half is behout visto looke with him, that he may not feeke to pleafe his good majoriste Romans, by figheding vs. Tone forme S. L.E.V.V. is in now at Lyfonachia, with part of your Armie: if P. H. I. I. I. Will not hearken to your Embaffage; let S. E. E. V. V. is in veading, to fall your Macedon, and finds him worket to defend his owne on the other fide, without patting as here to trouble. Thus much concerning P. H. I. I. V.; and the prefent war in Greece. But more generally for the mannaging of this great enterprife, wherein you are now embarqued againfi the Romans of this time flould have beard other newes, than that Chalyou then given early the Romans of this time flould have beard other newes, than that Chalcis in Euboca was become ours. Italic and Gaule flould have beene on fre with warre: and,

little to their comfort, they flould have conderflood, that HANNINAL was againe come into Italie. Neither deet fee what flould hinder or even now from taking the fame courfe. Send for all your Fleete and Arme hither (but in any cafe let Ships of braide acome along with them, loaden with flore of victualies: For as the cafe nowy flands, we have here too few hands, and soo many mouther.) Where of let the one halfe be employed againft italies whileft you in perform with the other halfe, arrying on this fide the tonian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and there with all make constraince, as if you were even readic to follow us into Italie: yea and be readie to follow us indeed, if it find he requifite. This may 40 addites: who though perhaps I am not verte skifull in all forts of ware: yet how to war with the Romant. I have home infrastical by lange experience, both to their coff and mine owns. Of

The Romans, thane beene infructed by long experience, both to their coll and mine owne. Of this constalle which I gine, I promise young faithful and ditigent fertile for the execution. But what counsfale feature you fault pleafed to follow? I will be that fooken brauely: but were pleafed with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of sail this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into Assa; to make all things readie there. In the meane while they went in hand with Thessis is, about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make slibmission. But Lariss, that lay before the countrie, shood out: no tregarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Armie. This their sites and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For M. Bebins, a Roman Proprator

o and courage was rewarced by good fortune. For One had the another thicker. Likewife Philip of Macedon professed himselfe Enemie winto Antiochus: where by the same of the succour comming to Lariffa grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had the arrived. For Antiochus perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines tops a sarre off; thought that Mmmmm m

a great Armic of Romans and Macedonians had been ecomming vpon him. Therefore excusing him selic by the time of the yeare; Hee brake vp his seige, and marched away to Obalcis. At Chalcis he sell in loue with a yong Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne: whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in yeares and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hard. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiors as readily imitated their Captaines in such wise that when he took the feild, he might cuidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his Armic had passed the Winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman Consul, shall meet him verie shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosensse of nontial Reuels; by setting them to hem to head exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The warre against Antioches fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as Nalica his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of farre leffe credit and importance. Nafica, befides the great Nobilitie of his Familie, had been clong fince, in time of the Punicke Warre, crowned with the title of The best man in Rome : when the Senate, for verie feare and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the verie best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught 20 them to call the Mother of the gods. But no prærogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should affoord him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make war against the Boyans: wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But M. Acilius went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thoufand Horfe, and fifteene Elephants. Ptolemie King of £ evet, not with standing his late Alliance with King Antiochus: and Philip King of Macedon; had lately fent Embassadours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into Ætolia, there to affift the Conful in this warre. Ptolemie fent alfo gold and filuer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too yong, and dwelt too farre off. So his monie was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto Philips Embaffadors answer was made, that this his freindly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the affistance that He should give to Acilius the Conful . Masanissa likewise, and the Carthaginians, did striue, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promifed a great quantitic of graine; which they would fend partly to Rome, partly to the Armie in Greece . And herein Mafanissa far out-went the poore Citic of Carthage: as also, in that he offered to lend the Conful fiue hundered Horse, and twentie Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertooke to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-monie, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerely pensions. But the Romans did neither thinke it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne; it was accepted with Condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The haltie and ridiculous iffue of this war, that began with fuch noyfe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, betweene to the Roman and the Afatick fouldior. Anticebus had gotten this Spring a few townes of Asamania, after the fame manner as he had preuailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to

proue their excuse, when they should againe for sake him. But King Philip and Babius, having recovered many places; and the Roman Conful being arrived, against whom none made reliftance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. Aminander fled out of his Athamania : which the Macedonian tooke and enjoyed : as in recompence of his good feruice to the Romans. Philip, the brother of Aminanders wife, was taken by the Conful; made a mocking stocke; and fent away prisoner to Rome. The The [alians vied much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gaue vp themselves: the Garrisons of Antiochus, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing vnarmed: yet fo, that a thousand of them staied behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochus: who having withdrawne himself to Chaleis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his freinds: and faid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toile during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour :after which, in time of need, He found all the promifes of the Atolians meerely verball: and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired Hannibal as a wife man, yea a verie Prophet, that had foreseene all this long before. Neuerthelesse He sent word to the Etolians, that they should now make readie all their forces: as confidering their owne need to be no leffe than his. But the Ætolians had cause to thinke, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus: who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over , Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angrie: and could get no better satisfaction, than that Thous and his fellowes had done their best, in vaine, to have made all the Nation take armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of Alia, nor his friends of Greese would appeare in this time of danger : He seized vpon the Streights of Thermopyla: as meaning to defend them against the Romans, vntill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of Thermopyla there hath beene spoken enough \*before, \*13.49.6.5 3) vpon many occasions : and then chiefly, when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge Armie of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessalie, were vnable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one halfe of Greece: vnlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene Leonidas and Antiochus. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this pasfage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to invade the Countrie. The latter, having taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he lifted himselfe in Greece : did commit himselfe vnto the safetie of this place. when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilest he lay : He sent earnest messages one after other to the Atolians, entreating them not to forfake him thus: but at least wife now to helpe, and keepe the tops of the Mountaines, lest the Romans finding any by-path should come downe vpon him. By this importunitie, he got of them two thousand, that vndertooke to make good the few paffages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficultie, it was possible for the Enemie to ascend. The Roman Conful in like fort, prepared to force the Streights: without flaying to expect King Philip: that was hindered by ficknes from accompanying him. He had with him M. Porcius Cato, and L. Vale-

70 with two thouland men, to trie whether by any meanes they could get up to the Aetolians. He himfelfe encouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what bale-conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich Kingdomes Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that hight Cate had a fore journie (for what Mm mm m.)

rius Flaceus, that had both of them beene Confuls. These he sent forth by night

happened vnto L. Valerius it is vncertaine, faue onely that hee failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepie Rocksand crooked wayes: Hee commanded them to repose themselves; whilest He, being a vericable man of bodie, tooke in hand the discoucrie, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path : which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward breake of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neyther had this en- 10 trance of the Thermopyle beene so often the Seat of Warre, as might cause any trapailers to fearch out the paffages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that Cate followed, though it were the best: yet dit it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there untill day light: by which he discourred both the Campe of the Greekes underneath him; and some of the Aetolians verie neare vnto him, that were keeping watch. Hee therefore fent forth a luftie Crew of his men, whom he thought fittelt for that feruice; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these Aetolians were no more than six hundred; as also that King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set vpon the Actolians; oner. 20 threw them; flue a great part of them; and chaced the reft; that by flying to their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was alreadic begun between the Armies below: and the Romans, that had calily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found it in a maner a desperate peece of worke to affault the Campe it felfe: which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not onely defended by Antiochus his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hil-side, and powred downe a showre of weapons on their heads. But Cato his approch determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the Atolians had beene comming to helpe the Kings men : but when the Roman armes and enfignes were dif- 30 couered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them for fooke the Campe, and fled. The flaughter was not great: for that the badnes of the way, did hinder the Roman Armie from making pursuit. Yet this daies losse draue Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence, with the first opportunitie, got him backe into Asia.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and entreat for pardon : fetting open their gates; and prefenting themselues vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Breifly, in few dayes all was recourred that Antiochus had gained : the Atolians onely flanding out, because they knew not what else to doc. Neyther did the Consulgiue 40 them any respite. At his returne from Chaleis He met with King Philip, that hauing recouered health came to joyne with him against Antiochus: ouer whom since the victorie was alreadie gotten, He did gratulate unto the Romans their good fucceffe; and offered to take part with them in the Atolian Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conful should be siege Heraclea; and Philip, Lamia; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially Philip, who faine would have taken Lamia before the Conful should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedenians that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindred by the stonie ground. Yet was Lamia euen readie to be taken, when the Conful, having wonne Heraclea, came thither; and told Philip, that the spoile of these Townes was a reward vnto those that had fought at Thermopyle. Herewith Philip must bee contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could foill endure to fee Philip in likelihood of thriuing by the Romans victorie, got not Lamia himfelfe: vntill such time as another Consul, was readie to ease him of his charge. The

The loffe of Heraclea did so affright the Ætolians, that they thought no way fafer than to defire peace. Yet had they fent vnto King Antiochus prefently after his flight:entreating him not to forfake them vtterly, but eyther to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greeces or if any thing with held him from comming in perion, at leastwife to helpe them with monie and other aid. They prayed him to confider, that this did not onely concerne him in honoure but appertained vnto his owne fatetie: fince it would be much to his hurt, if the &tolians being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backes, might fet vpon him in Afia. He confidered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto Wisander, one of their Embassadors, a summe of monie, that might ferue to defray the charges of the Warre : promiting that ere long he would fend them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. Thous, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly staied, that he might vrge the King to make his word good. But when Heraelea was taken from them : then did the Atolians lay afide al hope, of amending their fortune by the helpe of Antiochus; and made fuit vnto the Conful to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Conful would scarce vouch fafe to give them audience, but faid Hee had other businesse in hand : onely He granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent L. Valerius Flaceus with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would have delivered vnto himselfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began, as men fauouring their own cause, to alleadge how well they had deferued of the Romans. Whereto Flaceus would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memorie of all fuch good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore hee willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes. than to flay till they were reduced into termes of more extremitie. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves vnto the faith of the Romans, and to that effect sent Embaffadours to the Conful. This phrase of committing unto the faith; signified, in their vie of it, little elfe, than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the cra-20 uing of pardon. But the Romans vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as \* reilding to discretion. Wherefore when the Conful heard them \* Legat. excepts speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to e Polybara, their words. They answered that it was : and she wed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpofe. Then fayd Hee, I commaund you first of all, That none of yee prefume to goe into Asia, vpon any bulinesse private or publike: then, That yee deliuer vp vnto me Dicarchue the Atolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Athamanian, and such of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from vs. Whilest hee was yet speaking : Phameas the Embassadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custome of the Greekes, who And had yeelded themselves unto his faith; not unto flauerie. What? (faid the Consul) Doe yee stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto cuerie one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to fay. But Valerius and some others entreated the Conful, not to deale thus hardly with them, fince they came as Embaffadours; though fince, their Condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the Apocletior ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill these injunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which

to for fo long. This furcefance of warre, during tenne and other tenne dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had beene commaunded away from Lamia, that else he might have wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that King, and to the end that hee might not returne home with his Armie, Mmmmmm 3

cause He entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce

Armie, like one that could not bee trusted in employment : especially the Romans being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was delired to set vpon the Athamanians, and some other pettie Nations their borderers, whileft the Conful was buffe with the Atolians; taking for his reward. all that He could get. And Hee got in that space all athamania, Perrhabia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. For the Etolians, hearing what had befalle their Embaffadors. were focuraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre; yet they could not endure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that Nicander about the same time was come backe from Antiochus, with monie and hopefull promifes: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; and Philip having lately rifen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His monie Nicander conveighed to into Lamia, by veric vnufuall dexteritie. But hee himfelfe being to paffe further to the Assembly of the Atolians, there to make report of his Embassage; was verice much perplexed about this his journie, which lay betweene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet hee made the adventure : and keeping as farre as hee could from the Roman fide, fell vpon a Station of Macedonians; by whom hee was taken. and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but cyther to bee delivered vnto the Romans, or vsed ill enough by Philip. But it seemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being fent away from Lamia. For Hee commanded his fernants to entreat Nicander friendly; and he himselfe being then 20 at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose vp: giving him to understand; That the Atolians did now reape the fruits of their own madnesse; for asmuch as they could neuer hold themselves contented, but would needs bee calling strangers into Greece. They had pleafed themselues well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans, and then with King Antiochus: but himselse, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to have regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any triall: for furely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more availeable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselues much displeasure. Thus much the King willed Nicander to fignifie vn- 30 to his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courtese which hee then did him, in fending him fafe home. So giving him a Convoy to gard him to Hypata: He louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, Nicander was alwayes after dutifully affected to the Crowne of Macedon : fo as in the warre of Perfeus hee made himselfe suspected vnto the Romans; and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Conful vnderstood, that the Lolians refused to make their submisfion, in fuch wife as he required it: he forthwith meant to profecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupattus: whither he therefore directly marched, to trie what they could or durst. The seige of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceived it: for it was a strong Citic, and well manned. But deiling stood vpon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have beenea loofer, by riling from before it without Victorie. So He staid there welneare all the following time of his Confulthip; whileft the Macedonian King and the Acheans, made farre better vie of the Roman Victorie. Philip, as is faid before, being allowed to take in fuch places as had revolted vnto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hastic course of Victoric, subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achaans called to accompt the Eleans and Messenians: which had long beene addicted to the Atolian lide; and followed it, in taking part 50 with Antiochus. The Eleans gaue good words, whereby they faued themselues from trouble awhile. The Mellenians being more front, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the Achean Prætor wasted their Countrie, than to offer themselves vnto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth; to whome they sent

word. That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the Acheans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from Titus to the Achean Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre : as also the peremptorie Command of the same Titus caused the Messenians to annex themselves vnto the Achaans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Maieltie of a Roman Embassador. Titus did fauour the Acheans; yet could not like it wel, that eyther they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were ftrong enough to defend it against anie of their neighbours. That they should make themselues great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans sponeuen termes, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus which had once been Philips, and was afterward given by him to Aminander who fent a Gouernour thither. But when Aminander in this present Warre, was driven out of his owne Kingdome by Philip: then did the Gouernour of Zacrnthus offer to fell the Hand to the Achaans; whom he found readie Chapmen. Titus liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the Acheans referred themselues vnto his discretion. So he told them, that their Common-wealth was like a Tor-20 toile, whereof Peloponne swas the shell : and that holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing setled thinges thus in Peloponnejus, Hee went ouer to Naupactus: where Glabrio the Conful had laine two monethes, that might have beene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which Hee had vpon the Atolians, or out of diflike of King Philips thrining to fast : Hee perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the belieged, and to the whole Nation, follong Truce, that they might fend Embassadoursto Rome; and submitting themselves crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that Naupactus was in great danger: else would not the Etolians 20 haue made such carnest suit as they did vnto Titus, for procuring of this fauour. But if Glabrio had beene fure to carrie it, in any floot space : it may well be thought hee would not have gone away without it; fince the winning of that Towne, wherin was then the whole floure of the Nation, would have made the promifed fubmission much more humble and sincere. When they came to Rome: no entreatie could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That eyther they should wholly permit themselues to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neyther Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should give approbation. They had not so much monie: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves a way unto discretion; which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they defired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should veild vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answere: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilest the Ætolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Conful had little to doe in Greece; and therefore took vpon him gravely to fet things in order among thetractable Acheans. Hee would have had them to restore the banished Lacedemonians home into their Countrie; and to take the Eleans into the fellowshippe of their Common-wealth. This the Acheans liked well enough : but they did not like it, that the Romans should be medling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deo ferrred the restitution of the banished Lacedamonians: intending to make it an Act of their owne meere grace. As for the Eleans: they were loth to bee beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Acheans: into whose Corporation they were desirousto be admitted; and saw that they should have their desire, without fuch compulfiue mediation.

The

The Roman Admirall C. Liuius, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with Polyxenides, Admirall to the King Antiochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans, though it was not great: and five and twentie faile of Rhodians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of faile : but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenidas being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betook himfelfe to a speedie retrait.

And such end had the first yeares warre, betweene King Antiochus and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greekes as had followed the vaine hopes of the &tolians, were glad to excuse themselves by feare; thinking themselves happie when to by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, Philip of Maredon, Arch-enemic of late vnto the Romans, did now fend to gratulate this their Victoric: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reftored vnto him Demeerius his yonger fonne, whom fome few yeares they had kept as an hostage. Also King Ptolemie of Agypt, gratulating the Roman Victorie, fent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee defired the Senate not to foreflow time; but to lend an Armie, as foone as might be, into Asia: promising, that his affiltance, wherein focuer it pleafed them to vie it, should not bee wanting. This Prolemie was the fonne-in-law of King Antiochus : but hee was the friend of Fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of 20 the Contention, that the Romans were like to have the voper hand. The fame did Antrochus now beginne to suspect, who had thought himselfe awhile as safe at Ephofus, as if he had beene in another World but was told by Hannibal. That it was not fo farre out of Greece into Alia, as out of Italie into Greece: and that there was no doubt but the Romans would foone be there, and make him trie the chance of a battaile for his Kingdome.

## à. VIII.

LVCIVS SCIPIO, having with him PVBLIVS the African his elder Brother, for his 30 Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that fo he might atleisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and divers fights. An inuation upon EVMENES his Kingdome; with the fiege of Pergamus, rayled by an handfull of the Acheans. L. Scipio the Conful comes into Afia: where ANTIOCHUS most earnestly desireth peace and is denied it. The battaile of MAGNESIA: wherein ANTIOCHUS being vanguished, veildeth to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans veed their Victorie. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO after amost sumptuous triumph ouer An-TIOCHVS, is surnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stilled The African.



YCIVS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, the brother of P. Scipio the African was chosen Conful at Rome with C. Lelius. Lelius was veric gracious in the Senate: and therefore being defirous (as generally all Confuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. Cornelius would be so pleased the

disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lotterie. Lucius having talked with his brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time beene put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more defirous, to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent; P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against Antiochus, He himselfe would follow his brother in that warre, as his Leiutenant. These words were heard with fuch approbation, that the controughlie was forthwith at an end. For it Antiochus

relyed vpon Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than Scipio; that had beene victorious against the same Great Worthie. But indeed a worser man might have served well enough the turne. For Hannibal had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in confultation; where his wisdome was much approued, but his libertie and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthic of remembrance; as a figne of the freedome that he yfed in his cenfures, even whileft he liued in fuch a Court. Antiochus mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Gaptaine: thinking, as may seeme, to have made him with, that hee had beene ser-10 ued by fuch braue men in Italie. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horfes, and Elephants, with fuch coftly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible braueric on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleafing himfelfe with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what hee thought; and

CHAP. 5. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

whether all this were not enough for the Romans. Enough (laid Hannibal) were the Romans the most courtous men in all the World: meaning, that all this Cost vpon the backs of Cowardly Matiques, was no better than a spoile to animate good Souldiers. How little this answere pleased the King; it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that hee made of this Carthaginian, tellifies that his diflike or the man, caused him to loofe the vie of his feruice, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof.

The Scipio's made all hast away from Rome as soone as they could. They carried with them, befides other Souldiors newly preft to the warre, about fine thousand Voluntaries, that had served under P. Africanss. There was also a Fleet of thirtie Quinquereme Gallies, and twentie Triremes newly built, appointed vnto L. A. milius Regillus, that was chosen Admirall the same years for that Voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Conful Glabrio belieging Amphilla a Citie of the Etolians. The Etolians after that they were denied peace, had expe-Redhim once again at Naupactus. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessely, as in a time of confulion, they had left vngarded the last yeare. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their

3° expectation, and fel vpon Lamia: which being not long fince much weakned by Philip, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went Hee to Amphills: which he had almost gotten; when L. Scipio, his fuccesfor, came with thirteene thousand Foot and fine hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of Amphissa was presently forsaken by the inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Towne, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embaffadours had dealt with P. Scipio, in behalfe of the Atolians: entreating him to fland their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and wil-

49 led them to perswade the Atolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desireit. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though Publius continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conful made fill the fame answere, with which they had beene chaced from Rome. The coriclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from warre: whereby at more leifurethey might attend some better disposition of the Senate, or any helpeful commoditie which time should affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeares Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another balfe yeares leifure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was P. Scipio: who thought all time loft, which with held the Warre from paffing ouer into Afia.

The busines of Aetolia being thus laid aside : and the old Consul Glabrio sent home into Italie: the Scipio's marched into The falie; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon and Thrace vnto the Hellespont. Yet they considred, That hereby they must commit themselves vnto the loyaltic of King Philp: who might either doe them some mischeife by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notableaduantage: or at the least, would he be vnfaithfull, though he were not fo couragious, yet might he take fuch order with the Thratians, that euen for want of victualies, it by no greater inconuenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the vtmost of his surtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some triall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post vnto him, and obserue his doings as see should take him on the sudden. The King was merrice at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he louingly had welcom; and shewed him the next day, not onely what promission of victualies he had made for the Armie, but how he had made bridges ouer the rivers, and mended the bad waies by which they were to passe. With these good newes Grachus returned backe in half wnto the scipio's: who entring into Macedon, 10 sound all things in a readines, that might helpe to advance their iournie. The King entertayned them royally; and brought them on their way, cuen to the Helespont: where they shaied agood while, vntill their Nauie was in readinesse to transport

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part. little of importance, Polyxenidas, the Admirall of Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian: true to the King; and desirous of reuenge vpon his Countrimen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the Rhodian Flect was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to Sea; thought to doc form what vpon those that were fo early in their diligence, before their fellowes should arrive to helpe them . Yet 20 went he craftily to worke; and fent word, as in great secrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleiued : and the Rhodian Admiral grew so carelesse, expecting stil when he should receive a watchword from Polyxenidas, that he himselfe was taken by Polyxenidas in his owne Hauen. The Kings Fleet fetting forth from Ephefus by night; and, for feare of being discouered, resting one day in harbour by the way; came the second night to Samos: where, by morning, it was readicto enter the Hauen . Paufilratus the Rhodian Admirall feeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his menon the two head-lands or points of the Hauen; for o gard the mouth of it: for that he faw no likelihood of defending himfelfe by Sea. But Polyxenidus had alreadie landed some companies, in another part of the lland : which falling vpon the backe of Pauliffratus, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and funke or boorded all his Nauie, flue excepted, that by a fudden deuice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Cressetypon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemie : who having not bethought himselse what shift to make against such vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way unto these desperate Gallies; for feare left they should burne, together with themselues, a part of the Kings

Not long after this, the \*Romins\* had fome losse by tempes: whereof \*Polyxenidas\* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, the was driuen backe againe by the like soule weather. But the \*Rodisms\*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twentic other Gallies: the \*Romans\* also with King \*Emmens\* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, presented battaile to \*Polyxenidas\* before the Hauen of \*Ephess\*. When hee durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyher they were entreated by the \*Rodisms\*, or personaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet persourmed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance, made against 500 them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to for fake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Elea

and Pergamus: and leasing his fonne Seleurs: to befeige the royall Citic of Pergamus, did with the reft of his Armie fpoile the whole Countrie thereabout. Attalus, the brother of King Emmense, was then in Pergamus; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citic, than were they that lay againt it. Wherefore hee had reason to fland in seare; being too much inscriour in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Aethaus: old Souldiors all, and trayned younder Philopemen; whose scholler, in the Art of war, Diophane; their Commander was. This Diophane, belolding from the walles of Pergamus, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemie; began to distaine, that such menasthey

10 should hold him besieged, For Seleneus his Armie which was encamped at the hillfoor, seeing that none durst sallie forth youn them, grew so careleste: as otherwise,
than by spoyling all behind their backes, they seemed to forget that they were in an
Enemies Countrie. Diophanes therefore spake with Astalus: and told him that hee
would goe forth to visit them. Astalus had no liking to this aduenture; so he said,
that the match was nothing equall. But the Asham would needes have his will:
and issuing forth, encamped not far from the Enemie. They of Perganus thought
him little better than mad. As for the besseigers; they wondred at first what his
meaning was: but when they saw that he held himselfe quier, they made aiett of
his boldnes; and laughed to see with what an handfull of men he looked so soul-

20 ly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and diforders. Which Diophant perceiving, Hee commanded all his men to follow him, euen as faft as they well might: and he himfelfe, with the hundred Horfe, brake out on the fudden vyon the Station that was next at hand. Verie few of the enemies had their Horfes readic fadled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to maker fill fance: 16 as Hee draue them all out of their Campe; and chaced them as far as hee might fafely adventure, with great flaughter of them, and no losse of the Towne, men and women, to beholde this speckacle were verie io givell; and highly magnified the vertue of these Achaem. Yet would they not ther fore issue for their gates, to helpe the Achaem.

30 ans in doing what remained to be done. The next day Sclenuse encamped halfe a mile further frome the Towne, than bee had done before: and againft him went forth Diephanes the fecond time; who quietly refted awhile in his old Station, When they had haid many houres, looking who should begin: Sclenus, in faire order as he came, withdrew himselfle toward his lodging that was further off. Diephanes moued not whiled the Enemie was in fight: but as sconeas the ground between them hindred the prospect, he followed them in all hass, 8 soone ouertaking them with his Horse charged them in Rere; so as hebrake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their veric Trenches. This boldnes of the Acheans, and the basenes of his owne men, caused Sclenus to quit the seige, little to his 40 honour. Such being the qualitie of these Assiques: Philosparen had cause to reli the Romans, That he enuied their victorie. For when Antiochus lay feasting at Chalcis after his martiage, and his souldiors betooke temselues to Riot, as it had beene in a time of great securitie: a good man of war might have cut all their throtes, euens

time of great (ccuritie: a good man of war might have cut all their throtes, even as they were tipling in their victualing houles, which Philopamen faid that hee would have done, had He bin General of the Asham, & nor, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of busines: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of travaile, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at Pergamus: into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put, himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before Pargamus he left his sonne as before hard

of his Horteand light armature. Before Pergamus ne lett his sonnies a betroe part, 50 beene (hewed, and went to Elas; whither hee heard that £ mylius the Røman Admirall was come, to bring fuccour to Eumenes. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to confult, Eumenes was fent for by £ mylius; and came from Pergamus. But when it was confidered, that no conclution could be made without the Conful; this Treatic brake off. Then followed the Ouerthrow newly menti-

oned

oned; which caused Seleucus to give over the leige of Pergamus, Afterwards, foure or fine Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King; and the Syrian Fleet, being of seuen and thirtie Saile, was beaten by the Rhodian which was of like number. But of this victorie the Rhodians had no great cause to reioyce : for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, together with Apollonius a Courtier of Antiochus. was Admirall of the Syrians, did them in manner as great hurt as they could docto Apollonius; and having the victorie taken out of his hand by Apollonius his flight. yet made fuch a retrait, that the Rhodians durft not farre adventure vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Præfaces unto the war; the last and greatest was a victoric of the Romans by Sea, against Polyxenidas the Kings Admirall. The bat- 10 taile was fought by Myonnesus a Promontoric in Asia: where Polyxenidas had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and fine of them greater, than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanitie of those bragges, wherewith Antiochus vanted the last yeare, That his Armada should couer all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fiftie Gallies the Rhodians, two and twentic: the Roman being the stronger built, and more soutly manned; the Rhodian more light-timberd and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same deuice; with which, fine of their Gallies had lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemie : who declining them for feare, laid 20 open his fide : and was thereby ingreater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysted saile: and having a faire wind, bore away toward Ephelus as falt as they could. Yet fortic of their Gallies they left behind them: wherof thirteeene were taken : all the rest burnt or sunke. The Romans and their fellows. lost onely two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

Thereport of this miliduenture, may feeme to haue taken from Antivelms all vieo for reason. For asi if no hope had beene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in Europe: Hee presently with-drew his Garrisons from Lyssmekine; which might easily haue beene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the befeigers of the leige had beene continued oblinately) to termes of 30 great extremitie. Hee also gaue ouer the seige of Colophon: and laying aide all thought faue onely of desence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King Aria-rabes the Cappadacian.

Thus the Roman Conful, without impediment, not onely came to the Hellefpont; but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to Antiochus on Europe fide. The Fleet was then also in readines, to transport him ouer into Asia: where Eumenes had taken fuch care before, that He landed quietly at his owne good cafe; cuen as if the Countrie had beene his alreadie. The first newes that hee heard of the Enemie, was by an Embaffadour that came to fue for peace. This Embaffadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him 40 from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should casily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampfacus, and Lyfimachia, had been the places about which they varied. Seing therefore the King had now alreadie given over Lysimachia; and was further purposed, not to striue with the Romans about Lamp facus and Smyrna; what reason was there, why they should neede to trouble him with war? If it was their defire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Breifly, let them take fome part of Asia: fo as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be 50 vncertaine; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were notenough: the King would likewife beare halfe the Charges, whereat they had beene in this war. So praying the Romans to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected

their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were indged by the Romans to be verie little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his only fault : and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in Aglis and Ionia; but quite out of Asia the lesse, and keepe himselfe on the other side of Mount Taurus. When the Embaffadour therefore faw, that no better bargaine could be made. He dealt with P. Scipio in private: and to him hee promised agreat quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne, who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by to the King. Scipio would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the reftitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publicke busines: Here onely faid thus much, That fince Antiochus had alreadie for laken Lylimachia, and fuffered the war to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, faid He, tell your King in my name, that I would adule him to refule no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For feeing that the Conful demanded of him no leffe, than if he had beene alreadic fubdued: little reason 20 there was, that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loose, as hee thought, no more, than by feeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threefcore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was hee nothing pleafed, to heare that the Conful drew neare him apace, as one haltning to fight. But how foeuer he was affected; Hee made so little shew of feare, that hearing P. Scipio to lie ficke at Elea, He fent thither vnto him his fonne without ranfome; as one both defirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ficknes, and withall not defirous to retaine the yong Gentleman for a pledge of his owne fafetie. Thus ought his boun-30 tie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected. That herein he dealt craftily. For fince he could have none other ranfome of Scipio, than fuch as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtelie before the battell, as would afterwards have been elittle worth; than to flay vntill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recourse of his sonne : so as the joy thereof was thought, to haue beene much auaileable vnto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitic, He faid onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by adulting him not to fight, untill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to conic-40 Eture . Antiochus refolued to follow his counfaile : and therefore withdrew himfelfe from about Thyatira, beyond the River of Phrygius or Hyllus, vnto Magnelia by Sipylus: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him L. Scipio the Conful; and fate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greeker, came to bid the Romans welcome: of whom at first they slue some; and were anon, with some losse driven backe over the River. Two daies were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the Romans would paffe the water. The third day the Romans made the aductione: wherein they found no diffurbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an halfe of Antiochus his Campe. There, as they were 50 taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand, Horse and Foote: whom the ordinarie Corps du gard repelled. Foure daies together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and fet them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the Romans came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Con-Nnnnnn

fultooke aduife what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon what soe uer disduantage, or else resolue to abide by it all Winter, faire from any Countrie of their freinds, and therefore (abiect wno many dissipations: unless they would staine their honour by returning faire backe, to winter in a more contenient place; and so deferre the war until the next Spring. The Roman souldiour was throughly personal contenies based temper. Wherefore it was the general Crie, that this great Armie should be assailed, cuen in the Campe where it lay; as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouring the fortifications of Anioshus, and the safest way to set you shim, all this while P. Scipic came not. Wherfore the King, being least to to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in sear of the Enemie; re followed to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battailes: Heals odd the like; and advanced so faire, that they might understand his meaning to shelt.

The Roman Armie confifted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vivally, were in the points: the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were divided into Maniples. The Haltati had the leading : after them tollowed the Principes, at fuch distance as was vivall; and last of all, the Triarij. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly 20 Acheans; and partly fuch as belonged to Eumenes: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vtmost of all (faue some five hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians were almost three thousand Horse : of which, Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the river : yet foure Troups of horse were placed there; though fuch helpe feemed in a manner needleffe. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Conful had with him fixeteene African Elephants, which hee bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they only would have served to discourage his men; as being fure to be beaten; the Indian being farre the greater, and more 20 couragious beafts: whereof Antiochus had likewife much aduantage in number.

The Kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diverfly apointed, and not all accultomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the feuerall kinds, in fuch wife as each might be of most vie. The maine strength of his Foot confifted in fixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These Hee placed in the middest, and divided into tenne Battalions: every one hauing two and thirtie in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beafts, and fuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Crefts, Towers on their backes, and befides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in cuerie Tower, made agallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these 40 were fifteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greekes: then, three thousand Barbd Horse : and Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the Agema, that were all Medians, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horfe, divided in their feuerall kinds, doe feeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have beene firetched out in Front. Adjoyning to these were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment : called the Argyraspides or Silvershields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like fo valiant as those of the same name, that had served vnder Great Alexander: then, twelve hundred Archerson horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foote, two thousand and fine 50 hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand slingers and Archers of the Cirteans, and Elymeans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greekes and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seuen hundred of divers

Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly atmed, that were called the Kings Troups, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the Dromedaries, where on sate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, arabble of many Nations, Carians, Citicians, Pemphylians, Pytians, Syrians, Espinaans, and many others, having also with them sixteene Elephants. Antiochus himselfe commanded in the right wing: Sestens in the left and three of his principall Captaines commanded over the Phalancier.

The first onset was given by the Dromedaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse, the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot: Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eafily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with showtings, and novies, and fome wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running backe voon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged vpon the left wing : where they found no reliftance ; fome being out of order: others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearle, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible : that the Phalangiers, with such varietie of Auxi-20 liaries, made little or no relistance; but all of them fled, in manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, Antiochus himselfe, being in the lest wing of his owne battaile : and sceing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flancked with Horse; gaue voon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. But M. Emylius, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, iffued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes; and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renewe the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were alreadie victorious : whereof when Antiochus, discouered the approch; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tariance. The Campe was defended a little while; and with no great valour; though by a 30 great multicude that were fled into it. Antiochus is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not flaine aboue three hundred Foot, and four and twentie Horse of Eumenes his followers flue and twentic.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custodic of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Townsfmen and Souldiors were fo difmayed with the greatnesse of the Ouerthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded vp themselves by Embassadors: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on 40 the way. Neyther were many dayes spent, ere Antiochus his Embassadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the King his Master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother: who obtained leave to make the answere, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That hee should quite abandon his Dominions on this fide of Taurus. For their charges in that warre they required fifteene thousand Talents: fine hundred in hand; two thousand and fine hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thouland, in twelue yeares next enfuing by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some store 50 of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now belides twentie holtages which they required, verie earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and

Thous the Atolian, with some others who had stirred up the King to this warre, deliuered into their bands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demaunds; as no great

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art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaffadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to fend immediatly to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Confuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, M. Fuluius, and Cn. Manlius Volfo. The £tolians defired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neyther of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Confuls should make Warre vpon the Etolians, the other, vpon Antiochus in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes, that Antiochus was alreadie vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands; yet fince the State of Asia was not like to bee 10 fo throughly fetled by one Victoric, but that many thinges might fall out worthic of the Romans care; Cn. Manlius, to whome Asia fell by lot, had not his Province

Soone after this came the Embassadors of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others : yea by King Eumenes in person ; whose presence added a goodly suftre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no disputation: it was generally approued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his owne deferts : and comparing himselfe with Masanissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beeneto the Numidian, 20 fince they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masanissa was onely such in title; and fince both he and his father had alwayes beene their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craued that they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Countrie by them taken from Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keepe in their ownchands. Neyther thought hee it needfull, that they should trouble themfelues with the care of giuing libertie to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on Afia fide, For fince the most of those Townes had beene partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his ouerthrow. The 20 Rhodians did not like of this. They defired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Gracian libertie; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had beene Subject vnto Philip, and served him in his Warre: which was not alleadged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victoric of the Romans against King Antiochus was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaue away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King Antiochus : after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe 40 whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of anie ten that Rome had beheld untill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of The African had been given vnto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some, to reward L. Scipio with the title of The Aliatick: which the fortune of his Victorie had no leffe descrued; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no

way correspondent.

à. IX.

CHAP.5. S.9. of the Historie of the World.

ð. I X.

The Etolians, and the Gallogreekes, vanquished by the Roman Confuls FVLVIVS and MANLIVS. MANLIVS hardly obtaines a Triumph : being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paffed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by SIBYLL. Of SIBYL'S Prophecies; the Bookes of HER-MES; and that Infeription, SIMONI DEO SANCTO. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipios: and the beginning of faction among the

Roman Nobilitie.

ARC. FVLVIVS and Cn. Manlies had the fame charge divided betweene them, which L. Cornelius Scipio, now fivled Affaticus, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Alia. And for this reason was it apparent, that

L. Scipio had graunted fo long a Truce to the Atolians. But fince, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtic little Nation had not fought to humble it selfe to the Roman Maiestie, it was now to be brought vnto more lowlie termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the Atolians. They had forescene the danger, when their Em-20 baffadours were veterly denied peace at Rome; and they had provided the last remedie; which was, to entreat the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessours for them. Neither, were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that

they could not well deuile, vpon helping themselves, even by repurchase of Countries loft, where they spied advantage.

Poore King Aminander lived in exile among them, whilest Philip of Macedon kept. for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that manie of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) having beene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conversed with them after an homelie manner; could not endure the proud and infolent manner of commaund, yfed by 30 the Captaines of Philip his Garrisons. They sent therefore some sew of them to

their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which undertooke the worke. Yet affurance, that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Atolians, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers, having divided themselves into source parts, occupied, by the readic assistance of the multitude, foure the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his yfe. The fame of this good fucceffe at first; with letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action : made the Lieutenants of

40 Philip vnable to thinke vpon relistance. One of them held the Towne of Theium a few daies; giving thereby some leifure vnto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was loft. Philip had brought from home fix thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all faue two thousand behind him & so came to Athenaum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take a place lying ouer Argithes, that was chiefe of the Countrie. Zeno did as he was appointed : yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldnesse to descend upon Argithea, for that they might perceive the Athamanians,

50 all along the hill fides, readie to come downe vpon them, when they should be bufie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a fafe retreat; specially when Aminander came in fight with his thousand Atolians. The Macedonians were called back, from-wards Argithea, and presently withdrawne by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not fuffered to depart in quiet, at their pleasure.

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The Athamanians and Ætolians way layed them, and purfued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great loss of men and armes, sew of those scaping, that were lest behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, with I Philip his returns.

The Letoians, having found the businesse of Athamania so easie, made attempt, in their owne behalfe, upon the Amphilachians and Aperantians. These had belonged vnto their Nation, and were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently revolved, and became Letoian againe. The Delopians lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke armes at first: but soone layed them away, seeing their owne King so hashily gone, as

if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the iou was the leffe; for that newes came of Antiochus his last ouerthrow, and of M. Fuluius the new Confull his hasting with an armie into Greece, Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his owne from Philip with such helpe as he could get. Neither feemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of Philip his loffes: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. Fuluius went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe feat of Pyrrhu his Kingdome. 20 With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Etolians: yet could not by them be relieued, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight upon equal ground. To helpe the Ambracians, it was not in the Etolians power : for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and readie to be driven from their new conquest, by Perfess the sonne of Philip, who invaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with fo many at once; and therefore as carneftly fought peace with the Romans, as they frontly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embaffadors came; who befought the Confull to graunt them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made frong refiftance, and would not be terrified, by any vio- 20 lence of the affaylants, or danger that might feeme to threaten. The Confull had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so be driven to leave vnto his fucceffor the honour of finishing the warre. Wherefore he gladly hearkened vnto the Ætolians, and bad them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouer-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. He also gaue leaue to Aminander, offering his feruice as a mediatour, to put himselfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the conclusion was such, as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnfufferable. The same Embassadours of the Athenians and Rhodians accom- 40 panied those of the Etolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that Philip had made verie grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindered not the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did carneftly follicite. The Atolians were bound to vphold the maiestic of the people of Rome, and to observe divers articles, which made them lesse free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any people of Greece; they having beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrie. The Isle of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselves (as not long fince they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achaans, by stiffely pressing their owne right) that fo they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilest they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto Philip, or others, might lay claime, there was fet downe an Order fo perplexed, as would necessarily

require to haue the Romans Iudges of the controuerfies, when they should arife. And hereof good vse will be shortly made: when want of emploiment essewhere, shall cause a more Lordiie Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of Macedon and Greec.

CHAP.5. S.Q.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conful, had at the same time warre in Alia, with the Gallogreekes and others. His Armie was the same that had followed L. Scipio; of whole victorie, his acts were the confummation. Hee visited those Countries on the hither fide of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by Antiochus. Among these there were some pettic Lords, or Tyrants, 10 some free Cities, and some that were together at warres, without regard of the great alteration hapned in Asia. From enery of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which heeshould else haue wanted an errand. He was euen loaden with bootie, when, hauing fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length vpon the Gallogreekes. These had long dominiered ouer the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their forepassed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they served vnder King Antiochus, as made them to know themselues farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon 20 the River Halys, in an Inland Countrie, where those enemies were not like to fearch them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation, that had beene friends of Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then was no counfaile thought fo good, as to forfake their houses and Countrie, and, with all that they could carrie or driue, to betake themselnes vnto the high mountaines of Olympus and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vndertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and vichuailed for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promifed greatest assurance : it was thought, that the Conful would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or eafily be repelled; and that finally, 30 when he had staied there awhile, winter, and much want, should force him to diflodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallogreekes had beene careleffe of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough to that purpose : the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of armes, than impediment in difaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did casily prevaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallogreekes, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit fize. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive armes, could not hold out against the arrowes and

40 weapons of the Roman light armature: but were driven from a peece of ground, which they had vindertaken to make good, vp into their campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to caft themselves headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of the mene scaped alive: all their wives, children, and goods, became a prey vinto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the reli of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by slight, as having fairer way at their backes.

These warres being ended: Fulaius and Manlius were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsial his Province for another yeare. Fulaius, in his 50 second yeare, did little or nothing. Manlius gave peace to those whom hee had vanquished; as likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocius, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for seare of the Roman armes. Hee drew from them all what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as hee thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Aniachus, whereto

he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom hee sent for that purpose, Finally, having set in order the matters of Asia, he tooke his way toward the Hellefont, loaden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallogreekes had in fo many yeares extorted, from the wealthic Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armic of Manlius returne home, rich in money alone, or cattaile, or things of needfull vie, which the Roman fouldier had beene wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houlhold-stuffe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Musitians for banquets, and, in a word, with the feedes of that luxuric, which finally ouer-grew

and choked the Roman vertue.

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Liu.l.19.

The Countrie of Thrace lay betweene Hellespont and the Kingdome of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journie homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any fuch bootie as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, because Philip of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when Manlius came along with an huge traine of baggage; the Thracians could not fo well containe themselves. Neither was it thought, that Philip tooke it otherwise than verie pleasantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angrie; seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gave the Romans 20 to understand, that Eumenes could not have abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the People of Rome had not made warre in Afia : whereas contrariwife, Antiochus had offered vnto himselse three thousand talents, and siftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Ætolians; promiting moreouer to restore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference betweene him and Eumenes, when the warre began; he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victoric, to give away not onely the halfe of Alia, but Cher sonne su and Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas vpon himselfe they beflowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie, to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. 20 He had entertained louingly the two Scipie's, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was growne into neare acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed fufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes tooke a surer way. For the Scipio's had not the disposing of that which they wanne from Antiochies : as neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Delegates affifting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore faw the fe vpftart Kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced to highly, and made greater than himfelfe; yea himfelfe vnregar- 40 ded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish. that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against Antiochus, or rather that hee had joined with Antiochies and the Atolians, by whom he might have beene freed from his infolent masters. But what great argument of such discontented nesset the Macedonian had, we shall verie shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was belocued, that the Thracians were by him set on, to assaile the Romans passing through their Countrie. They knew all advantages: and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had alreadie passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet fo farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to 50 leave behinde: though both the getting, and the fauing, did cost many lives, as well of the Barbarians as of the Romans. They fought vntill it grew night: and then the Thracians withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lessed dangerous, before

the Armic could get out of Thrace into Micedon. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and fo to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece. To Manlius, and to Fuluius, when each of them returned to the Citic, was gran-

ted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction : especially to Manliss; whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to affish him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthie Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answere, and was approued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthie of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with Antiochus; they said, That with much adoe he was kept Links

10 from leading his Armieouer T AVRVS, and adventuring vyon the calamitie threatned by SYBYLS verses, unto those that should passe the fatallbounds. What calamitie or overthrow this was, wherewith Sibyls prophecie threatned the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer Taurus, I doe not conceiue. Pompey was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of Lucullus had opened vnto him the way, and had before hand wonne, in a fort, the Countries on the other fide of the Mount; which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either Lucullus or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecie, fell out neare about

20 one time, with the restitution of Ptolemie King of Agypt; that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seeme to have had reference, vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the Egyptian King. Whether the Oracles of Sibyl had in them any truth, and were not, as Tullie noteth, fowed at randome in the large field of Time, there to take Tullide Dining. root, and get credit by euent; I will not here difforte. But I hold this more proba- 1.2. ble, than that the restitution of Ptolemie to his Kingdome by Gabineus the Roman, should have any way betokened the comming of our Saujour : as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers, have beene well pleased to interprete Sibyl in that prophecie. Of the Sibyllme prædictions I have sometimes thought reverend-

20 lie: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke, few men know) yet following the common beleefe and good authoritie. But observation of the shamefull Idolatrie, that vpon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the bookes of Sibyl, had well prevailed vpon my credulitie, and made mee suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the indgement of Eusebius: when that learned and excellent worke of master Casaubon vpon the Annales of Cardinall Baronius, did altogether 1sace. Casaub. free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of Exercitat. 1. Sibyl, wherein Christ so plainly was foreshewed, but even the bookes of Hermes, n. 10. 611. which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited peeces, and at first entertained (whosoeuer deuised them) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as

40 delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthned with forreine proofes. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historic, reported by Eusebius from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to Simon Magus Euseb Eschill. in Rome; namely of an Altar to him crected, with an inscription Simoni Deo Sancto, 12.6.13. that is, To Simon the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should have beene quite omitted by Tacitus, by Suetanius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that Seneca, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, to that this inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto, was, by some bad Criticisme, taken amisse

in place of SEMONI SANGO: a title foure hundred yeares older than the time of Simon Magus. For the goods of one Vitruuius a Rebell, had many ages before beene consecrated SEMONI SANGO, that is, To the Spirit or Demi god Sangus, in whose Chapell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman

letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vponthem; it might easily come to paffe, that the words should be miffe-read, SIMONI SARCTO, and that some Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such conje-Etures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby alfo, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historicall, than was conceined by the Author. But it cannot be fafe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme ypon a fure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, post.

Now concerning the Triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbred among a to few of the richest, which ever the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last paiment of those monies, which the Common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the fecond Punicke warre. So long was it, that Rome had fill fome feeling of Hannibal: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memoric, of any danger. This Triumph of Manline was deferred by him, even as long as he well could: for that he thought it not fafe, to make his entrance into the Citic, vntill the heat of an Inquilition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two Scipio's were called, one after other, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. P. Scipio the African, with whom they began, could not endure that 20 fuch vnworthie men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasurie, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrie. When therefore his day of answere came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assemblie, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the People, That vpon the fame day of the yeare he had fought a great battaile with Hannibal, and finished the Punicke Warre by a fignall victorie. In memorie whereof, hee thought it no fit feason to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitoll, and there give thankes to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at 30 other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weightie businesse of the Common wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if ever fince the feventeenth yeare of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacitie of his age, and yes his deferts had exceeded the great neffe of those honourable places; then would they pray that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might flill be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: fo as all the people, euen the Officers of the Court, followed Scipio; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne flaues and a Crier, by whom ridiculoufly they cited him to judgement, vntill for verie shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, 40 vnrequested, a surther day. After this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their fuit, but enforce him to fubmit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquilhed the Citie, and his vnthankfull Romans, that could fuffer him to vindergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any defire of feeing Rome againe. How many yeares he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeare, in this voluntarie banishment; it is vocertaine. The report of his dying in the fame yeare, with Hannibal and Philopamen, as also of his private behaviour at Liternum, render it probable, that he outlined the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawne him backe to his answere, if one of their Colleagues (as one 50 of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to delift. Howfoeuer it was : the fame Tribunes went more sharply to worke with L. Scipiothe Aliatique. They propounded a Decree vnto the People, touching monic received of Antiochie, and not brought into the common Treasurie; That the

Senate should give charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and indicially determine, thereof. In fauour of this Decree an Oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue: temperate, valiant, and of fingular industrie; frugall alfo, both of the publike, and of his owne; fo as in this kinde he wascuen faultie : for though be would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vn merciful and vn confcionable, in feeking to encrease his owne wealth, by such meanes as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyloned with enuic, troubled both himselfe, and the whole Citie, whilett he lived. His meane birth caused him to

CHAP.5. S.9.

to hate the Nobilitie; especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his owne ranke, men raised by desert, if their adnancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when Glabrio, whose Licutenant he had beene at Thermopyla, was his Competitor for the Cenforship. and likely to carrie it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periurie, That he had not brought into the common Treasurie fome vestels of gold and filuer, gotten in the Campe of Antiochus. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the Scipioes grew partly (belides his generall fpight at the Nobilitie) from his owne first rifing, wherein he was countenanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was given vnto

20 himselfe, in the African voyage, by P. Scipio, whose Treasurer be then was. For when Cato did vtter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandrie (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptoric manner; Scipio plainely told him, That he had no need of fuch double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, Cato filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the Scipiaes, whilest it was nourished by their enemie, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against L. Scipio, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuere inquirie and

30 judgement being appointed of purpose against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a summe of money, farre exceeding his abilitie to pay. For non payment, his bodie should have been elayed up in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by Tiberius Gracebus, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vic of the Citie, when there neither appeared any figure of his having beene beholding to Antiochus, nor was found fo much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had beene against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was L. Scipio no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better 40 estate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than such of his owne

goods, as were of necessarie vse, being redeemed for him by his necrest friends. And thus began the civile warre of the Tonque, in the Roman pleadings : which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, fince the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad, and fome want of fufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthie, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great securitie her extreame danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contains themselves within heat of wordes and cunning practise. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfecti-

50 on, they that found them felues ouer-matched by their adverfaries, at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubbes and stones, afterward with fwords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a Ladie of rare vertue, that in honour of her two fonnes was more commonly named Mother of the

Gracely, faw those her two sonnes, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Confuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, Let the Confuls provide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemie to the State, they thought to have woon a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracehus, and of Saturninus a popular man, whom by such authoritie they did put out of the way; it was not long ere Marins, a famous Captaine of theirs, was 10 to condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senatours: whereupon began the civile warres; which giving vnto Sylla, who prevailed therein, meanes to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught Cafar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraigne power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Confull had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authoritie to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in paffing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citic stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: fo the vehemencie of the Senate, in condemning as enemics those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voices 20 in the House, did compell Cesar, or give him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he tooke such order, that neither Senate, nor People, should thenceforth be able to doc him wrong. So by intefline difcord, the Romans confuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subjects vnto the arbitrarie gouernment of One: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their infolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on Earth, to doe even what they lifted. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeved of her felfe as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. 30 Wherefore this confummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the fequele will discouer.

# CHAP. VI. The second Macedonian Warre.

d. I.
The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the 40 Romans, when the warre with ANTIOCHVS was finished. The Romans quarrell with PHILIP. They deale insolently with the Acheans. The Macedonian, being whreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne DEMETRIVS; of whom thenceforth he becomes icalous.



FTER the ouerthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Acheans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arriuall of the Romans in those parts : yet in verie 50 truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vasfalls to the People of Rome. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whome

focuer it reft; namely, To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie; and To referue (as the French call it) le dermier refort, or the last Appeales, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeale, or last resort, as everie pettic injurie offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senatours themselues within Rome: from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Commonweales, declined, He or they

of the Historie of the World.

CHAP. 6. S.I.

were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Effates and Regalities vtter-10 ly dissolued. Neuerthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interpoled their will to the contrarie; neither was their election of Magistrates fo free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of Greece did bow verice gently: either as being thankefull for their deliuerance from a yoke more fentibly grieuous, or, as being skilfull in the art of flatterie, and therein taking delight, fince therein confifted their chiefe hope of thrining; or, as being more fearefull of dif-

pleasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But Eumenes living 20 further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre and peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to vie his owne euen as he lifted, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auaileable to him, that his Kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deferts) were they veric louing vnto Masanissa, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion fetled in Afrike: as likewife afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subjection vnto themselues, by the ministeric of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were viefull 30 and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; and showed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But fuch magnanimitie was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himfelfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that hee had lately given passage to their Armies through his Countrie, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them over the Hellespont into Alia. against Antiochus: yet vpon the complaint of Europeas, and the States of Thessal 40 and Thrace, he was commaunded to abandon the Cities of Anus and Marones,

with all Pecces and Places demaunded by any of his neighbours; whereof manie of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themfelues.

These Townes of Anus and Maronea had beene part of Lylimachus his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion verie farre. He is thought to have made himselfe Lord of Transylvania: in which Province it is faid, \* That innumerable Medals of gold have beene found, in the Hift: of Hungaage of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and flamped it by Mari: with his Image on the one fide, on the other fide with Victorie. Of all these Lord-

50 (hips, the possession, or rather the title (for he lined not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleuens Wicator by right of warre, wherein he vanquished and flue Lysimachus: as alfo, by the like right, Ptolomie Ceraunus thought them his owne, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the Kingdome of Macedon could not sustaine, did shortly and eafily wash away from that Crowne,

together with the more part of Thrace, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the sonne of Demetrius, and his successours: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the Gaules being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recoursed their libertic; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanian and wild Thracians, to finde their advantages, and make vie of them, even vpon Macedon. Against the mischiefes commonly done by these. King Philip did prouide the most conucnient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying Lyfimachia, with fome other Townes in Thrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of 10 his owne Countrey, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behoued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne citate: yet for a fmuch as the fe Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Atolians, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied Lysimachia. Hereto he made a good answere, That his Garrison did onely saue it from the Thracians: who, as foone as hee thence withdrew his men, did feize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have laid, touching Anus and Marones; That they were Places vnable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the Barbarians might haue entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not auayled him, 20 in the disputation about Lysmachia: and in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; fince Antiochus had gotten all the Countrie thereabout, whilest Philip was busied in his former warre; and since they, by their victorie had gotten vnto themselues all the title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether Anus and Marones should be set at libertie, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon Eumenes; who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia and Chersonnesius, that were alreadic his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eafily perceiue, by the demeanour of their Embaffadors towards him: who fitting as Iudges betweene him and all that 20 made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euerie controuersie. Neuerthelesse, he sent Embassadoursto Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might prevaile) was wholly on his fide. For he had holpen their Confuls in the warre against Antiochus and the Atolians: wherein whatfocuer he had gotten for himfelfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadours: and would they now depriue him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of Antiochus, like as out of his owne ruines Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By fuch allegations either hee was likely to preuaile, or at leastwife to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to 40 doe. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embaffadours. Wherefore, confidering how infolently the Maronites had behaued themselves, in pleading against him for their libertie, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature hee was verie cruell) gaue order to Onomassus, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such fort, as they might have little joy of the libertie by them fo earnestly defired. Onomassus employed Cassander, one of the Kings men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians by night, that they might facke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done, but so ill taken by the Roman Embaffadours, who had better notice, than could have beene 50 feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majestie, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himselfe, and layed it even upon the Maronites; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable

to him, other fome to Eumenes, had fallen into such outrage, that they had out one anothers throtes. And hereof hee willed the Embaffadours to inquire, among the Maronites themselues : as well knowing, that they who survived were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durft not ytter an offenfine word. But hee found the Romans more severe, and more throughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with fuch an answere. He was plainly told. That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome. there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble 10 him. Yethe collected his spirits, and said that Cassander should be at their dispofition : but concerning Onomastus, who had not beene at Maronea, nor neare to it, her requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to give away his friends. As for Callander, because he should tell no tales : hee tooke order to have him poisoned by the way. By this weeke, That the do-Etrine, which Machiauel taught vnto Cafar Borgia, To employ men in mischicuous actions and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischiefes was not of his owne inuention. All ages have given vs examples of this goodlie pollicie, the latter having beene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient : as the reigne of Henrie the eighth here in England, can beare good witnesse and 30 therein especially the Lord Crommell, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life,

Suchactions of Philip made an unbleafant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought vpon him the warre which like feared, before hee was readie to entertaine it. Wherefore hee emploied his younger some Demetrius as Embassadour vnto the Senate; giving him instructions, how to make answere to all complaines and withall to deliver his owne griemances, in such wise that is ought were smille, yet might it appears that hee had beene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacific the Romans, and make all eyen for the present. Demetrius himselse was knowne to be veries acceptable vnto the 3° Senate as having beene well approved by them, when he was hostage in Rome, and therefore seemed the more likelie, to prevaile some was hostage in Rome, and therefore seemed the more likelie, to prevaile some west onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilest he, by his readineffe to make submission, seemed likelie to divert from him felfe some other way the Roman armes : the same Embassadours, that had beene Judges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controuerlies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrie. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished Laced amonians against the Acheans. It was objected vinto the Ache-40 ans. That they had committed a grieuous flaughter you many Citizens of Lacedamon: That vnto this crueltie they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of Lycurgus. Hereto Lycortas, then Prator of the Acheans, made answere. That these banished Laced amonians, who now tooke you them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously knowne to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame voon others: the Achaans having onely called those vnto judgement, that were supposed to be chiefe authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintifes having slaine them, vpon private, though inst hatred, 50 as they were comming to make an lwere for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the walles of Lacedamen, hee faid it was most agreeable to Lycurgus his ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and liber-

tie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications 3 as the O 0 0 0 0 0 2 Retraits

Retraits and Nestscither of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Viurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walles, and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lycurgu hisordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawlesse will. As for the Acheans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or elsewould soone change them and take better, vnto the Lacedamonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, Lycortes plainly told App. Claudius the chiefe of the Embassadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it ftrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to see themselues thus constrained, to answere and give account of their actions; as vasfals to and flaues vnto the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might northe Acheans as well require to be fatisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capus, as the Romans did busie themselves, to take account how things went at Lacedamon? For if the Romans would fland vpon their greatnesse, and intimate, as they began, that the libertie of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselues to ratifie it : then must the Achaans have recourse vnto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without periurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeed fearing, the Romans, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answere of Lycortus, Appius found little to replie. Yet taking state voon him, hee pronounced more like a Master than a 20 Judge, That if the Acheans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and carne thankes whileft they might sthey should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the Acheans; which ground to heare the Lordly words of Appius. Yet Feare prenailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romans to doe as they lifted. Hereupon the Embassadours restored some banished and condemned men : but the Roman Senate, verie soone after, did make void all Iudgements of death or banishment, that had beene laid by the Acheans upon any Citizen of Lacedemen; as like wife they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territoric of Lacedamon, should be suffered to continue a member of 20 the Achean Common-wealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had beene, an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Ramans well declared, That they held it to depend spon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy : though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achaia, they discovered no leffe, as to them feemed, the love which they bare vnto the Achaians, than the power which they had over

Theo fuch flauerie had the Greekes, and all Kings and Common-weakes what foeuer, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the Romans to their fuccour. They wanted not the good counfaile and per- 40 swallons of many wife and temperate men among them; They had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gaules, and Africans, all fuldued by the Romans, and, by feeking Patronage, made meere vallals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect : yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policie so prevaile with them, but their private paffions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of felfe-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and

All this made well for Philip of Macedon: who though he faw the Greekes verie farre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both hee and they were kept in 50 awe; yet was hee not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Roman by freeing from his subjection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affectionall the Countrie would be his, when source he should take armes, as short-

lie he was like to doc. Young Demetrius, comming home from Rome, brought with him the defired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie foone following. He had beene louingly vied at Rome, and heard with great fanour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, vnskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anfwere : it was permitted vnto him, to reade fuch briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for Demetrius his owne fake, as they then faid and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at 10 the entreatic of his founc, together with fome infolence of his fonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans; did increase in Philip his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him aicalousie of histoo forward sonne. To let him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadours from Rome; some bringing one commandement; fome another; and fome, requiring him to fulfill those things, which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that hee had done things ynwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than he needs must. With these Embaffadours young Demetrius was converfant : rather perhaps out of limplicitie and 20 for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleafing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Maceden, That Perfeus, the elder fonne of the King, should not succeed vnto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon Demetrius, if not by some other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely Perfeus, but Philip himselfe : who suspected his younger sonne, as more Roman than his owner, and accordingly misconstruct all his doings. But ere wee proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this sealousie; it will not be amisse, to speake of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

ð. I I.

The death of PHILOPOEMEN, HANNIBAL, and SCIPIO. That the militarie profession is of all other the most unhappie : not withstanding some examples, which may seeme to product be contrarie.

He Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptorie with the Acheans; that they feemed not valikely to take part against them, in any controuersic that should be moued. Hereupon the Messem, who against their will were annexed vato the Ashean Common-wealth, having long

beene of a contrarie Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselues from that Societie, with purpose to set vp againe an Estate of their owne, seucred from communion with any other. This was the deuice of some that were powerfull in their Citie; who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpole, and not ouer-firongly affected in the bufineffe; were carefull to fecke occasion of reducing things to fuch paffe, that al their Citizens might be entangled in a pecellitie of flanding out, and of not returning to the Achean League. And hereupon they began to doe fome acts of hostilitie; whereby it was probable that bloud should bee 50 drawne, and either fide fo farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would

be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; Philopamen, then Pretor of the Acheans, levied fuch forces as hee could in hafte, and went against them. Many principall gentlemen of the Acheans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were foone in a readinesse to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for

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the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that vsually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, hee met with Dinocrates, Captaine of the Messenians; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whilest his horsemen were too carnest in following the chace; there arrived, by chance, a supplie of fine hundred from Messene, which gaue new courage vnto those that fled. So the Enemics began to make head againe; and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled Philopamens Horsemen to turne backe. Philopamen himselse had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him, to bee negligent of their safetie, which had fo willingly aduentured themselues under his conduct. He tooke upon him to make the Retrait: and fuffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrific from approaching ouer-neare to him, But it fell out vnhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall of his horse, and being withall in very weake plight of bodie, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet fearce beleeued their fortune to bee fo good, although their cies were witneffes. The first messenger that brought these newes to Messene, was so farre from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They 20 caused him to be brought into the Theater, that therethey might satisfie themfelues with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune : and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the fingular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from Nabis the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, Dinocrates and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life : because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any difgrace, or injurie, done to him, vnreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him : but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had beene made for the custodie of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine 20 laid an heavie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not staied long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poison, which Philopamen tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycortas was fafe, when he heard an answere to his minde, he faid it was well: and so with acheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. Hee was seuentie yeares old, and weakned with long fickneffe, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and casily tooke away his life. The Acheans, when they missed him in their flight, were maruelloufly offended with themselves, for that they had beene more mindfull to preserve their owne lines, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent 40 a Commander. Whilest they were denising what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently afflieted: fo as Embaffadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Meffene, crauing his enlargement : and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. Lycortas was chosen Generall of the Armie against Messene: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then Dinocrates, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the ashet of Philopamen, that were carried home in folemne pompe to Megalopolis; where they were all 10 of them flaine at his funerall, as facrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. Q. Martius, a Roman Embassador, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embaffadors were seldome absent. He would have entermedled in this busines of Messene, had not Lycortas made short worke, and left him nothing to doc.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius sent Embassador to Prusias King of Bithypia: not fo much to withdraw him from profecuting the warre against Eumenes, as to entreat him, that he would deliver Hannibal, the most spiehtfull enemie in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. Prufias (therein vnworthie of the Crowne he ware) did readily condifcend: or rather (as Linie thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him aliue to Flaminius. For you the first conference betweene the King and Flaminius, a troupe of Souldiors were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous Captaine having found cause before this to sul-10 pect the faith of Prulias, had deuiled some secret sallies under ground to sauchimfelfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedie; which he then was constrayned to practife, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to faue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew. would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he faw no way of escape nor counsell to refort vnto, he tooke the poylon into his hand, which he alwayes preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest difeafes of aduerse fortune; which being readie to swallow downe, he vttered these wordes: I will now (faid he) deliver the Romans of that feare, which hath fo many yeares

20 possess than scare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victorie of I. a m is it was our me, which am dissipated into his hand; fold mener be numbred among the reits of his beroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Red into of the World, how farre the auncient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their foresathers, as, when P x m. it was in used them in Italia, and was readie to give them bataile at their owne dores, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by posson: whereas these of a later race have employed F x M in x v x, and who had be vertofore been ene of their consills, to practife with P x v x 1 x x, contrarie to the honour of a King, contrarie to his Faith given, and contrarie to the Lawes of Hospitalitic, to say the consideration who were Guest. The then cur30 since he reston of Prusa, and all his, and desting the immortal quest to reunne bus insti-

delitie, dranke off the poylon, and died.

In this yeare alfo (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie Philopamen and Hannihal, died Scipio the African: thefe being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had, but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainely, for Hannihal, whole Tragedie we haue now finished, had he beene Prince of the Carthaleginiss, and one who by his authoritie might haue commanuded such singleys, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required, it is probable, that he had torne up the Reman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly cross by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home, as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sultaine it, did 40 lastly dissolucit selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Commonweale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuic of our equals, and jealouse of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vaprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuic and jealousie of men; the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries layed on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did Monlue the Masshall of France consteller. That were not the mercies of Go or infinite, and without refliction, it were in vaine for the following of the profession to hope for any portion of them. Jeing the westient, by them person mitted and committed, were also missine. How society, this is true, That the victories, which are obtayined by many of the greatest Commanunders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve worder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whome they serve. For the most of others, whose vertues have rayled them about the levell of their inferiours, and have furnounted their enuic yet

haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with difgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, M. Liuisu, L. Amylius, and this our Scipio, whom wee have lately buried. Among the Greekes we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yealong before these times, it was a Legacic that Danid bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine Ioab. With this fare Alexander feafted Parmenio, Philotas, and others; and prepared it for Antipater and Cassander. Hereto Valentinian the Emperour innited Atim: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew Attila of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, besides runne-awaies, an hundred and 10 fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by Proximus. That in killing of Atius, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left : for it was not long after that Maximus (by whose perswasion Valentian flew Atius) murdered the Emperour, which hee never durft attempt, Atius living. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with Atim, the gloric of the Westerne Empire was rather dissoluted, than obscured, The same vnworthie destinie, or a farre worse, had Belli farius; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eies torne out of his head by Justinian : and he died a blinde begger. Narfes also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by Justine. That Rule of Cato 20 against Scipio, hath beene well observed in enerie age since then, to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the Turkes drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkilb one. That enerie warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of warre, than suffer his owne glorie to be obscured by them. For this cause did Baiaret the fecond dispatch Bassa Acomat; Selm strangle Bassa Mustapha; and most of those Princes, bring to ruine the most of their Villers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great Gon-Jaluo, who draue the French out of Naples : and Ferdinando Cortefe, who conquered t Maxiga: were crowned with nettles not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines 30 of all Nations, have been epaid with this copper coine 3 there are examples more than too many. On the contrarie it may bee faid, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in consideration that these high places haue beene giuen, or offered, vnto verie few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppreffed the libertie of free Cities : and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours. which have traiteroufly cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre : but have vied the advantage of some 40 commotion, or many of them, by base and coward lie practises, have obtained those dignities, which yndefernedly were afcribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that have purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertue; is farre more in feeming, than in deed. Phocas was a fouldiour, and by helpe of the fouldiours, hee got the Empire from his Lord Mauritius: but hee was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, feldome found in any other than cowards, hee flue first the children of Mauritius, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himfelfe. This his bloudie aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by Heraelius: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniuftly gotten, and fet it on his owne head. Le- 50 ontius laid hold vpon the Emperour Instine, cut off his nose and cares, and sent him into banishment : but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of Tiberius; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre, Infline, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the

CHAP. 6. 5.2. of the Historie of the World.

fame fallion. Philippicus, commanding the forces of Iustine, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. Anastasius, the vassall of this new T yrant, surprised his Mafter Philippious, and thrust out both his eyes. But with Anaflafius, Theodofius dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, hee enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how Leo rewarded this Theodofius; how many others have beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captaines to make themselues Kings, have by Gops justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way 10 of thriuing, by the practife of armes, is to take what may bee gotten by the spoyle

of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well descrued. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by Salomon, of vnthankfulnesse in this kind, bath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages : A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And Eccles 2.9.14. there was found a poore and wife man therein, and he delivered the Citie by his wildome: 515. but none remembred this poore man. Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, least thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been undebted for great benefits: which the vnwifer fort of them thinke to fauour of fome im-

potencie in themselues. But in this respect they are oftentimes cousened and abufed : which proues that weakeneffe to be in them indeede, whereof they fo gladly shunne the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giving thankes; yet fo, as those thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines have made, by enriching themselves with the spoile of the enemie, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the wel-descruers out of their gettings: year most injuriously to rob them of their owne, ypon a false suppolition that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloyned somwhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two Scipioes being folately recited.

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie face was conftrained to vndertake, her Majestie had no lesse cause to vse the fernice of Martiall men both by Sea and land, than any of her Predeceffors for many yeares had, yet, according to the destinie of that profession, I doe not remember. that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And that her Majestie had many admised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witnesse, who in all her daies neuer received difhonour, by the cowardife or infidelitie of any Commander, by her felfe chofen

40 For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewrie, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Cunstable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous imploiment, whereof Worice and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honor to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Collonels, haue left behinde them (befides the reputation which they purchased with many travailes and wounds) nortitle nor estate to their posteritie. As for the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berty L. willoughbie of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Effates.

That her Majestie in the advancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeve other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wife Princes, besides her selfe. have beene subject, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some fort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that

where the profectous Actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vaprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, & among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which martial men sildome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifica a Protession farre more noble than their own, seeing therein they should onely mind their Maisters of the wrong they did vato others, in gitting less honour and reward to men of sarre greater deserving, and of sarre greater vs. I han themselues.

But his Majelite bath alreadie payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relicuing by Pentions all the poorer fort, he bath honored more Martiall men 13 than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeares.

He hath given a Coronet to the Lord Thomas Haward for his chargeable and remarkeable fervice, as well in the yeare 1 585, as at Calirs, the limits, and in our owne Seas, having first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiese. His Majestie hath changed the Baronies of Mention and Barley into Earledomes, and created Sidney Vicount, Knollys, Russel, Caren, Denners, Arvanded of Warder, Gerald, and Chiehesse, Farones, for their governments and services in the Newborkins, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

### δ. III.

PHILLE making provision for ware against the Romans, deales hardly with manic of his owne fubicets. His regolation with the Basturne. His crucitie. He fulfecteth his fonne Debug talva. Debug talva socujed by his brother Perseva, and flority after flaine, by his fathers appointment. Piller repented him of his formes deals; whome he findeth to have been encocent; and intending to reuenge it on Perseva, he dietih.

VINTUS MARTIUS the *Roman* Embassador, who travailed up and 30

downe, feeking what worke might be found about Greece, had receiucd infruction from the Senate, to vie the most or ms ungented with infruction from the Estate of Attachen. At his returne home, that he looking into the Estate of Attachen to the Associated nothing, hee told the Estaters, might not feemeto have discovered nothing, hee told the Fathers, That Philip had done what focuer they enjoyed him; yet fo, as it might appeare, that fuch his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessitie should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and fayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was denifing. Now it was fo indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull oblequiousnesse to the Romans, 40 and forefaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with fafetie of their honour, if they could finde convenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him feemed apparant) by what meanes focuer. He was in an ill case: as haning been alreadic vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he prouided as well as he could deuife against the necesfitte which hee daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritine Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad service against the Romans, hee compelled to for sake their dwellings, and removed them all 50 into Emathia. The Cities and Countrey, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured, against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, be deuised vpon alluring the Baffarne, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river

of Danubius, to abandon their feat, and come to him with all their multitude: who belides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the Dardanians and take possession of their Countrey. These were like to doe him notable service against the Romans: being not onely sout fighting men; but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefite that could be hoped by their arrivall, must be the vtter extirpation of the Dardanians, a People alwayes troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, when soeuer they found aduantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those Bafrance, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, vnto a more desperate Expedition 10 on, through Illyria, and the Countries vpon the Adriaticke Sca, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withfland them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the Scordsfei, and peraduenture fome others, through whose Countries they were to palle, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of fooyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these Bastarna from their owne habitations, into the Land of the Dardanians, vpon the border of Micedon; a long and tedious journey vnto them, that carried with them their wives and children: Philip with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paffe. And thus hee fought meanes to firengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Ro-20 mans, nor were knowne vnto them; fince he was not like to finde affiffance from anie ciuile Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect : fo as the Bastarne came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his men to warre, and the exercise of them in fome small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered upon him, and

ftood worst affected toward him. But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to for sake 30 their auncient dwellings, and betake themselues to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within wordes; he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also he did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessatic, that seemed apparent. This cuill therefore would soone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicatine nature made it worfe. He could not pardon words proceeding from just forrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly fought reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whome were some eminent men; and sew or none 40 of them deferuedly. This encreased the hatted of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whome hee had injuried, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill he should have massacred all the children of those parents, whome tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragicall than perhaps he could have defired, gave men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, he felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to fay what the Romans intended, in the extraordinarie fauour which they shewed vnto Demetrius, the Kings younger sonne. It may to well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish diffention betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of Demetrius; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame jealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their

life, the fashion of their apparrell, or the vnsightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were jefted at in ordinarie discourse and table-talke. Demetrius was fure to be prefently on fire, defending and prayling them, even in fuch points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counfaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne Perseus: who fearing so much least his brother should step betweene him and the succession, converted wholly, vnto his destruction that grace which he had with his father. Perfeus was then thirtie yeares olde: of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. Demetrius was younger by five 10 yeares, more open and vinwarie in his actions, yet thought old and craftie vinough. to entertaine more dangerous practifes, than his free speeches discouered. The jealous head of the King having entertained fuch suspitions, that were much encreafed by the cunning practife of his elder fonne, a flight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great folemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Armie was to paffe. This done, the Armes of all the Kings of Macedon, from the verie first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then fol- 201 lowed the King betweene his two fonnes; after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whome all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts; which, under the Kings two fonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vling poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinarie contention for the victorie: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-carneftly feeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, untill Perseus his side at length recoyled. Perfeus himselfe was sorrie for this, as it had beene some bad pre- 30 fage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vie. They were of the craftier fort: who perceiuing which way the Kings fauor bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and craftic head. And now they faid, that this victorie of Demetrius would affoord matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemne pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spyes in the others lodging, to observe what was faid and done. One of Perfess his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indiscreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or foure of Demetrius his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store 40 of wine, Demetrius told his companions, that he would goe vifit his brother, and fee what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his traine behind, but forced them also to beare him companie. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselues secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to Perseus: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his dores, as if he stood in feare to be affaulted in his house. Demetrius wondered to see himselfe excluded, and fared verie angerly with his brother. But Perfeus, bidding him be gone as an enemic. and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertaine- 50 ment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the fame that hath beene here recited, faue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and

which did aggrauate all the rest, was, That Demetrius had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to vindertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romans; by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For Perfeus made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because he bore a due respect vnto his father, and was forrie to fee him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him : as also that they sought how to winne vnto Demetrius the love of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, lent of late from T. Quintins to the King himfelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wifely in fending Demetrius 10 to Rome; and that he should yet further doe well to fend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honorable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by Titus, of purpose to shake the allegeance of those, that should wayt vpon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their dueties to their old King, become feruants to this yong Traytor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answere, by rehearing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in fuch manner as hee remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending Perfess, that converted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the Romans did beare him; Hee faid that it 20 grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wife from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practife, He were more like to lofe it wholly, than to encrease it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not fuch passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The King pronounced like a father, though a icalous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excelle of error, whatsoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themfelues both in word and deed. And herein he may feeme to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward, he gave himselfe over wholly 30 to Perfeus: vling to little conference with his yonger fonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans. He liked neither to haue him present, nor neare vnto him. Aboue all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed betweene Demetrius and T. Quintius, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, Philocles and Apelles; men whom hee thought no way interested in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they faw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by Titus (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents wherof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of 49 granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious defires had caused him to enter into practifes uniustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should never take effect. for that Titus himselfe would not be author, or abettor, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King, to thinke his some a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gaue Demetrisk in custodie, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the vnhappie Prince; and so wrung out of him his fecret intentions, which he shortly discouered vnto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to flie secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to liue in safetie, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in repersion vnto the 50 Crowne of Macedon. What focuer his hopes and meanings were, al came to nought through the fallhood of Didas; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while revealed the whole matter to the King. So Philip resolued to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away prinily, for feare left P ppppp

the Romans should take the matter to heart, and held it as proofe sufficient, at least. of the Kinge despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. Di das therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappie Prince out of his life. This accurfed Minister of his Kings vnaduifed sentence, first gaue poyfon to Demetrius: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so fecretly, as was defired. Hereupon hee fent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedie: who vilanously accomplished their worke by fmothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Ma.

In all the race of Antigonus there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blond. The houses of Lysimachus and io Callander fell cyther with themselues, or even vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and iealousies, grounded on defire of soueraigne rule, or feare of loosing it. By the like vnnaturall hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of Ptelemie and of Seleners: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthic of extraordinarie note, how that voilart family of the Kings of Pergamus had raised it selle to maruclous greatnesse, in verie short space, from the condition of meere slauerie; whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pictic. Neyther was Philip ignorant of these examples; but is faid to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne 20 for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe : not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King Intigonus his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minoritie. But Hee was himselfe of an unmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to bee a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon manie of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the fatiating of his bloud-thirftie appetite hee delightfully had committed upon manie innocents, both ftrangers, & fubiects of his own; did now procure vengcance downe from Heauen, that rewarded Him with a draught of his owne Poyfon. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had bin 30 objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him fatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not been contriuer of the whole processe. His only remaining Son Perfew could fo ill diffemble the pleafure which her tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might eafily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remoue of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no leffe to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his delires, left off his viuall trouble of mind, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well understood the difference, be- 40 tweene a riling and a fetting Sunne. As for old Philip, hee was left in a manner defolate: some expecting his death; and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer beene flow to apprehend. He was much vexed:and so much the more, for that he knew, neyther well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cofen of his, named Antigonus, continued fo true to Philip, that hee grew thereby hatefull to Perfeus : and thus becomming fubicst vnto the same icalous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his fecrets. This counsailour, when hee found that the anger conceived against Perfeus would not vent it selfe, and give 50 ease to the King, vntill the truth were knowne Whether Demetrius were guiltie or no of the treason objected; as also that Philoeles and Apelles, (the Embassadours which had brought from Rome that Epiffle of Flaminius, that ferued as the greatest cuidence against Demetrius) were suspected of forgerie in the busines:made diligent

inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, hee found one xychus, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him hee apprehended, brought to the Court, and prefented vnto the King: faying that this fellow knewall, and must therefore bee made to ytter what hee knew. Ayehus for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected : confelling against himfelfe, that hee had bin employed by the Embaffadors in that wicked prece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreame, when hee vnderflood, that by the vinaturall practife of one fonne, he had fo wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous, and innocent. Hee raged exceedingly, against him-

CHAP. 6. S.4. of the Hiltorie of the World.

to felfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischiefe. Vpon the first newes of this discoucrie, Apelles fled away, and got into Italie. Philodes was taken; and either for almuch as he could not denie it when xychus confronted him, yeelded himfelle guiltie, or elfe was put to torture. Perfeus was now growne fronger, than that he should need to flie the Countrie; yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards Thrace, whilest his father wintered at Demetrias, Philip therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious fonne; tooke a refolution to aliene the Kingdome from him, & conferre it vpon Antigonus. But his weake bodie, and excelling greife of minde, fo disabled him in the trauell hereto belonging; that ere hee could bring his purpose

20 to effect, he was conftrained to yeild to nature. He had raigned about two & fortie yeares: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himfelfe, with continuall wars; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappic, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wife Prince would have defired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the cuill that befell him, he might thanke his owne peruerse condition: since his vncle King Antigonus, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well setled, as made it easie for him, to accoplish any moderate defires, if he had not abhorred all good counsaile. Wherefore he was justly punished: by feeling the difference betweene the imaginarie happineffe of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the life of a King, wherof he little cared 30 to performe the dutie. His death, even whileft yet it was only drawing neare, was forelignified vnto Perfeus, by Calligenes the Philitian; who also concealed it awhile from those that were about the Court. So Perseus came thither on the suddaine, and tooke poffession of the kingdome: which in fine he no lesse improvidently lott,

## d. IIII.

How the Bastarna fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of PERSEVS in the beginning of his Reigne. Some warres of the Romans : and how they suffered MASANISS A cruelly to oppresse the Carthaginians. They quarrell with PERSEVS. They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leave obtained. The Treason of CAL-LICRATES; whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to PERSEVS. He feekes friendship of the Acheans, and is withflood by CALLICRATES. The Romans discouer their intent of warring upon



than he had wickedly gotten.

Mmediately vpon the death of Philip, came the Ballarna into Thrace: where order had bin taken, long before, both for their free paffage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrie. This compact was friendly observed, as long as none other was knowne than that Philip didline, to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his

feruice. But when it was heard, that a new King raigned in Macedon; & not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize; then was all dalla Pppppp 2

and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford fo good markets vnto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the Baslarna would not becontented with reason, but became their owne carpiers, Thus each part hauing lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip: grew carefull of thriuing in the presents with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they sell to blowes; and the Baslarnahad the vpper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vseof their good fortune. For whether by reason of some ouerthrow, received by them in atlaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreame bad weather, which is said to have affilied them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, saue thirtie thousand, which pierced on 10 to Dardania. How these thirtie thousand speed in their voyage, I doe not find. It seemes that by the carelesse with some of some victories, they drew loss they one themselves and simally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their own Countrie.

As for Perfeus he thought it not expedient, in the noueltie of his Reigne, to embroyle himselfe in a warre so dangerous, as that with the Romans was likely to proue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his mind to the fetling of his Estate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affaires should require, eyther for war or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion: he quickly tooke:away the life of Antigonus. To winne loue of his people; hee fate 20 personally to heare their causes in judgment (though herein hee was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him fet forth. Aboue all he had care to avoide all necessitie of warre with Rome: and therefore made it his first worke, to send Embassadours thither, to renew the league; which hee obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neyther was he negligent in feeking to purchase good will of the Greeks, and other his neighbors: but was rather herein so exceffinely bountiful, that it may feeme a wonder, how in few yeares, to his vtter ruine, hee became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the mastring passion, which ouer-ru- 30 led him, and changed him into so manie shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requilite no

more, than the relation of his actions patt and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, busic in wars against the Sparines and Ligarians, speeps leef from vanquished, and as often breaking for thinto new rebellion. They allo conquered //fira, subdued the rebelling Sarainians; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the illyrians and others. Ouer the Carliagnians they bore (as euer finer the visitorie) a heauic hand: and suffered Massaille to take from them what he listed. The Carliagnians, like obdient vassals to Rome, were assail, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were 40 bound by an article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Massailla therefore had great advantage ouer themsand was not ignorant how to vie it. Hee could get possession by force, of what soever he desired, cre their complaining Embassaours could be eat Rome; and then were the Romans not hardly entreated, to

So had Hee once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of Emporial and fo did hee vie them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had nois; otherwise, without it. Gala the Father of Majanija had wonne fome land from the Carthaginians; which afterward Syphax wanne from Gala, and within a while, refored to the right owners, for lone of his Wife 50 Sophoniba, and of Manula his Father-in-law. This did Majanija take from them by force: and by the Romans, to whose judgment the case was referred, was permitted quiedly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Eslate, to vicall manner of submissione of some.

The had fearcely digefted his iniurie, when Mafaniffs came vpon them againe, and tooke from them aboue feuentie townes and Gallet's, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaffadors they made lamentable complaint vinto the Roman Senate. They showed how grieuously they were oppressed by reason of two articles in their League: That they should not make warre, out of their owne lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romans. Now although it were 60, that they might lawfully withstand the violence of Masaniffs, inuading their Countrie, how-source he was pleased to call it his; yet since hee was confederate with the Romans, they durft not presume to beare defensue arms against him, but suffered them

10 felies to be eaten up, for feare of incurring the Romans indignation. Wherfore they entreated, that cyther they might have fairer indice, or be liftered to defend their owne by firong hand, or at leaft, if right must wholly give place to favour, That the Romans yet would bee pleafed to determine, how farre forth \(\sigma\_{in}\) in Jahan [Ja hould bee allowed, to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then delired they, that the Romans would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the timethat Seipio gave them peace; and vouch fast to inflict on them such punishment, as they themselves in honour should think e meeter for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should bee appointed by such ludges; than continually to live in searc, and none otherwise draw

20 breath than at the mercie of this Namidian Hangman. And herewithall the Embalfadours threw themfoluse profitate on the ground weeping in hope to moue compafficion. Here may we behold, the fruites of their enuie to that valiant boule of the Burchines, of their irrefolution, in profecuting a war fo important, as Hannibal made for them in Italies and of their halfepennie worthing, in matter of expense when they had aduentured their whole clate, in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they feruants, cuen to the feruants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, flaine, taken, and fold as bondflaues in the streets of Carthage, and in all Cities of Assick and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace, which Hanns of other and so carnelly delired. Only they want peace with Majanissis.

30 their mercinarie, and now their maßer; or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their maßers to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such prospectite as might haue bin their own. But the Romans had farre better entreated Varro, who lost the battella Cannes; then stambad that wanne it was vsed by the Carthoginism, they had freely bestowed, euerie man of them, all his private riches, vpon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without crauing recompense; as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an armie into Spaine, a twhat time the enemie lay vnder their owne wals. These were no Carthoginian vertues; and therefore the Carthogi-

40 nians, hauing fought againft their betters, mult patiently endure the miferies belonging to the vanquilided. Their pitifull behauiour bred peraduenture fome commiferation, yet their teares may feeme to have been entirufied, as proceeding no leffle from enuie to the Romans, than from any feeling of their owne calamitic. They thought themselves able to fight with Massail's: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a litle while, enter into coparitions with Rome. Wherfore they obtained no such leave as they sought, of defending their owne right by armos: but cotrariwise, when without leave obtained they prefumed so far, the defruction of Carthage was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the prefent, they received agentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends.

50 Gulussathe sonne of Masaissathen in Rome; and had not as yet craued audience. Hee was therefore called before the Senate; where hee was demanded the reason of his comming; and had related vnto him the complaint made the Carthaginians against his Father. Hee answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of anie Embassadours thinker sent from Carthage.

Рррррр 3

had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that busines. Only it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held counfell diverse nights, in the Temple of Afaulapius: whereupon he himfelfe was dispatched away to Rome, there to entrear the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his Father might not bee ouermuch trufted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most malitiously, for his constant faith to the People of Rome. This answere gaue little fatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for Mafanissa his fake, they had done, and would doe, what focuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their inflice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the couenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to enion. With this milde rebuke they difmissed Galussa, bestowing on him friendly prefents (as also they did on the Carthaginians) and willing him to tell his father. that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian marre was even ready to begin; at which time the Romans were not willing, too much to offend, either the Carthaginians, (for feare of viging them vnfeafonably to rebellion) or Mafaniffa, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and Malaniffa: by the Carthaginians, partly for feare, partly for hope of better viage in the future, by Masanisa, in way of thankfulnesse; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should bee vanquished; hee made none other account, than 20 that all Africke round about him and Carthage therewithall should bee his

In the midft of all these cares, the Romans had not been evnmindfull of Perseus. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obferue his behauiour. These Hee entertained kindly at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) hee perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the trobles in Dardania: neyther would they take any fatisfaction. untill the Bastarne were thence gone; though hee protested, that hee had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leffe ill contented with good offices, by him done to fundrie of his neighbours, than with 20 those wrongs, which they said (that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to anie; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where he did good; they called fuch his bountie, feeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians. his subjects, vpon what ocasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew Euphranor, whom he had appointed their gouernour. It feemes that Euphranor had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without firength to relift the Macedonian: and therefore vnlikely to have prefumed fo farre, vnleffe eyther they had bin extreamly provoked or elfe were fecretly animated by the Romans. Whatfocuer it was that bred this courage in them: Perfess did foone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the Romans tooke verie angrily, 40 this prefumption of the King: euen as if he had inuaded some Countrie of their Italian confederates, and not corrected his owne Rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the same yoake with the Carthaginians; whereto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves have done the part of Mafanissa, though Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league betweene them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their license first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine have reduced the Greekes, and generally all their adherents even fuch as had entred into league with them vpon equall 50 tearmes: whom viually they rewarded with a frowne, when soeuer they prefumed to right themselues by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hercofthe Acheans had good experience: whose condence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne carners; and whose hope of extraor-

dinarie

dinarie fauour at Rome caused them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have challifed the Meffenians by warre; T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking fuch a worke in hand, without hisauthoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their goodliking. Semblaby at other times were they reprehended even with Lordly threates. when they tooke voon them to carrie any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neverthelesse, vpon fubmiffion, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were

to not like to thriue; especially in vsurping the practise of armes, which belonged only to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard leffon, they were fuch vntoward Polyb. legat, 51. schollars, that they needed, and not long after felt, verie sharp correction. Yet was \$53. there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the Roman Senate, being delirous to humble the Acheans; refused not only to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careleffe infolencie, rejected this honest and reafonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from Italie, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argines, Lacademonians or Corin-20 thians, would reuolt from the Achaans; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of Philopamen: at what time it was beleeved, that the Common wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding; when Lycortas Prætor of the Acheans had vtterly subdued the Mesfenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Towne rebelled

had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to bee carried to Messene. Thus 30 thinking, by a fained granitie, to have ferued their owne turnes: they manifested their condition; both to fet on the weaker, against the stronger and more suspeeted; and also to assume vnto themselves a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of warre, which diffemblingly they would have feemed to neglect. In like mannerdealt they with all their confederates:not permitting anie of them to make warre, whether offensiue or defensiue; though it were against meere strangers; without interpoling the authoritic of the Senate and People of Rome: vnleffe peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towardes the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these Roman arts how socuer manie (for gainfull or timerous respects) would seeme to understand them; yet were

from the Acheans, but manie entred into their corporation : then did the Romans,

with an ilfauored grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had

made fuch bad answere (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citic) That they

40 generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citic in Greece, having neyther subjects of their own that might rebell, now power wherewith to bring anie into Subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practife their cloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient comendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mightie. So they kept themseldes in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of Mithridates : being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-weales and Kingdomes, that with ouer

50 nice diligence strong to preserve their liberties and lands, from consuming by piecemeale: they were to be denoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most ynpliant, and wherein manie of the Greekes beganne to have affiance, was necessarily to bee made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to breake.

Neyther

Neyther Perfeus, northe Romans were ignorant, how the Greekes atthistime stood affected. Perfess by reason of his neare neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopeman had long fince foretold of the miferable. fubication, Whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Roman patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly sensible of their libertie, selt themselves grieved with the present subjection, wherto alreadie they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans: yet all of them had in the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, bee flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone beeat an end; when honestie and love of the Commonweale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this carefull prouifionfor the lafetic of Greece, the Romans were not throughly aduertifed: cyther because things were diligenly concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men kne w to be little better than Spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by fuch Traytors (of whom eueric Citie in Greece had to manie) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore and more like to speake malitiously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselues, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their ownedefires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which manie know, from those that are feared or flattered by manie. The Acheans being to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one Callierates, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of fuch a man; one may perceive the advantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile defires, have against the plaine fort of 20 honest men , that least earnestly thrust themselves into the trouble some bufinesse of the weale publike. For this Callierates was in such wise transported with ambition; that hee chose much rather to betray his Countrie, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alleadging what was meetest in instification of his people: hee vttered a quite contrarie tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Acheans, and all the rest of Greece, with a farre more heavie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the fetling of their authoritie, among his froward Countrimen; if they ment not wholy to foregoe it. For now there was taken vpa custome, to stand vpon points of con- 40 federacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee had in regard; any iniunction from Rome notwithanding. Hence grew it that the Achaens both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if He, and some other of his opinion, might have their wils: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columesor Monuments erected, nor no folemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratific the observance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the Romans willed the contrasie, But it was even the fault of the Romans themselves, That the multitude refused to give 50 eare, vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to bee more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were fure by their fo doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would in-

increase apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the Fathers could so neglect the advacement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiefty. More wifely, though with feditious & rebellious purpole, did the Greeks: who many times, yea & ordinarily, conferred great honors upon men otherwise of little account or defert; only for having uttered some braue words against the Romans. The Fathers, hearing these & the like reasons, wherwith he exhorted the to hadle roughly those that were obstinate. & by cherishing their friends, to make their partie throng; refolued to follow this good counfaile, ih cuery point; yea to depresse al those that held with the right, & to set up their own

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10 followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt theceforth more peremptorily with the Acheans, than had been their manner in former times; but wrot at the prefent vnto alcities of Greece; requiring them to fee that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedemon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of Callicrates; they advised all men, to be fuch, and so affected, as he was, in their fenerall comon-weales. With this dispatch, Callierates returned home a joyfull man; having brought his Countrie into the way of ruine, but himfelfe into the way of preferment. Nevertheleffe hee forbore to vant himfelfe, of his eloquence yfed in the Senate. Only he foreported his Embaffage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherwith he threatned 20 those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts hee obtained to bee

made Pretor of the Acheans: in which Magistracy, as in al his courses following hee omitted nothing, that might ferue to manifest his readie obsequiousnes vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatning termes wan manie flatterers, and loft as many true friends: fo Perfeus on the other fide, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promifes, to affure vnto himfelfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of Greece distracted with factions; some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wher-

- 30 in they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitic not sufferable, That a King, no better than their vasfall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses; wherof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them iust occasion to make war vpon him. Perfess having finished his businesse among the Dolopians, made a journie to Apollo his temple at Delphi. He tooke his armie along with him, yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wife, that no place was the worfe for his journie, but the good affectio towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, hee dealt himselfe; to fuch as lay further off, he fent Embaffadors or letters : praying them, That the
- 40 memorie of all wrongs whatfoener, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; fince his own mening was to hold friend thip fincerely with al his neighbors. The Romans perhaps could have beene pleased better, if he had behaved himselse after a contrarie fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken such a journie, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Acheans: which his father had fo loft, that by a folemne decree, they forbad any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer Philip had by manie vile acts, especially by the death of the two Arati, given them
- 50 cause to abhor him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, bin to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall confent, they refolued to for fake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to vse all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Countrie to-

wards him fo doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this accree, beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was pall; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourithing deadly hatred, without leaving meanes

of reconciliation. And hereof the Achains reaped no good fruit. For although they

were not, in like fort, forbidden the Kingdome of Macedon: yet vnderstanding what

would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durft set foot

therein. Hence it came to paffe, that their bondmen, knowing a fafe harbour, out of

which their mafters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: ex-

few tooke hold vpon this occasion: as fitly ferning to pacific those, whose enmitte

faine he would have changed into loue. He therfore apprehended al these sugitives,

to fend them home againe; and wrote vnto the Acheans, That as for good will vnto them, he had taken paines to reftore back their feruants; fo should they do very wel to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not runne away againe. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater

part; being openly rehearfed by the Pretor, before the Councell, But Callierates took the matter very angrily; and bad them be admited what they did; for that this was

none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the

before hand acquainted with the war, that was comming upon Perfew, from Rome.

He told them, how Philip had made preparations for the same wars how Demetrius

bad bin made away because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Perseus

had, fince his being King, done manie things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly

Here hearfed all those matters, which were afterwards alleaged by the Romans; the

inualion of the Baftarne, upon the Dardanians; the Kings journie against the Dolopi-

ans, his voyage to Delphi, and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was (he faid) a

dangerous temptration of men to his partie. Wherefore he admifed them, to expect

the cuent of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with

Callierates was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neyther one of the

Kings cabbinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted

with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that Per-

feus had renewed his league with the Romans; that hee was by them faluted King,

and friend to the Effate; and that He had louingly entertained their En-baffadous

This being so: why might not the Achaens, as well as the Atolians, Theffalians, E-

pirots, and al the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie

required? Neuertheleffe Callierates was growne a man fo terrible, by his Koman ac-

quaintance, that they durft not over-fliffely gainfay him. Therfore the matter was

King had only fent a letter without any Embaffadour; they knew not how to re-

folue. Better it was to fay thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought

most reasonable and conucnient. But when Perseus, herewith not contented, would

needs vrge them further, and fend Embassadours: then were they faine, without a-

nie good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and denie to give audience:

which was proofe fufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherin

they lived. For hearkning to this advice of Callierates, they were foone after highly

commended by a Roman Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the Ro-

mans intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre

referred vnto further deliberation; and answeare made the whileft, That fince the 40

the Macedonians. Hereto good answere was made by the Pretors brother: That 20

Romans. Herewithall he tooke voon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Acheans 20

ccedingly to the loffe of fuch, as made of their flaues very profitable vie. But Per- 10

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CHAP. 6. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

How EVMENES King of Pergamus was buffed, with PHARNACES, the Rhodoians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom hee acculeth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly , and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians : with the causes thereof. The unusuall soutnesse of the Accedonian Embassadours. PERSEVS bis attempt upon EVMENES. The brotherly loughetweene EVME-NES and ATTALVS. PERSEVS his device to poyfon fome of the Roman Senatours: whereupon they decree warre against him, and fend him defiance. Other thinges, concerning the inflice of this warre.

V MR MES King of Pergamus had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings Pharmaces and Authridates his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom he was animated with cosortable words. & promise, man: by whom ne was animated with corortable words, or product.

That they, by their authoritie, would end the bulines, to his content.

But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings Prustas and Ariarathes, hee ended the warre himfelfe; and brought his Enemies to feeke and accept peace, on fuch condi-20 tions as pleased him to give them. After this being at good leisure; hee beganne to confider, how the affaires of Macedon flood under Perfeus. His hatred to Perfeus was verie great: and therefore hee was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemie, was as great, and withall notorious. Now belides his ancient and hæreditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his owne honours (whereof the Greekes, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate flore on his father and him) began to wex eneric where stale: whilest Perfeus, either by his currying fauour, or by the enuic borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignitie, Hee stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping these rebels 30 was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found hee, in these poore and indirect courses of revenge. The Lycians could not bee faued by his patronage, from feuere and cruell chastifement, given to them by the Rhodians. This rendred him contemptible: as likewife, his acts of hostilitie, litle different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not only continued falling into Pobly Legal, 74: neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Acheans, as too vnmeasured, misbefeeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deferuings. All this (which hee needed not to have regarded, had hee not beene too Linke lib. 42-

vainly ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-serviceable to the Ro-40 mans, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell the libertie of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof; hee thought it vaine to striue any longer with bountie, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the general fauour. And therefore hee resolued even to overturne the foundations of this Popularitie, by inducing the Romans vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idoll, The Macedonian Kingdome, which all so vainly worshipped. Neyther would it proue a difficult matter, To perswade those that were alreadie desirous:rather hee was like to bee highly thanked, for fetting forward their wifnes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some peece of the Kingdome, as he had bin rewarded, for the 50 like fernice, when Antiochus was vanquished.

To this end, He made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to fay which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltic, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death

Linictib. 12.

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cepted.

of Demetricus; the expedition of the Bastarna into Dardania; that of Perfeus himfelfe against the Dolopians, and to Delphi; the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his intermedling in bufineffe of his neighbours; his riches; and his great prouisions : were all the materiall points of Eumenes his discourse. Only He descended vnto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee faid, That Perfess had thirtie thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his owne; monic in a readinesse to entertaine tenne thousand mercinaries for tenne yeares; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, readie, at a call, to bring him foldiours as manie as he should require; and that hee prepared victuals for tenne yeares, because he would not bee driven, eyther to live to vpon spoile, or to take from his owne subjects. Herewithall Hee prayed them to consider, that King Seleucus the sonne and successor of Antiochus the great, had given his daughter Landice in marriage to Perfeus; Perfeus not wooing, but Seleucus offering the match; That King Prufias of Bithynia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the fifter of Perfeus; and that these mariages were solemnized with great concourse of Emba flagesfrom all quarters. Neyther spared Hee to tell them, (though seeming loath to viter it plainly) That even the envie to their Estate was the cause. why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with Philip, were now growne maruelloufly well affected to his fonne. All this, and fome facts of Perfeus, which might eyther bee denied, or iustified (as that hee had procured the death of some 20 which were friends to the Romans; and that hee had expelled Abrapolis the Illy. rian, who inuaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie vnto the most: faying that hee thought it his dutie to forewarne them : fince it would bee to Himfelfe a great shame, if Perfess got the start of him, and were in Italie making war vpon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great follie, to belowe that the Romans flood in feare of Perfeus, leaft he should set vpon them in Italie. Neuerthelesse forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their affociates, but of further hurt intended great thankes were given to Eumenes, who had 20 euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautific their intendment. Now though it were so, that He told them litle else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon anie relation made by their owne Embaffadours, or vpon tales deuifed by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere Hee had committed any open act of hostilitie against them, their injustice, and oppression, would have beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them fo terrible; that fuch a Prince as Eumenes, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Asa, to bid them looke to themselues: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their own right and 40 securitie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto, their more than viuall curiofitie, in concealing what Eumenes had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embaffadours were at Rome, prouided of answeres to the words, which they knew before hand that hee would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanitie, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to have disclosed all: when the warineffe of the Fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable fliew of some searefull apprehension; against which, it behooved their wisdome to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was given to the Rhodian Em- 50 baffadours; who accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome to Asia, than Antiochus had ever beene, and a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe, conneighed by Sea unto Perfeus, his bride Laodice; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, fo the Romans despightfully acCHAP. 6. S.5. of the Historie of the World.

cepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as alreadic vanquished, were setling Polish Locate. themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes; Embassadours came from 60.00 61. Rome with ftrange newes which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it flood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne protection anie people or Nation by them vanquilhed; and that the Lycians were by them affigned vnto those of Rhodes, not as meere vassals, but as dependants and affociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves ynto the commentaries of the ten Embaffadors, whom they had fent to dispose of things in Alia. after the victoric against King Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, M: fanissa, The Atolians,

10 and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find the selected agricult if they wel contidered the matter: fince by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily bee mide their fellowes, when focuer it should please the Senate: though it were so, that al men knew the prefent meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the Rho. dians, for their good will to Perfeus, by fetting them and the Lycians together by the cares. The Fathers could therefore fee no reason to dislike Eumenes, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embaffadours,; which indeed more nearely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his love to

But the Micedonian Embassage they heard not so carelessely as angrily: though peraduenture it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King Perfess defired much to give them fatisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might favour of hostilitie; but that, if his traugile in this kind proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falles out contrarie to expectation. These big words may seeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of Harpalus, that was chiefe of the Embaffadors; rather than from 30 instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why Perleus himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than be was like to doe by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps veterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discourring his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a

worke of fuch importance. Wherefore He, or his Emballadour for him, was bold

to fet a good countenance on a game not veric bad, but fitbiect (in appearance) to

Fortune, which might have beene his, had he knowne how to vie it. 40 New that this brauerie (as better it may bee termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings owne heat; it appeares by his daring to aduenture foone after, on a practife that more justly might anger the Romans, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war voon him. It was knowne that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe facrifice to Apollo, Perfeus deadly hating him, and thirsting after his bloud, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a facrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischieuous enemie. So there were appointed three or foure flout ruffians to do the murder, who placing themfelues behind a broken mud wal, on the fide of a verie narrow path leading vo from the Seato the Temple, did thence affault the King: whom they forely bruifed

50 with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without flaying to fee all fure, flee in fuch haft, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them, Eumenes was conveighed away to the little Isle of A-

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gina, where he was cured being all the while kept fo fecretly, that the fame of his death was current in Alia. Hence it came, that his brother Attalus tooke voon him as king, and either took or would have taken to wife (suppoling it belike a matter of state) Stratonica the daughter of King Ariarathes, whom hee then thought the widdow of Eumenes. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue. That when the King returned aline home, Attalus going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other checke, than that He should forbeare to marrie with the Queene, untill Hee were well affured of the Kings death. Morethan this, Eumenes never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vito the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewife At- 10 talus forbore to attempt anything to the prejudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especiall fauour, when Eumenes felinto their hatred) were in good readinesse, to have transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By fuch concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus rayled and upheld: as might also that of Macedon have beene, if Demetrius had lived and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of Perfetes.

It is likely that Perfess was verie glad when he understood, that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had faued all from discouerie. But as hee was deceiued in the maine point, and heard fhortly after, that Eumenes lived : fo was Hee 20 beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which hee vainly efteemed the leffe materiall. For He had written to one Praxo a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertaine the men whom he fent about this busines; and she, being apprehended by C. Valerius a Roman Embassador then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one Rammius a Citizen of Brundusium: who comming newly from the court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous fecret; had prefently fought out the Embaffador, and thereof discharged himselfe. Brundusum was the ordinarie port, for ships palling between Italie and Greece. There had Rammius a faire house; wherein hee gaue entertainment, being a wealthie man, to Embassadours, and other honoura- 30 ble personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journying to and fro. By occasion of fuch his hospitalitie, he was commended to Perfeus, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose manie courtesies to his Embassadours, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or defired, made partaker of the Kings fecrets. The fumme of all was, That hee must needs doe a turne, in giving to such of the Romans as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare qualitie, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durft not refuse to accept this employment: for feare leaft the vertue of this medicine should bee tryed vpon himselfe. But being once at libertie; he discovered all. Rammius was but one man, 40 and one whom the King had neuer feene before, nor was like to fee againe : and therefore, befides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as fuch a fellowes affirmation, the acculation was improbable. Thus did Perfess, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in likefort concerning the attempt vpon Eumenes: denying to have had any hand, cyther in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to bee made vnto a King, to proue the rightfulnesse of making war vpon him; but rather vnto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howfocuer the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might have bin easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of Perfeus was very futeable to these practises. Neyther did the Senate greatly stand 50 to dispute the matter with him these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Effate, wherin he supposed that they ought not to touch him for fuch private offences, it gave him no priviled get they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein furely they wanted not good reason. For if hee

might not lawfully make warre vpon Eumenes their confederate; that is, if Hee might not fend men, to walt the Kingdome of Pergamus, or to beliege the townes: might he fend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leffe breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword was it lawfull for him to doe it by Poylon? Wherefore they presently decreed warre aeainst him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemes, at this time, to have beene fo confident, in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he defired not warre, yet he did not feare it or at least he thought by 10 shew of courage, to make his enimies the more calme. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being wearie they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bad them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long beene collecting against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him: adding thereto, that He had entertained long and fecret conference in the Isle of Samothrace, with Embassadours sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might haue flood vpon the cuidence, brought against him by Rummius and Praxo. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground wheron to 20 build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a king, to be strong, welbeloued, and well friended. Perfeus answered, for the present, in a rage, calling the Romans, Greedie, Proud, Infolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embaffadors, that were no better then meere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answere: which was to this effect; That hee would no longer ftand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himfelfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would adule, as they might also doe for theirs.

In the forme of the league betweene Philip and the Romans, as it is fet downe Polyb Legat 9.

by Polybius, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience 30 in the future; excepting those which he immediatly performed. But Linie inserts Lindb,33. a clause, whereby he was expressely forbidden, to make any warre abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederats were included in this peace: whereby enery one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had beene restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that feeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would vrge this point further, and fay, that the Macedonian might not beare defensive armes, without their permission: then had Perseus very instreason to find himself agricued. For 40 fince they had allowed his father, without controlle, to make warre in Thrace, (whilest they themselues were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence; why should they now interpret the bargaine after another fashion? Wasit now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne R ebels, or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By fuch allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde fort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league, as vniust; hee ministred occasion vnto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either hee should have beene lesse vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his

50 heart could ferue him to vndertake the warre; hee should couragiously have managed it, and have fallen to worke immediatly, whileft the Enemie was vnprepared; not have lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

The Romans folicit the Greekes, to isyne with them in the warre against Perseys, How the Greekes flood affected in that warre. The timorousnelle of PERSEVS. MAR-TIVS a Roman Embassador delades him with hope of peace, His forces. He takes the field; and winnes part of Theffalse. The forces of LICINIVS the Roman Conful: and what assistants the Romans had in this warre. Of Tempe in Thessalie; and what aduantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his feare. PIRSEVS braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to vie his victorie; sues for 10 peace : and is denied it by the vanquished. PERSEVS having the worse in a skirmish. for fakes all the countrey lying without Tempe. The Baotians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the warre against Perseys. They were the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision; having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders,

long had the Romans beene feeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian warre, that well they might have bin readie for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouisions. But it was on a fudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences 20 to make the warre, : whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause benefit in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to beleeue, that their owne firength was fuch as would preuaile in the end; they haftily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time, Neither was thistheir vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, 30 and take part with the Macedonian: fuch was the diffension betweene their severall estates; howsoeuer the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Neuertheleffe Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against Philip and Antiochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors vsed as gentle words, for fashions sake; as if they had flood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now growne well acquainted with fuch Roman courtefie : and vnderstood, that not only fuch as made refusall, but cuen they who might seeme to hauegranted halfe vnwillingly; were like to heare other manner of words, when once this businesse 40 was ended. Wherefore none of them were ferupulous in promifing the best of their helpe to the Romans; \* the Acheans and Rhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should bee ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their dutie. It is strange that men could bee so carnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have feenetheruine. The vulgar fort was every where addicted to Perfeus; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to Perseus then to the Remans. And of this number, Polybius the chiefe of Historians was one : who 50 \* Polithitez:t. though Hee \* iudged the victorie of Perfeus, like to prooue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romans ill to thrine, that so the Greekes might recour perfect libertie : for his endeuours in which course, hee was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares,

that an extraordinary feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperiall Citie, made the Acheans, and other Effates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occalion of this their feare, may be justly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of Perfess himfelfe. He had vndertaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own kingdom, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no fooner were fome few companies brought ouer fea, to make a countenance of meaning forme what against him; than he began to speake the enemie faire, and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that every small thing would ferue to terrifie him; and confequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans

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10 power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leifure yoon thole which had affilted him: little cause was there, why any should aduenture to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few townes; and soliciting all to joyne with him. But wife men could not be fo beguiled. For at the fame time, he fought all meanes of pacification; and to that end, made humble fuit vnto the Roman Embaffadors. O. Martins, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finenes in cunning then was vivall among the Romans made thew of inclination to the Kings defire; and gaue out such comfortable words, that the King intreated, and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did Muritus very gently rebuke the King,

20 and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Wherto though Perfew made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; vet the Embaffadors, and especially Martin, tooke it in good part, as therewith fatisfied; and aduised him to give the like fatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently bee done; a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martins his defire; which was to make the King lofe time. For Perfeus had all things then in readines, and might have done much, ere the Koman armie could have bin in Greece. But by the interpolition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffred a most couenient feafon, of winning vpon the enemies to flip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elfe, than leifure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleafed herewith, as it

30 had bin with fome victory: publishing a copic of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gaue men to understand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. Hee fent Embaffadorsaifo to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, not with standing the goodnes of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poorehelps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honor, was no better than meere vanity: his owne fafety being the vtmoft of his ambition. This his fearefulnes might feeme excusable, and the blame therof to ap-40 pertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceined his expectation, by being wanting to him

in time of a necessitie, that was partly their own; had it not bin his office, who took you him as their Champion, to give fuch a manly beginning to the warre, as might incourage al others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerse from him, and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many flout partizans, defired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might feem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Baotians also, who had entred of late into a Arich fociety with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans; to whom further, in a fort, they yeelded themselves as valials. Neither was 50 Martius contented to accept their submission under a generall forme; but caused

their feuerall towns to make couenant apart, each for it felfe; to the end, that being thus diffracted into many little common-weales, they might not (were they neuer fo defirous to rebell) have such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed and were incorporated in one, under the Citic of Thebes. This work, of separating the Bactians

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from Thebes their their head; was more than Agefilaus could effect, or Epaminondas would fuffer then when all Greece followed the Laced emonians. So far more availeable to Thebes, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of Epaminondas and a few brane Citizens; than was the focietie with King Perfeus, against a number not fo great as followed the Lacedemonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilest the King sate still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what hee had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproued it as dishones) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as be should thinke expedient. Touching the Embaffadors which Perfess had fent; audience 10 was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded; but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolved before hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirtie daies respite allowed them to depart out of Italy : whereas they who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walles, in the Temple of Bellona (the viual) place of giuing audience to open Enemies, or to fuch Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had only the short warning of cleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtefie serue alone to hide the craft of Martine, as if hee had meant none other than good carreft: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while 20 of his bulineffe, and to flagger his refolution, when he from Perfess the know should need it most fit

And accordingly it was out. For Licinius, the Roman Conful, was at Apollonia, in a manner as foone, as the Macedonian Embaffadors were with their king at Pella. Which though it were crough to have rouzed Perfess, and have made him lay afide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans, and to redeeme their good will with some part of his kingdome, that so he might enjoy the reft; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the floutest counsaile preuailed: which also was the wifest; and so would have proued, had it beene soutly 30 and wifely followed. He now began, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should have bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendeuous at Citium, a towne in Macedon. All being in readines, he did royall facrifice, with an hundred beafts, to I know not what Minerna, that was peculiarly honored in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirtie thousand foot and foure thousand horse: whereof about twelve thoufand foot, and a thouland horse, were strangers, of fundry Nations, most part Thracians; the rest his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the 40 goodheile of his caufe, the greatneffe of his prouifions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemie, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their feuerall abilities. He gaue them thanks : but answered, That his owne prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he iffued forth into Theffalie: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that countrie, in their journey towards him. Some townes of Thessalie opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend 50 themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wanne by force. Of these last was Myle; a townethought impregnable, and therefore, not more floutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the affailants. It was taken by reason of a salie; which

the Townsfmen rashly made, and being driven backe, received the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All crueltie of warre was practifed heere: to the greater terror of the oblinate. So Velatic and Connus (towns of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of Offa, leading into Tempe) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this paffage, the king marched onwards to Sycurium, a towne feated on the foot of mount offa; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemie.

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Licinius the Conful brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promifed other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Enmenes and Atta-10 lus his brother, came to him in Theffalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from enery part of Greece, such aide as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send; which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad; Masanissa sent thither his sonne Misagenes, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twentie Elephants. Ariarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had fent to Rome his yong fonne, there to be brought up : yet hee did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because Eumenes himselfe began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had beene in the beginning. Prussas was content to be a looker on : as being allied to Perseus, and yet fea-

20 ring the Romans. Antiochus, and Ptolemie (though Ptolemie was then yong, and vnder Tutors) had busines of their owne; the Syrian meaning to inuade the A. gyptian: yet each of them promifed helpe to the Romans, which they cared not to performe. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian: yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a prettie tricke, wherewith M. Lucretius, the Roman Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeit good will. This king had foure and fiftie shippes, riding in the hauen of Dyrrachium, vnccrtaine to what purpose: all which Lucretius tooke away, after a very kind fort; making shew to beleeue, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend Gentius had fent thither this fleet. But what focuer Gentius thought in 30 the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdome and himselfe, in the end of

this war; by offering, rather then giving, his helpe to Perfeus. With none other company than what he brought ouer the fea, Licinius came into Theffalie: fo tyred with a painfull journey, through the mountainous country of Athamania, which flood in his way from Epirus; that if Perfeus had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs have taken a great ouerthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied armic, by the river Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any flender helpe, that could enable him to deale with Perfeus. Therefore he resolued, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers

40 were sufficiently increased : contenting himselsein the meane while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of Theffalie, in which thefe two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece belides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heavie yoake of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of fuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midft of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly ful of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to fignific the most pleafant and goodly places. This valley of it felfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines, Off a and Olympus (famous in Poeffe) with their Spurres or bran-

50 ches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessalie. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; vnleffe they would make an hungrie iourney, thorow the countrey of the Daffaretians, as in the former warre with Philip, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. Perfeus therefore had no small aduantage, by being master of the streights leading into Tempe: though far

greater he might have had, if by miffpending of time he had not loft it. For if in defending the ragged paffages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worle; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) cuery yeare more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might have done far greater things, had he feized upon the streights of which his father once kept, and defended all the countrie behinds the Mountaines of Pindus, Surely not without extreame difficultie, must the Romans have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or elfe have committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, vnto the mercie of feas that were very dangerous; if they would have fought other way 10 into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses they once deuifed, not with it and ing any trouble which they found in this prefent warre. It may perhaps be faid, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must have left on his backe, would have made him vnable to defend any places too farre from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thellalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Etolians, vpon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into fulpition with the Romans (as we shall finde anon) even as soone as they met with Fersew. The Bacotians, how politikely focuer Martius had wrought with them, aduentured themselves desperately in the Macedonians quarrell : what would they have done, if he at first had done 20 his boil? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea and Eumenes himfelfe, after a while began to water, when they faw things goe better with Perfew, then they had expected. So that if in itead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his well willers, yea and bought downe with money (as hee might have done) some of his enemies, and among them Eumenes, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head : then might the Romans perhaps have bin compelled to forfake their imperious patronage over Greece; and to render the libertie, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginarie. Such benefit of this warre, fince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue beene ex- 32 pected at first, from greater advantages. But as a searefull companie running from their enemies, till some river stay their slight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such actes, as done, while the battell lasted, would have wonne the victorie: fo fell it out with Perfeus. In feeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof he should have sought the honor; hee left his friends that would have flood by him, and gaue them cause to provide for their owne safetie: yet being ouertaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his back to the mountaines of Tempe. and defend himfelfe with his proper forces; than to be driven into fuch miferie, as was incuitable, if he gauea little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that he kept his footing in Thessale, it is hard to shew 40 particularly; for that the historie of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Conful hauing no defireto fight, vntill fuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, and lay fill encamped by the River of Peneura, a hout three miles from Larifa. That which perforated the Conful to protract the time; did contrarivale incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hafty triall. Wherfore he inuited the Romans into the field; by waling the land of the Phereams their confederates. Finding them patients of this indignitie; he grew hold to aducenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they islued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victoric his sowne. At his comming they were trou-50 bled; for that it was sudden; yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to bee safely lodged. They sent our a sew of King Eumens his horse, and with them some light armed soot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine; but no matter of importance done; for that neither Litinius, nor Em-

menes, found itreasonable to hazzard battaile. Thus day after day, a while together, Person wontinued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much encreased; and much more, his reputation: to the griefe of those, who being so farre come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The towne of Syanisms, where Person then lay, was twelue miles from the Romas: neither was there any connenient watering in that long march, which we'd to take vp soure houres of the morning; but he was fainet o bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both wearie and thirstie when they came to fight. For remedie of these inconne

10 niences, he found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the Enemie: whom he visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vaussall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in 6 much as though hee brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnsit to assail the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resoluted to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother C. Lizinius, King Eumenes, Attalus, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune; he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honor of this morning, was the Macedonian Kings; for he obtained the victoric in a manner entire, (though the Thessalans made a good retrait) with little solfe

20 of his owne. But he discourred his weaknesse re night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the Romans were in great feare lest he should affault their Campe; and to that purpose, you the first newes of his successe, his Palanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnsent for: he neuerthelesse cookens for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victorie; by which meanes it was faid, That either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at least will many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it bin greater; and had he wonse the Roman Campe, his friends would have been the more, and the bol-

30 der. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in fuing for it, euen when he had the victory, what elfe did he, than proclaim wrot all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor had fortune should keepe him from yeelding to the Romans, whensouer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the 109 of his victorie would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twentie horse and fortie soot. The Roman Campe, after this desatter, was full of heauinesse and searce: it being much doubted that the enemie would set vponit. Emmense gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remoue to a surer place beyond

Emmets gaue countaile to dillodge by night, and remoute to a lurer piace beyond of the Riture Presents. The Conful, though afiamed to profelfe, by fo doing, in what feare he flood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loffe paft, than by flanding on proud tearmes, to draw yoon himfelfe a greater calamitie. So hee paffed the Rituer in the dead of the night, and incamped more firongly on the further fide. The \*\*Etolians\* were forely blamed for this loffe: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the reft of the Greeker blowed them. Five of them, that were men of efpeciall marke, had been observed, to be the first which turned their backes: an observation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better lessure. As for the The flatus, their vertue was bonored with reward: to ask the Greeker might learne, by examples of either kinde, 50 that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then must they adactive the state of the content of the content with the property of the property

So that it they would infune indignation, or incurre rations, then must they aductive no left-feor their Lords the Romans, than gladly they would doe for their rown libertie. Thus fared it with the Conful and his armie. Perfess came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, hee not wrill then found. The Romans were gotten into a place of fafetie; whither they could never

have attained, if the King had either pressed his victorie, or given better heed to

them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have rowted them.

whileft they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was

vaine to tell what might have been done; fince there was no remedie. The Ro-

mans were beaten, even the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of Rome; out of

whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pre-

tors, Confuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were

beaten fo thamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp

the spoiles of them without relistance, as yeelding themselues ouercome. With

among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his

honor found. He came nearer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopfelus, a place in

the mid-way betweene Tempe and Lariffa; as if it were his meaning to preffe them

fomewhat harder. Neuertheleffe hee was eafily perfuaded to vie the occasion, which he feemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore hee fent vnto the Con-

ful, and offered to yeeld winto the fame conditions, wherein his father had beene bound to the Romans; if the war might fo take end. It were needleffe, heere againe

to show the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired

peace, there was in the Conful no greater power, than to grant a truce, whileft Em-

conditions, and ratific the league. And of fuch a truce granted by Martins, he had

lately found no small discommodity redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and re-

turned answere. That other hope of peace there was none; save that Perseus would

yeeld both his Kingdome and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to bee fo resolute in adversitie. On the o-

ther fide, it argued a very faint heart in Perfeus, that having received an answere so

peremptorie, he still perfished, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that

the peace, which he fo much defired, could not be purchased with money, the king

withdrew himselfe backeto Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the Enemie

Masanisa, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and

them, caused the Romans to waxe the more bold in making their haruest: about

which businesse they ranged ouer all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gaue

him hope to doe some notable exploit: which hee attempted, both vpon their

Campe, and upon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired

on the fudden: but the alarme being taken in good feafon, he failed in the enter-

prize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand vpon them, if he could have with-

drawne it, and given ouer in time. But whileft he stroug to force a gard, he was vi-

fited by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmilh of horse, or (for the report is

or fmall, caused Perseus, after a few dayes, to fall backe into Macedon; as being na-

diners) in a great battaile, he was ouercome. This miladuenture, whether great 40

did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of Misagenes the sonne of 20

baffadors might goe to Rome: it refting in the Senate and People to approone the 20

fuch braue words did the King fet out the glory of hisaction; dividing the spoiles 10

pendants were taken by the art of Martius; were more true to Rome, than other pettie townes, which by that fame distraction of the Baotians, became within themselues more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to have beene fought among the changes happening in their variable factions: wherof the knowledge is now loft. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by Lucretius the Roman Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that hee would have brought others to rebell in like fort, if by extreame oppression hee to could have driven them fo farre, Neither was Licinius the Conful vndiligent in the

fame kinde. What his doings were, after fuch time as he was at leifure from Per/eus. I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is faid in generall; That in the warre

owne will, should not be afraid of a Roman armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Na-

nic on their coast. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their de-

which he made, he \* cruelly and couetoully demeaned himselfe.

CHAP. 6. S.6. of the Historie of the World.

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After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeare following; Ho-Stilius the Conful, and Hortensius the Admirall, or Pretor of the Fleet. Hostilius flewd more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederats of Rome, than in prosecuting the warre against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman war voon his kingdome, after that the Conful had fought passage in vaine ouer certain mountaines, Perseus seemed, in a manner, \* free from it. He was troubled indeed \* Polyb. Leget.

20 on that fide which looked towards Illyria, by Ap. Claudius, whom the Conful fent 70. thither with an armie of foure thousand, and who, by leauies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his armie. But Claudius thinking to have taken Vicana, a border towne of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him in-to danger; salied forth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly hee escaped with a fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of V/cana shortly after became Roman: which howsoeuer it happened, Perfeus very soone recouered it, and many other places therewithall: Cotys; a Thracian king, securing him on the one fide of Macedon; and Cephalus an Epirote, revolted from the Romans, on 30 the other. Perfeus likewife made a painfull journey into Ætolia: where hee was

promifed to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Roman faction; yet in his returne home, hee tooke in Aperantia; and shortly heard good newes, That Ap. Claudius was againe throughly beaten by Cleuas, one of his Lieutenants. Such fucceffe had the Micedonian war vnder Hostilius. The same Consul offended much the Greekes, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadors trauelling thorow all the Cities of Peloponnesus, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to aduance their busines, than of those which

40 were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was, to baue accused by name, in Polyb Legal 1744 the Parliament of Achaia, Lycortas that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of Philopamen; and together withhim, his sonne Polybius, who soone after was Generall of the Achean horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which hee well and honorably discharged. The summe of the accusation should have beene; That these were notheartic friends vnto the Romans, but fuch as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But fince no colour of truth could bee found, that might give countenance to fuch a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all 50 were well. In like manner dealt they among the Ætolians: They demanded ho-

stages; and found some in the Councell that approoued the motion: as also among the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Mace-

turally given to feare danger, even where none was : whereby what loffe he felt will appeare hereafter. Heleft all behinde him, faue only Tempe, weakly guarded: and confequently an easie prey to the Romans. After the Kings departure, Licinius went straight vnto Connus; hoping to have taken it, and fo to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the work too hard, he returned backe upon the Perrhabians and others; from whom hee wanne fome townes, and among the rest, Lariffa. There were fundrie townes thereabout, bearing the same name of Lariffa: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme, not to have belonged vnto the Theffalians; vnleffe, perhaps, after his victorie, Per. 50 Jeus did greater actes than we finde recorded, and got some part of Thessalie.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account: for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the Baotians, whom a Roman Embassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his

denian, but also the good Patriotes; making it no lesse then a matter of treason, to be a Gregian in Greece. On the contrary fide, there wanted not fome, who roundly to'd these pick thankes of their base flatteric; rating them openly in such fort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accufations and excufes: among which the Embaffadors caried themselves, as men that could beleeve none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The belt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. To Of this decree the whole countrie was glad : for it was, or feemed, a good remedie of many inconveniences. But they that standing on priviledge hereof, refused to fulfill every commandement, were numbered among the Patriotes; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worfe, than to haue beene traytours. The Senate was driven to fet downe this order; by reafon of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Admiralis, Lucretius and Hortenlius, Lucretius was condemned in a great function of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loued not to have their fubicets oppreffed. Hortenfins being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaffages that came to Rome about this time, either to feeke redreffe of injuries, or to offer their fernices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the leffer Ala, there was prefented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base peece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemens targets; and a crowne of gold, to bestow upon tapiter in the Capitol. But having a defire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would bee fingular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the Towne Rome, and appointed anniverfarie games to bee celebrated among them, in honour of that 20 Goddesse. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Anticonus, Ptolemie, and the like vainemen, that would bee thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatterie of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most vertuous of men, divine honours; when hee fees a Towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worthipped as a Goddesse, and receiving (without scorne of the giuers, or shame of the present) the title of Deitie, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

O. MARTINS the Roman Conful, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The comardize of PERSEVS in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by MARTIVS; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate. MARTIVS a cunning and a bid man. POLYBIVS Cent Embassador to MARTIVS from the Acheans, POLY-BIVS his honest wildome beneficiall to the Acheans. King EV MENES growes anerle from the Romans. PERSEVS negotiates with ANTIOCHUS and EVMENES. His falle dealing with GENTIVS King of Illyria; whom hee drawes into the Roman warre. He fends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans. PERSEVS lofeth a mightie succour of the Baflarne, by his wretched parsimonic.



Fter two yeares of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began 3 wifich had been thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans defired; as it did in the end. Perfeus had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had

20 enlarged his borders on the Illyrian fide; his friends, in all parts of Greece, took couragedaily; and his reputation grew fuch, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the war might proue, and therupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius and Hostilius the Consuls, had one after the other foent their time in vaine, feeking way into Mucdon; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquelt, by many losses received. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselues, that many towns, euen of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Roman fide; and the armie much leffened, not only by cafualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elfe of the Conful himfelfe (for they laid the blame one

30 vpon the other) in licencing the fouldiers to depart. Quintus Martius the new Conful, who fucceeded vnto Hostilius, was to amend all this; which nevertheleffe was more than he knew how to doe: though he brought with him aftrong supplie of men. He began horly to fet the warre on foot, which a long time had flept. And he began the right way : not feeking to force the freights that were furely garded, but taking paines to clime the mountaines, which were thought able to forbid all paffage ouer them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approch; and being vincertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the Conful proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to bee discourred by the Enemic, or to breake through all opposition, or at leastwife, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a fafe retreat. He fent before him foure thouland of his most expedit foot, to discouer the wayes. Two dayes was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than lifteene miles: after which they had fight of the Enemie, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and fent backe word to the Conful, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them : which he did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little loffe on either fide. This bic-

io kering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed : all the reft were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore Miritus tooke the only courferemaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with Popilius, to attend upon the Macedonians: whileft hee,

with the reft, fetcht a compaffe about, and fought out wayes that never had beene troden. Herein he found extreame difficultie; which notwithstanding he ouercame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to fuch journeyes, through places white for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea where Nature might feeme to haue intended, that none should be. So fleepe he found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which he took: that of feuen miles, which they trauelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worft. For they met with rockes, that flood one over another, fo vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddie prospect, and cashing their gouernours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous iourney, there was nothing more defired by the fouldiours, than that they might be fuffered to creepe backe againe, the fame way which they had come. But fluft was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges. likevnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other fuftained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. Vpon thefe two postes, or poles, which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the diffence, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one 20 bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were coursed with plankes and turfe; that they might feeme continent with the ground; fo to make the beafts aduenturous, to goe vpon them. If there were a Plaine of any good extent from the foot of arocke, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretie way, vpon one of these; the postes vpholding the frame were cut afunder; therby caufing him to fincke downe vnto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward fill, to the very bottome. Thus went they downe fliding, some on their feet, others on their buttockes, till they came to an euen valley. By this irappeares, how throughly provided the Romans vied to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasi- 30 ons : as also what inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conpeyance of themselues and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they refted; flaying for Popilius and his company, who hardly, or perhaps neuer, should haue ouertaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and fet vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneyes were like vnto the first faue that custome, and the nearnesse to their wayes end without meeting enemie, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perfeus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: fince they fought with his men upon the paffage, three dayes together; he lying fo nigh, that he might wel neare haue heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with seare; that he 40 neither flirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conful, nor made any prouision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, sate hearkening after the event. Four eonly paffages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Romans were viable to force; the second and third were the fame which Atartius had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the laft, by the Citie of Dium out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded; and whofocuer would feeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as Martius had undergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the reft: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, faue through the valley it felfe, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium stood upon the foot of the huge mountaine Olympus, about a mile from the feat of which mile, the river Helicon becomming there a lake, and called Bapbyras, tooke up the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily have beene fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middest of Tempe, a passage which ten men might casily keepe: where

the spures of the mountaines, reaching sarre into the valley, drew neare to the verie banks of Penes. agoodly and deepe riner which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more easie, than to make the Consider speem in or his trouble-tome ciourney; if Penese would have seene his owne advantages. For the Roman armie was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that misserable traues but must need have either perished for want of visituals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the streight of Dium. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rockes, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe; if seemes a materiate or impossibilities especially considering, how the enemie, from about their heads, would have bestern your them, being now agarage of the past, which them.

to terof impollibilities: especially considering, how the enemie, from about their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore bee thought strange, that the Romans did not rather take their iourney into Musedon, from the side of idpria, whence that kingdome had often him inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no meanes to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardize of Parsun, did commend the counsalies by them followed, as whise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than he

20 fared like one out of his wirs; faying, That he was vanquilhed, & had loft all without bastaile. Herewithall he began to take out of Diam, what he could carry away in halte; and ftraightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the fame vehemencie of amazement, he fent a ftrait commandement to The flatmics, that the Arfenall there should be fer on fire; and to Pells, that his treafures there should be cast into the feat as if the Remans were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. Nicias, who was appointed to drownethe treasure, performed it hastily as we las he could though soone after, his master grew sorie for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recourred by Divers from vnder the water. But Andronicus, who had charge to fer fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance

30 might follow: and 60 he preuented the damage. Whether Nieis, for his abfolute and blinde obedience, or Andronieus, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more afie pardon; it refled in the King to interpret. The reward of their feruice was this. Perfeur growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haltie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetche his treasure out of the say their diaing, were payd their wages after the same fort: that so there might be no witnes of the Kings base folly. Such end must they searce, who are printe to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If Perseus would have gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his sault; then must be of royally baue behaued himselfe, that no man might beleeve him to

40 be the author of any vinworthy act or counfaile. But his vertue was of no fitch capacitic. Het shought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called Hippins away (the Capatine which had floopped the Conful on the top of the mountaine) and Aliepinskins, from defence of the palliages, whereto they were by him appointed he tated them openly faying, that they had betrayed vinto the Enemie the gates and baires of Mucelon. Of this reproch if they would difebarge themfelues, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have fixed as did Nation and Andronius.

The Conful Marius had great cause to reioyee, for that the King so hashly relinquilted his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the 50 Roman armie, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsit, for want of victuals. He tooke Diam without resistance, & thence went forward into Macedon: wherein having travelled about a dayes sourney, and gotten one towner that yeelded, he was compelled, by meere-lacke of food for his men, to returine backe towards Thessale. His siece came to him, in this time of necessitie, well appointed to have holpen him

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in the war; but having left behinde, at Magnefia, the ships of burthen, which carried the propisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been carefull to occupy the Castles about Tempe, which were for faken by the Macedonians: for by those waies only might come be brought into the army. To meet the fooner with this corne, which was defiroully expected; he for looke Dinm, and went to Phila; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bin worth. It is probable, that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bin madnes to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement.or fight of the Enemie, he should be faine to quit it. Howsoeuer it was:men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it most behoued him to have profecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of Martius; the King recollected him. felfe; understood his owne error; fought to hide it by such poore means as haue bin shewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly reposses the town of Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done; he encamped strongly by the river Enipeus: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leffe diligence, more timely yfed, would have bin enough, not onely to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled bim with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him fuch a noble victory, as might 20 cause the Romans to seek a good end of the war vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in halte. Yet this recourry and fortification of Dium, was to the Conful an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the towne of Heracles, standing on the river of Penew, five miles from Diam, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climing upon mens heads, somewhat after the maner of our tumblers. But it made fuch defence as it could; and was not given up for feare. After this Martius did fet a bold face towards Dium; as if he would have taken it againe, and haue driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like fo great : his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. He fent the Admirall to 20 makeattempt vpon the fea-townes, The falonica, Caffandrea, Demetrias and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about Thessalonica were wasted; and some companies, that fundric times adventured forth of the towne, were fill put to the worfe. As for the towne it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or fea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the wals, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherfore the Admirall fetting faile from thence, ranne along by . Ania, and Antigonea (landing neare to each of them, and both doing and receiping hurt) vntill he came to Pallene, in the territory of Callandrea. There King Eumenes ioyned with him, bringing twentie ships of warre: and fine other were fent thither from King Prusias. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his 40 fortune at Caffandrea: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by Perfeus, before the town: which while the Romans were filling vp, question was made; what became of the earth taken thece, for that it lay not vpon the bank, By this occasion. it was learned, that there were arches in the town wal filled up with that earth, and couered with one fingle row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the towne, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed fuch as hee thought meetelt: giving an alarme to the other fide of the towne, therby to shadow his attempt. The breach was foon made. But whileft the Romans were shouting for iov. & ordering themselves for the affault: the Captaines within the towne perceiacd what was done; & salying forth vnexpected, gaue a sierce charge on the com- 50 panies that were between the ditch & the wall of whom they flew about fix hundred & fuffred few to escape vnwouded. This defafter, & the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king Eumenes affailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by fea) caused the fiege to breake vp. Torone was the next place

which the Admirall thought meet to attempt; and thence likewife he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto Euphranor, a Micedonian Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with fuch forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed figge to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemic pay deare for all that he there got. This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias, by Melibaa; whither the Conful (that he might not be quite without worke) had fent his Lieutenant to beliege it: and by the terrour of his appearing fuddainely ouer their heads, caused the beliegers to dislodge in all

10 haft, fetting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so farre was their abilitie short of their Enterprifes, ever fince their Conful (whether daftardly or carelefly) most valike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by for faking Dium: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Hiflorie of this Warre, For Martins perfuaded the Rhodians, by Agefipelis their Pobleguson Embaffadour, who came to him at Heracles about other bulineffe of leffe importance. That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although Polybius doe most probably coniecture, that

20 this was rather a malicious device of Martins, craftily feeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of Perfess, or of Antiochus, who had then an armie on foot: yet fince he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And fo were the Rhodians moved to thinke of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtefie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassador, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of Perfeus, & of Gentius the Illyrian, did fet out their bufineffe at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good

20 fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherin he had lately flaine great numbers of the Roman horfe. Thus much we finde inti- Polity, Legal 876 mated:though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome, to view the effate of Martius his army. For they found the Conful wanting meat; the Admirall, wanting men, and, for those few that he had, wanting both mony and cloths: and Ap. Claudius the Pretor, who lay on the frontire of Elyria, fo vnable to inuade Macedon, that contrariwife, he was in extreame danger, so as either he must quickly be fent for thence, or a new army be fent thither to him. Wherefore it may feeme, that fome blow had bin taken on the Illyrian fide, which made al to halt; or at leaft,

40 that the Romans with greater loffe, than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Townes which they belieged.

Now although it were fo, that Martius in very few of his actions, behaued himfelfelike a man of war; yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or finister kinds of wifedome, he dealt as a craftefmalter, with a reftleffe working diligence. This indeed neither proued his fufficiencie, nor commended his honeftie: fince thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheleffe, out of enuic, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busic-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as Perfeus, by the successe of his doings against Hostilius, had got-50 ten much reputation, and was thought likely to inuade Theffalie; Archo, Lycortas, and other good Patriotes among the Acheans, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of aduerlitie, whom in prosperitie they loned not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree which passed: That the Aches is should fend their whole power into Theffalie, and participate with Rrrrrr 3

Polyb.Legal. 78.

the Romans in all danger. So the armie was levied; and Polybius, with others, fent Embaffadors vnto Martins, to certific him thereof, and know his pleafure. Polybius found the Conful bulied in feeking passage through Tempe into Macedon. Hee went along with the armie; and awaited the Confuls leifure, till they came to 1/eraclea; where finding the time convenient, hee presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein soener it should be commanded. Martine tooke this very kindly; but faid, that he needed now no maner of helpe. Forthwith Polybius dispatched home his companions, to fignifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behind in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to Martius, that Ap, Claudius desired, or rather imperiously required, of the Achaans, five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest, that Appius had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of Perfeus. But the Labyrinthian head of Martius could not allow of fuch plaine reason. He called vnto him Polybius, to whom he declared, that Appius had no need of fuch aide: and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wife take order that the men might not bee fent, nor the Acheans be put to fuch needleffe charges. Away went Polybius; musing, and vnable to resolue, whether it were for loue to the Acheans, that the Conful was so earnest in this busines; or rather for enuic, and to hinder App. Claudius from doing any thing, fince himfelfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell, touching 20 this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Conful, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other fide, that the words by Martins vttered to him in prinat, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe Claudius, alleaging that he had no need. In this case therefore, he had recourse vnto the decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate. the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of Appius was referred vnto the aduice of the Conful: by whom it was 22 fure to be made fruitrate. Hereby the Achaans were fauers, of more than an hundred and twentie talents: though Polybius himselferanne into danger of Appius his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeares imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of Martius, that King Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to fland in feare, left the fire, which hee himfelfe had helped to kindle, would fhortly take hold on his owne lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouerswey al other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certaintie. One report is, that 40 Eumenes did not fo much as give any helpe to Martius : but comming to have ioyned with him, in fuch friendly manner as he did with the former Confuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certaine horse of the Gallogreekes, being requefied to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother Attalus tarrying behinde with the Conful, did the Romins good feruice: then is the reason apparant, of the hatted, borne afterwards by the Senate to Enmenes, and the love to Attalus. But it is more generally received; that Eumenes gaue a willing care to Perfeus his defire of accord, for meere defire of gaine. And it might well bee, that couetousnessed rew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. How- 50 focuer it befell; Perfeus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to folicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to Eumenes, and to Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect loue, betweenea King and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrellalike to all Kings,

though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and whethe helpe of one agrainft another; That Philip was oppreffed by them, with the helpe of Authors,
Anticohus, with the helpe of Philip and Emmens; and now Perfeux assailed, with
helpe of Emmens and Prussa. Herewith he willed Emmens to consider, that when
Aisedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Assailed, which
hay next at hand; yea, that alreadie they began to thinke better of Prussa; than of
him. In like fort he admonished Anticohus, not to looke for any good conclusion
of his warre with the Egyptian, loong as the Romans could make him give over,
by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either

10 to compell the Romans, to furcease from their war upon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all Kings. Anticebus lay farre out of the Romans way: and therfore was little troubled with fuch remonstrances. Enmenes was more nearely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be etrue, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answers, hee began to ofter a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no lefte weary, than Person was afraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might have fifteene hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand strom this Warre, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condiscend wnto peace:

20 and for affurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. Perfeus liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with Rema, and not with Euments only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but hee would lay downe the money in the T emple at Samathrace: whence it should be deliuered wnto Euments, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The sile of Samathrace was Perfeus his owne: and therefore Euments thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pells. Belides, his labour deserved since the would have part of his wages in press. Thus the two Kings did 30 no more, than looke time; and Euments grew solepeded of the Remans, as a 130.

Travtor. After the same manner dealt Perseus with King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainely, and faid, That without money he could not flirre. Hercunto Perfess loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliner him from all his seares. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his feare vige him to prodigalitie; fo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which Gentius demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by Perfess; to the end that all 40 his armie might haue comfort, by fuch acceffe of firength to their partie. Prefently vpon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both Perfew and Gentius: who defired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, betweene Perseus and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that Martine the Conful was no leffe defirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promifed, That they, by their authoritie, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing prowd words, to the same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadours; gaue an answere, as disdainefull, angrie, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this

vaine glorie of the Rhodium was throughly chalified, and more throughly flould 30 haue beene, if their fubmission had not beene as humble, as their follie was proud. Such vie of Gratina his friendship, made Perfeus; without laying out one onne of Siluer. Now faine he would have hastened this young and rash theyrive to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. Pantaubus, the Meedonium Embassadour, who remained with Gentius, exhorted

him daily to begin the Warre by land and fea, whileft the Romans were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made all to flay; he fent word to Perfews. Here-

upon tenne Talents were fent to Pantauchus: who deliuered it to the yong King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and fealed vp with the

feale of the Illrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this mo-

ney came into Illyria, Gentius had layed hands vpon two Roman Embaffadors, and

call them into prison. Which Perfess no sooner heard, than he recalled his I rea-

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CHAP. 6. S.8. of the Historie of the World.

of L. ÆMYLIUS PAULUS the Conful. His journey. He forceth PERSEUS to discampe. He will not hazard battaile with anie disaduantage. Of an Eclypse of the Moone. AMYLIVS his Superstition. The Battaile of Pydna. PERSEVS his flight. He for lakes his Kingdome: which haltily veelds to A.MYLIVS. PERSEVS at Samothrace. He yeelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall; and is fent prisoner to EMYLIVS.

fure-bearers, and fent them with their loade to Pellas for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether hee were hyred thereto. There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aide of Perseus, vnder

one Cloudious a pettie King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the Gaules, which were (as Plutareb hath it) the Bastarna, These had before hand made their bargaine, and were to receive prefent pay at the first. At their entrie into the Kingdome, Perfeus fent one to them; defiring their Captaines to come visit him, whome he promifed to gratific with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had fent money to give the fouldiors their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answere.

Why then (faid Clandious) tell thy maifter, That the Gaules will not flirre one foot 20

further, vntill they have gold, as was agreed, and hoftages. Perfess hereupon tooke

counfaile; if to vtter his owne opinion, before men fo wife that they would not contradict him, were to take counfaile. He made an inuccine against the incivilitie and auarice of the Bastarna: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand horse of them hee said would be as manie as he should need to vie; and not so manie, that he should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if anie of his counfailors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole armie of them, fince without anie danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of Perrabia, into Theffalie: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselves with spoile, 39

they should make the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable feruice, whether they wonne anie victoric, or not. This, and a great deale more, might have beene alledged, if anie man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was fent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those manie thoufands that had beene drawne fo farre to no purpofe. But Clondjew asked him now againe. Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those five

thousand, whome the King would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceived, that Antigonus could make no better answere, than shifting excuses; the Bastarna retur- 40 ned prefently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than he could have

Thus dealt Perfew, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painefull Office he was verie soone discharged by L. Amylius Paulus the new Conful: who in fifteene dayes after his fetting forth from Italie, brought the Kingdome of Macedon to that end, for which Go p had appointed oner it a King fo foolish and so

cowardly.

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Lu. libers.

Plutar, b. in

Y the Warre of Micedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with anie danger, yet the indignitie so moued them, that either \* they decreed Plutsich.in. that Prouince to L. Æmylius Paulus, without putting it, as was o- vii. Æmy!.

therwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Conful; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthie a man was advanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee refused to propound vnto the Senate anie thing that concerned his Prouince; vn-20 till by Embassadours, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being throughly knowne to be such, as hath beene alreadie told; the Senate appointed a strong supplie, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betweene Illyria and Epirus; from which App. Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius fent thither in his place. Amy-

custome, spake with much grauitic and authoritie. Hee requested those that thought themselves wife enough to manage this Warre, either to accompanie him into Macedon, and there affift him with their advice; or elfe to governe their 30 tongues at home, and not take you them to give directions by hearefay, and cenfure by idle reports: for he told them plainely. That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Amylius, who died valiantly in the Battaile of Canne, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themselues the more gladly vnto the instructions given by a wise and resolute

lim, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, Amylius was honourably attended, at his fetting forth on his journey; with an especiall hope of men, that he should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, 40 was more than could have beene hoped or imagined. He came to Brundusium: whence, when the winde came faire, he fet fayle at breake of day, and arrived fafe. ly at the Isle of Corcyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, having done facrifice to Apollo, after the fift day he fet forwards to the Campe; and was there in fine dayes more. So are there but fine of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perfeus lay strongly encamped at Dium; having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of Enipeus, where it was fordeable in drie weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force him, and confequently as little poffibilitie to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the 50 Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt vpon Dium; was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne myles betweene Dium and Tempe; all the way lying betweene the Sea shoare and the foot of Olympus, without anie Brooke or Spring breaking forth on that fide. But Amylius found present remedie for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where hee found sweet Springs: as commonly there is

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no thoare that wants them, though they rife not about the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Martius from taking up his lodging anic nearer to the enemic, than the Towne of Heracles, on the River of Peneus; where he had watering at pleafure, but could performe no feruice of anie worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had fuch meanes to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did: the paffage on ward, being defended as bath beene shewed, feemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to fearch another way: which by enquirie was foone found out. There was a narrow paffage ouer Olympus, leading into Perrabia; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. Martius either had not been informed hereof; or durft not attempt 10 it : or perhaps could not get his fouldiors to make the adnenture; they fearing least it would prone such a piece of worke, as had beene their march oner off into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industrie, courage, and abilitie, to command. He had reformed, even at his first comming, manie disorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the fouldiors, among other good leffons, to be obedient and readie in execution; without troubling themselves, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purpoles of their Generall. And now he appointed about fine thousand men to this Enterprise; whereof he committed the charge vnto Scipio Amylianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his owne fonnes by nature, but adopted: the one of them, by a sonne of Scipio the African; the other, by one of the Fabil. 20 Scipio tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his maine fireigth was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, confifted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at fome diffance, they might doe notable service against those that should climbe up vnto them; vet when the darkneffe tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To concease the businesse about which they went, Scipio and Fabius tooke a wrong way, towards the fleet; where victuals were prouided for their journey; it being noyfed, that they were to runne along the coast of Alacedon by sea, and wast the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about 22) three dayes) the Coulul made flew of a meaning to fet upon Perfeus where hee lav; rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprife, than vpon anie hope to doe good, in feeking to get oner Enipem. The Chanell of Enipeus, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was fuch, as though at the prefent it lay welneare all drie, yet it ferued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore Amylius employed none faue his Velites; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which Perfeus had rayfed on his owne banke, did also beat vpon the Romans, 40 and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vaine, Yet Amilius persifled as he had begun; and recontinued his affault, fuch as it could be, the fecond day. This might have ferued to teach the Macedonian, that fome greater worke was in hand: fince otherwise a good Captaine, as Emyline was knowne to be, would not have troubled himfelfe with making fuch brauadoes, that were fomewhat coffly. But Per/eus looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully downe the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himfelfe no leffe (if not more) amazed than anic of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge . or rather, without order, in all tu- 50 multinous haft, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedie retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plaine force; Scipio and Fabius had verice good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept vntill the Romans

came somewhat neare to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrowes and flings could doe little feruice, were beaten at handie stroakes: so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarch out of Po'ybius, and an Epiffle of Scipio, may each of them have beene true. Thus was an open way cleared into Micedon: which had beene effected by Martim in the yeare fore going; but was closed up againe, through his not profecuting fo rich an opportunitie.

Perfeus was in extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappie beginning. Some gaue aduice, to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the last yeares example, how resolute the people were in making to defence. But farre worse counsaile prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolued to put all at once to hazard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselse into anie one Towne, least that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not ouer-carefully relieved. This was even the fame that Amylius, or anie inuador, should have desired. So a place was chosen neare vnto Pydna, that served well for the Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the Romans had fight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the 20 Campe that was fo notably well fortified: they defired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately; doubting least otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the Conful ; praying him not to loofe occasion by delay , But Emplus told him , That hee spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselues; nor anie thing there, faue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these and the

an, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leyfure, hee fell 30 backe, without anie manner of trouble. After a nights reft, it was hoped, both by the Romans, and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the fame day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground feruing ill for the Phalans; as on the other fide, the Conful had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

like respects, the Consul made a stand : and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedoni-

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribunc of a Legion, who had the former yeare beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Conful, and (with his good liking) vnto the armie, 40 an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night : willing the souldiors not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Braffe and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great case, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of Sulpicius converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they faw it verified. Contrariwife, the Macedonians howled and made a great noyle as long as the Eclipfe lasted: rather perhaps because it was their falhion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigie betokening their loffe; fince their defire to fight was no whit leffened by it. I will not here 50 stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signific, or cause, anie alteration in ciuile affaires, and matters that have small dependance on naturall complexion : for

the argument is too large. More worthic of observation it is, how superstition captinates the wisdome of the wifelt, where the helpe of true Religion is wanting. Emplius, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the

Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor about the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with anic denout regard thereof: yet could be not refraine from doing his dutie to this Moone, and congratulating with facrifice her deliuerie, as foone as the shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended even by Plutarch, a fage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not affilt him in this foolish denotion; yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a Sacrifice done to Hercules; which was no leffe foolith. For a great part of the day was vainely confumed, ere Hercules could be pleased with anic Sacrifice, and vouchfafe to thew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beafts. At 10 length, in the bellie of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promise of victoric to Emylins; but with condition, That hee should not give the onset, Hercules was a Greeke, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Rom.: v. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new Goddeffe, lately canonized at Alabanda; or vpon Romalus, founder of their Citic, on whom the Romans had beltowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) vpon Mars the father of Romalus, to whome belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of Warra.

Now concerning the Battaile; Emplius was throughly perfuaded, that the 20 King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not have stayed at Pylna, when, as a little before, his leyfure ferued to retyre whither hee lifted, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conful thought that hee might wait vpon advantage, without making anie great hafte. Neyther was it to bee neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces : which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore Per/eus kept his ground, that was commodious for the Phalanx, and Amylius fent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Rodder; there was no likelyhood of fighting that day. But about tenne of the clocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which 30 whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer carneft defire. A horfe brake loofe at watering; which two or three of the Roman fouldiers followed into the riner, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the water, to draw this horse over to their owne fide. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the Threeians was slaine. His countrimen seeing this, hasted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had flaine him ouer theriuer. Hereupon company came in to helpe on each part, untill the number grew fuch, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be carefull of the cuent. In fine, each of the Generalls placed his men in order of battaile, accordly as the manner of his Countrie, and the armes, 40 wherewith they ferued, did require. The ground was a flat leuell, faue that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better fouldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conful encouraged their men with linely words; which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselse into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto Hercules. It is the leffe maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaile, since hee had bethought himfelfe of fuch a firatageme, whereby to faue his owne person. As for Hereules, hee liked not the facrifice of a coward : whose vnseasonable denotion could be 50 no better than hypocrifie. For hee that will pray for a good Haruest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battaile, hee found it no better than loft : and he, in looking to his owne fafetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, fuch as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good : That the Macedonian Phalanx did fo ftoutly preffe onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as Amylius was thereat much aftonilbed: That the Peligni rulhing desperately on the Phalans, were over-borne, many of them flaine, and the fquadrons following them fo discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the Romans; and which the Conful beholding, is faid to have rent his coat-armor for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his denoyre; the victorie might haue bin his owne. That which turned the fortune 10 of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the

beginning: the difficultie, or almost impossibilitie, of holding the Phalanx long in order. For whilest some of the Romans small battaillons pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the Macedonians would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a fland. This comming to to paffe, admonished the Conful, what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vie, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to direction given by Amilia, when hee faw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and

20 the rankes in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vie of the Phalanx proued vnauaileable against manie fmall squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of Cynolcephale: yea, this forme of embattailing was found unferuiceable against the other, by reafor, that being not cuerie where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little fuch inconvenience of ground, as had beene at \* Cyno- \* chap.4. 5-14. Gephala.

Perfeus, when he faw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle prefently, and ranne amaine towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner, vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witneffing

30 the little good service which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercie of the Enemie: who slew about twentie thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that battaile, onely some sourcefcore, or fixfcore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, ouertook the king & his company in a wood; where they fel to railing at the horfemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and fuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therfore turned out of the common way, being followed by fuch as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselues: every one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within

40 a while to lessen. For hee fell to denssing vpon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to Pella, he found his Pages and houshold servants, readie to attend him, as they had bin wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldneffeto come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vafeafonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he fent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare

50 some greater mischiese; he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him onely Euander (who had beene employed to kill Euroenes at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about fine hundred Cretians; more for lone of his money, than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about

fiftic talents, though shortly be cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would have redeemed it; but never paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to Amphipolis; where hee exhorted the townelmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed Enander to speake what himselfe would have vetered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselves. Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towns of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: sending them foorth under colour of againsfull employment, and thutting the gates after them. And now to bee ridde of the King; they plainly bade Evander be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde 10 to tarrie: but embarking himfelfe and the treasure which hee had there, in certaine vessells that hee found in the river Strymon; passed over to the Isle of Samothrace: where he hoped to line fafe, by priniledge of the religious Sanctuarie

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of Amylia, within fo few dayes after his victoric. Prdna which was nearest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the fouldiours, that were of fundrie Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and confent. Hippius who had kept the passage ouer 20 Offa against Martius, with Pantauchus, who had beene sent Embassadour to Gentius the Illyrian, were the first that came in : yeelding themselves and the Towns of Ber.ea, whither they had retired out of the battaile. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the loffe of the head bereauing the whole bodie of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had for faken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such tearmes, that the sacke of it was granted to the Roman armic. Amyans fent abroad into the Countrey, fuch as hee thought meeteft, to take charge of other Cities : hee himselfe marching towards Pella. Hee found 30 in Pella no more than three hundred talents; the same whereof Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a little while hee shall have

It was foone understood, that Perfeus had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at Samothrace: his owne letters to the Conful, confirming the report. He fent thefe letters by perfons of fuch meane condition; that his case was pittied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of his writing was, to defire fanour: which though hee begged in tearmes ill befeeming a King; yet fince the inscription of his Epillic was, King PERSEVS to the Conful PAVLVS; the Conful, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine 40 the Title, refuled to make answere thereunto. So there came other letters. as humble as could be expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that fome might bee fent to conferre with him about matters of his prefent estate. Neuertheleffe in this conference, hee was maruailous earnest, that hee might bee allowed to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had fo carefully preserved his treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselse with fuch vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his defire to live at ease, and bee called King. Yea it feemes that hee had indeede, even from the beginning, a defire to live in this 50 Ifle of Samothrace: both for that in one of his confultations about the war he was dehorted by his friends, from feeking to exchange his Kingdome of Macedon, for \*fuch a paltrie lland; and for that hee offered to lay vp the money which Eumenes demanded, in the holie Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwife, They vige him to give place vito necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of Rome. This is so tarre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Prefently there arrives at Samothrace Cn. Octanius the Roman Admirall, with his fleet : who affayes as well by terrible threats as by faire language to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had imprisoned himselfe. When all would not ferue, a question was moued to the Samothracians; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holte priviledge of

10 Sanctuarie, by attempting the murder of King Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quicke. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and fend word to the King, That Euander, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at Delphi, whereof vnlesse he can cleare himselfe in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophase that holie place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them forbeare to fay, that Perfeus himfelfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this auaile, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appearsh the author? Perfeus therefore willeth Enumber to have confideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Romans hand.

20 who are like to be prefidents and overfeers of this judgement: fo as it were better to die valiantly, fince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion Euander seemes to like well; and either kills himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poy fon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had flucke to Perfeus in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to for fake him: fo as none are left with him, faue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him you this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and fay, That the King hath loft the priniledge of this holie

30 Sanctuarie, by murdering Buander therein. Or if the Romans will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainefay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and even that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from captiuitie; hee purpofeth to make an escape, and flye, with his T reasures, vnto Cotys his good friend, into Thrace. Oroandes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one shippe; who easily was perfuaded to wast the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be fo conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himfelfe, with his wife and \* children (if rather it were not true, that hee Plutareh in vit. had with him onely \* Philip his elder fonne, who was enely by adoption his Limib.45. fonne, being his \*brother by nature) with much adoc got out at a window by Limib.44.

40 a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea fide, hee found no Organdes there: the Cretians had played a Cretian tricke, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilest Perseus was fearching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere hee could recover the Temple. Hee ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging : and thinking it not fafe to enter it the common way, leaft he should be taken; hee hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages miffing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till Octanius made proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and Micedonians whatfocuer, abiding with their maifter in Samothrace, should have their lives and libertie, with all to them 50 belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, conditio-

nally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewife 10n, a Theffalonian, to whome the King had given the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to Octavius. Lastly, Perfess himselfe, 2 11111 2

with his fonne Fhilip, accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better protested him; rendered himselfe, and made the Roman victorie complete. If hee had not trufted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Masedon, without other hope of lining, than of raigning therein; hee might well have brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrarie hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himfelfe by flight; hee is become a spectacle of miserie, and one among the number of those Princes, that have beene wretched by their owne default. Hee was prefently fent away to Amylius; before whome hee fell to the ground to basely, that hee seemed thereby to dishonour the victorie ouer himfelfe, as gotten upon one of abject qualitie, and therefore the leffe to bee effecmed. Emylius vied to him the language of a gentle Victor : blaming him, though mildly, for having, with fo hoftile a minde, made Warre vpon the Romans. Hereto good answere might have beene returned by one of better spirit. As for Perfeus, he answered all with a fearefull silence. Hee was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conful tearmed it) almost affurance; for that fuch was the mercie of the People of Rome. After these good words, being inuited to the Confuis Table, and respectively entreated, hee was committed prisoner to

Such end had this Macedonian Warre, after foure yeares continuance : and 20 fuch end therewithall had the Kingdome of Macedon; the glorie whereof, that had fometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto Rome.

### IX.

GENTIVS, King of the Illyrians, taken by the



Bout the same time, and with like celeritie, Anicius the Roman Prætor, who fucceeded vnto App. Claudius, had the like fuccesse against King Gentius the Illyrian. Gentius had an Armic of fifteene thousand; with which hee was at Lissus, readic to affish King Perfew as foone as the money should come, whereof hee had recei-

° Called now

used onely tenne Talents. But Anicies arrested him on the way; sought with bim; ouercame him; and draue him into \* Scodra. This Towne was verie defensible Linature, besides the helpe of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, affifted with the Kings prefence, made it feeme 40 vnpossible to be wonne, in anic not a verie long time. Yet Anicius was considen, in his late victorie; and therefore prefented his Armie before the walls. making countenance to give an affault. The Illyrians, that might eafily have desended themselves within the Towne, would needes iffue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King fent Embaffadours; by whome, at first, hee desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the Roman Embaffadours, to have recourse to such mediation. But hee thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was 50 no greater harme done by him, than the cashing of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still aline Haning obtained three dayes respite, hee passed up a River, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of

## CHAP. 6. S.10. of the Historie of the World.

Scodra, as it were to confult the more privately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Caragantius was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into Scodra. He fent messengers craving accesse vnto the Prætor: before whome having lamented his follic past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his follie present) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were prefently given vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes; the People of Rome not knowing that it was begun; vntill 10 Perpennatione of the Embaffadors that had been imprisoned brought word from Anteins how all had paffed.

### ). X.

How the Romans behaued themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victorie ouer Perseys.

Ow began the Romans to Swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically upon those that had beene unmannerly toward them before, whileft the Warre with Perfew scemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadours were still at Rome, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with bad grace; faving, That they were fent from Rhodes. to make an overture of peace; for a fmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no leffe grieuous to the Romans themselves, than to the Macedonians and manie others: but that now they were verieglad, and in behalfe of the Rhodians did con-30 gratulate with the Senate and People of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answere, That the Rhodians had fent this Embassage to Rome, not for love to Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the delire of fome (couetous of the charge) to have Warre proclaymed against Rhodes; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparrell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseching all menespecially the great ones, to pardon their indifferetion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for fome foolish words. This danger of Warre from Rome being knowne at Rhodes, all that had beene anie whit aperfe from the Romans in 40 the late Warre of Macedon, were eyther taken and condemned, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that slew themselves for searc, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would have done, if olde M. Cato, a man by nature vehement, had not vetered a milde fentence, and advertifed the Senate, That in decreeing Warre against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that \*rather the wealth of that Ci- \* color in mat. tie, which they were greedie to ranfacke, than anie just cause, had moved them apad Salust, de thereto. This confideration, together with their good deferts in the Warres of line. Philip and Antiochia, helped well the Rhodians: among whome, none of anie marke remained aline, faue those that had beene of the Roman Faction. All 50 which notwithflanding, manie yeares paffed, ere, by importunate fuit, they could be admitted into the focietie of the Romans: a fauour which, till now, they had not effected, but thought themselves better without it, as equall

With the like, or greater feueritie, did the Romans make themselues terrible in

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all parts of Greece. Amylius himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; vifiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleafure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had ouer them. More than fine hundred of the chiefe citizens in Demetrias were flaine at one time by those of the Roman faction. and with helpe of the Roman fouldiors. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conful: the redresse was such, as requited not the paines of making supplication. His friends, that is to fav, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the libertie of their Countrey, he featted like a King, with excelling cheare; yet fo, that hee had all things verie cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in fending prouifions, nor fet on them the due price. Embaffadours likewife were fent from Rome; fome, to give order for fetling the efface of Macedon towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was youll in fuch cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The Kingdome of Macedon was fet at libertie by Amylus and the Embaffadours, his affiftants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this libertie was fuch as the Romans v fed to beflow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been paved unto the Kings. was leffened by halfe. As for the reft; the Countrey was divided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobilitie were fent captine into Italie, with their wines and children, as manie as were aboue fifteene yeares old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new given by Emplius. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doc at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue anie inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subjects to Rome; the things done to them could descrue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea and shamelesse perjurie; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation feeme of no validitie. The Embaffadors that were fent to visit the Greekes, called before them all such men of note, from eneric quarter, as had anie way discouered an unserviceable disposition towards the Ro- 30 mans. These they sent to Rome; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had fent letters to Perseus, which fell at length into the Romans hands : and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for viling them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded. for having beene openly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is confessed, that the good Patriotes were no leffe afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had fold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the Acheens these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vn- 40 tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of figne, by letters, or otherwise, whereby anie one of the Acheans could be suspitiously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Calliorates, nor anic of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their feruice to the Romans, but onely fuch as were the belt Patriotes. Yet would not therefore the Embaffadours neglect to vie the benefit of the time: wherein, fince all men trembled for feare of Rome, the feafon ferued fitly to ranke the Acheans with the rest. And hereto Callicrates was verte vigent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, hee and his fellowes should be 50 made to pay for their mischieuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the Acheans: where one of them, in open affemblic of the Nation, spake as Callierates had before instructed him. Hee faid. That some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended Perfeus.

This being fo, he defired that all fuch men might be condemned, whom, after fentence giuen, he would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole affembly) what inflice were this? name them first, and let them answere; which if they cannot well doe, we will foone condemne them. Then faid the Roman boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guiltie of this crime. If this were true, faid Xenon, a temperate man, and consident in his innocence, then should I hkewise have beene friend to Perseus: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answere him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Vpon these words of Xenon the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were

to the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited aboue a thousand; willing them to appeare, and answere before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein fo many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their lone vnto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, and regard of the publike libertie, should dwell together in any of the Greekes. At their comming to Rome, they were all cast into prison : as men already condemned by the Acheans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since

20 honestie had beene thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senat, that these men were neither condemned by the Achsans, nor yet held to be offendours. But in flead of better answere it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that the femen should returne into Achaia. Neither could any folicitation of the Acheans, who never ceafed to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuenteene vecres, fewer than thirtie of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and vertuous man Polybius, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or having made offer to cscape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death 30 as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being delirous to preserve the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the fouldiours, gaue order, That the whole Countrey of Epirus should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible crueltie; as also it was performed by Emylius with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leave of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vie the libertie be-Rowed upon them by the people of Rome; he fent unto the Epirots for tenne of the · principall men out of cuerie Citie. These hee commaunded to deliver up all the gold and filter which they had; and fent along with them, into everie of their 40 Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the

money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed they should fall to sacke, everie one the Towne whereinto hee was fent. Thus in one day were threefcore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoyled by the Roman fouldiors; and belides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made flaues. It may be granted, that some of the Epiro's deserved punishment, as having favoured Perfem. But fince they, among this people, that were thought guiltie of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had been alreadic fent into Italie, there to receive their due; and fince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present 50 in good obedience, but had, even in this warre, done good fervice to the Romans:

I hold this act fo wicked, that I should not beleeve it, had anic one Writer delivered the contrarie. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the lesse meruallous, that GoD was pleased to make Amylius childlesse, euen in the glorie of his triumph, how great focuer otherwise his vertues were.

CHAP. 6. S.M. of the Historie of the World.

In fuch manner dealt the Romans, after their victoric, with the Greekes and Macedanians. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Embaffage fent from them to Antiochus: whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of Amiochus his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadors came.

#### à. XI.

The Warre of ANTIOCH'V & upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embaladours.

Demetrius Soler; and one daughter, Cleapatra, whom he had given in marriage to



NTIOCHVS the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his raign and life. He died the fix and thirtieth yeare after he had worne a Crown, and in the feuenteenth or eighteenth of Piolemie Epiphanes: while he attempted to rob the Temple of Bel, or (according to Instine ) of Inpiter. He left behinde him three fonnes, Selencus Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes.

Strab.fib.16. Isft. 1b 37.

Eufeb,in Cran. App.de bell. Syr. dni. 1 . . . ap. 5

D.13.11.0.21.

Mac.cap.z.

Piolemie Epiphanes, King of Agypt. Seleucus the fourth of that name, and the el- 20 dest of Antiochus his sonnes; raigned in Syria twelue yeares, according to Eusebius, Appian, and Sulpitius: though Infephius give him but feven. A Prince, who as hee was flouthful by nature, fo the great loffe which his father Antiochus had received: tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeares before his birth, Daniel gaue this judgement, Et flabit in loco eius vilifimus & indignus decore regie. And in his place (speaking of Antiochus the father of this man) flatt up a vilde perfon, unworthy the honor of a King. Vnder this Selencis, those things were done which are spoken of Onias the High Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect. What time as the holy Citie was inhabited with all peace, because of the godline fe of ONIA's the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King 30 did honor the place, and garnifhed the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of Macchabees, of Simon of Benjamin, who by A. pollonius betrayed the treasures of the Temple: and of Heliodorus fent by the King tofeize them; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the prayers of Oniss; of the Kings death, and of his successor Antiochiss Epiphenes. It is therefore from the raigne of this King, that the bookes of the Machabees take broinning. Which bookes feeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his florie, nor of the acts of his fuccessors, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. the brother and successour of this Seleucus; from whom downward to the death 40 of Simon Machabeus (who died in the hundred threefcore and feuenteenth yeare of the Greekes in Syria) that first book treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the Storic fomewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet hee endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeare of the Gracian raigne, and with the death of Areanor flaine by Judas: remembring in the fourth Chapter the prachile of Isfon, the brother of Onias, who after the death of Seleucus, prevailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor for the Priesthood. It is also held by Jansenius and Super Edife 5. other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this Onlas, that Arius King of the Spartans fent Embaffadors to the Jewes, as to their brothers and kinfmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greekes, Jonathan the brother and fucceffor of 50 Indus, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiftle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Antipater his Embassadors, whom hee emploved at the fame time to the Senate of Rome; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which Arius had fent to Onias the High Priest, whereto Iosephus

addes, that the name of the Lacedamonian Embaffador was Demoteles, and that the Letters had a fquare Volume, and were fealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Now to this Seleucus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeare of the Greekes in Syrie. Hee was the second sonne of the Great Antiochus: and he obtained his Kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also hee vsurped from his brothers

Ptolemie Philometor, his Nephew by his fifter Cleopatra, being then very yong,

10 had beene about feuen yeares King of Agypt.

Ptolemic Epiphanes, the father of this King Philometor, had raigned in Agypt foure and twentie yeares; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip of Mscedon, and the great Antiochus, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other busines, ere long, with the Romans, as made them give oner their vniust purpose; especially Antiochus, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this Ptolemie, the Proninces of Coelestria, Phanice, and Indes, which he had wound by his victorie ouer Scopas, that was Generall of the Agyptian forces in those parts. Neuerthelesse, Ptolemie adhered to the Romans: whereby he lived in the greater fecuritie. Hee left

20 behind him two fons; this Ptolemie Philometor, and Ptolemie Phylcon, with a daughter, Cleopatra. Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom the was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such

were the marriages of thefe Agyptian Kings.

Ptolemie Philometor, fo called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chafed out of his kingdome: his yonger brother being fet vp against him. Physcon hauing a strong partie, got possession of Alexandria; and Philometor held himselfe in Memphis, crauing succour of King Antiochus his vncle. Hereof Antiochus was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the yong Prince, fought by 30 all meanes possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdome. He sent Apollonius the

fonne of Mnestheus Embassador into Azypt, and vnder colour to affist the Kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King Philometer, to deliuer the King his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinarie care and delire of his Nephewes fafetie and well doing. And the better to answere all argument to the contrarie, he prepared a forcible armieto attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of Syria, to Joppe, and from thence on the fudden he turned himselfe towards Iernfalem, where by Iafon the Priest (a Chaplin sit for such a Patron) hee was with all 2.Mar.4. pompe and folemnitie received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of Se-

40 lenens, the brother and predecessour of Epiphanes, that impious traytor Simon of Macanaga, the Tribe of Beniamin, ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to Apollonius Gouernor of Calesyria and Phanicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said Apollonius being stroken by the Angell of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of Onias: yet fufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practifes. Presently vpon the death of Seleneus, this Iason, the brother of Onias, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Prichhood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of filner, with other rents and summes of money. Machines.

So he got his defire, though he not long enjoyed it. 50 This naughtic dealing of Islon, and his being ouer-reached by another, in the fame kinde, calls to minde a by-word taken vp among the Acheans, when as that mischieuous Callierates, who had beene too hard for all worthic and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went

One

One fire than other burnes more forcibly, One Wolfe than other Wolnes does bite more fore; One Hawke than other Hawkes more fwift does fly. So one most mischieuous of men before, CALLICRATES, falleknane asknane might be, Wet with MENALCIDAS more falle than be.

And onen thus fell it out with Ialon: who within three yeares after, was betrayed, and overbidden by Menelaus the brother of Simon, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priefthood for himselfe: Islon thereupon being forced to flie from lerufalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites.

Alsodate.

13h.6.

Pohl.Legat.31.

From Jerusalem, Antiochus marched into Phanicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Agypt; with which, Macrical and with a mightie armie of land forces. Hee went about to raigne oner Agypt, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mightie companie, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horfemen, and with a great Manie, and moved warre against Ptolemaves King of Egypt, but Ptolemaevs was afraid of him and sled, and many were wounded to death. He wanne many firong Cities, and took away the floiles of the Dangell. V.14. Land of Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecie of DANIEL. He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he fall doe that which his Fathers have not done nor 20 his Fathers Fathers. Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria fo great a victorie ouer the Emptians, nor tooke from them fo great riches. For hee gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of Ptolemie, betweene Pelusium and the hill Cassus, after which he entered and fackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Agrot. Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that A N T 10. CHyshad mitten Egypt, he turned againe and went up towards Ifrael and Ierusalem with a mightie people, and entered proudly into the Santiuarie, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlellicke for the light, and all the Instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the powring Veffels and the Bowles, and the golden Befons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke alfo the Silver, and the Gold, and the 30 precious Jewels, and the feeret Treasures; and when he had taken away all, he departed into bis owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that Antiochus tooke in hand this Egyptian bulinesse. At what time he first laid claime to Calefyria; justifying his title by \* the fame allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not been configned ouer to the Egyptian, or given in dowrie with Cleopatra. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had alreadie gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Achaans, Rhodidians, Athenians, and other of the Greekes, preffed him, by feuerall Embaffages, to fome good conclusion. But his answere was ; that if the Alexandrians could be con- 40 tented to receive their King his Nephew Philometer, the elder brother of the Ptolemies, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when hee faw, that it was an hard peece of worke to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers confume themselves with intestine warre, than by the terrour of his armes, threatning destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any defire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the prefent: leaving the Ptolemies in very weake effate; the yonger, almost ruinated by his invalion; the elder hated and for faken by his people.

But how weake focuer these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to bee so firong, that Antiochus might leaue them to the profecution thereof; and follow, at 50 good leafure his other bufineffe at Ierufalem or ellewhere. So after the facke of Ie-

rusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch; and then made a journey into Cilicia, to Suppresse the Rebellion of the Thurstans and other in those parts, who had bin giuen, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called Antiochis For

Gouernour

Governour of Syria in his absence, he left one Andronicus, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while Menelaus the brother of Simon, the same who had thrust Iason out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an Income, comitting the charge of the Priefthood to his brother Lylimachus, ftole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple : whereof he presented a part to Androniess the Kings Lieutenant, and fold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it feemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promifed; the fame being now by Sostratus eagerly demanded. Hereof when Onias the Prieft (formerly dispossessed by Iason) had certaine knowledge, being moved 10 with zeale, and deteffing the facriledge of Menelaus, hee reproved him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himfelfe into a Sanctuarie at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a fuburb to Antioch. In compasse it had about ten miles: wherin were the Temples of Apollo and Diana, with a Groue, fweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to luit, and other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of oniss, to commit himselfe to the protection of Apollo and Disna, or to claime priviledge, from the holines of a ground confectated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not fland to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion: that the inconucuience is far leffe, to hold this book as Apocryphall; than to judge this fearefull shift which

20 Onias (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke feemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not faue the life of the poore old man: for Menelavs taking Andronicvs apart, prayed him to flay Maclib.2. ca.4. ONIAS. Sowhen he came to ONIAS, he counfelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perswading him to come out of the Santhuarie; so he slew him incontinently, without any regard of righteousnesse. Hereof when complaint was made to Antiochus after his returne out of Cilicia, Hee tooke away ANDRONICVS his gurment of purple, and rent his clouthes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City, and in the same place where hee had committed the wicked nesse against On 1 As, hee was Macacato 38 flaine as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have

30 thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this at the fuite of one Ptolemie, a traytor to Ptolemie Philometor, he condemned innocent ment to death; who justly complained against Menelaus, and his brother Lyfimschus, for a fecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Veffels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since hereuenged the death of Onias, vet flew those that were in the same cause with Onias, Who had they told their cause, Versage, yea, before the Scythians, they should have beene heard as innocent. By reason of such his vofteadineffe, this king was commonly tearmed Epimanes, that is, madde, in

stead of Epiphanes, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious. After this, Antiochus made preparation for a second voyage into Agypt, and then Mas 2.6.5. 2.1. were there feen throughout all the Citie of Jerusalem, fortie dayes long, hor femen running in the aire with Robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troopes of Horsemen (et in aray, incountring and courfing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of Gop, all Histories have delivered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of Ierusalem by Velpasian, a starre in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens directly over the Citie after which there followed a flaughterlike vnto this of Epiphanes, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, Pliny Plindba. 1.57. tells vs that Armies were feene fighting in the aire from the morning till the cue-

50 In the time of Pope John the elementh, a fountaine powred out bloud in flead of water, in or neare the Citie of Genea; foone after which the Citie was taken by the Merent Pipera Saracens, with great flaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, Vipera hath Vipera de Pris collected many, and very remarkable. But this one feemeth to me the most memo- co & facto inrable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the Emperour Nero, the situito.

Off-fpring

768

When Lisia was first married to Augustus, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Saction, Galba. Henne, holding a Lawrell braunch in her mouth. Linia caused this Henne to be carefully nourilhed, and the Lawrell braunch to be planted: Of the Henne came a faire encrease of white Poultrie, and from the little braunch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: fo that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did yfe to carrie in their hands a braunch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; and after the Triumphs ended, to fet it againe in the same ground: which braunches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those 10 persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeare of Nero, all the broodes of the white Hennes died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cafars Statues, and the Scepter placed in Magnifus his hand, were firicken downe with lightning. That the lewes did not thinke such strange signes to be vnworthic of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon G o D, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus into Agipt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein raigning: fo was his fecond Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder Ptolemie being left in Memphis, not firong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power 20 of their vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perfugion than by armes. Phylon had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former flege; the Alexandrines though they loued not Philometer, yet loued they worse to live in scarcitic of victuals (which was alreadie great among them, and like to grow extreame) fince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother faw no likelyhood of good iffue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor in his purpose. But that which made him carnellly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he flood of his vncie. For though Antiechus were gone out 30 of Agypt with his armie; yet had he left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelufiam; retaining that Citic, which was the Key of Agypt, to his owne vie. This consideration wrought also with Physion, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to Antiochus, hee was greatly enraged: for notwith@anding that hee had pretended no other thing than the effabijihment of the King Philometer his nephew, and a meaning to subject his yonger brother vnto him, which he gaue in answere to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make sharpe warre vpon them both. And to that end hee presently fur- 40 nished and sent out his Nauie towards Cyprus, and drew his Land Armie into Caleforis, readie to enter Leppt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocornera, he met with Embaffadors fent from Ptolemie. Their errand was partly to yeeld thankes to Antiochus for the chablishing of Philometor in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signific what hee required to have done in Agypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemie with fo puillant an Armie. But Antiochus returned this short answere, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon anie other condition, than that Ptolemie frould furrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelusiam, the whole Territoric thereto belonging: and that 50 hee should also abandon and sease viito him the life of Cyprus, with all the right that he had vnto either of them for euer. For answere vnto these demaunds, hee fet downe a day certaine, and a fhort one. Which being come and paft, without anie accord made, the Syrian Fleet entred Nilus, and recourred as well those places which appertained to Ptolemie in Arabia, as in Agypt it selfe; for Memphis and all about it received Antiochus, being vnable to refut him. The King having now no stoppe in his way to Alexandria; passed on thitherwards by easie

CHAP. 6. 8:12.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Agypt flood; the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to entermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein Antiochus seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gaue fignification, that it would be much displeasing vnto them, to have the Kingdome

of Agypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doc; being troubled with Per/ess; and therefore loath to prouoke Antiochus too farre. Neuertheleffe, the Egyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in neede of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to bee expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greekes, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, thould arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene lustained with food from Agypt, in the warre of Hannibal; when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian, had Aratus laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Acheans attained. And by the like helpe, had Rhodes beene defended against Demetrius Polioreetes. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the Ptolemies had done for fundrie people abroad, ill followed or feconded, by other as bad in requitall : but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the

two brothers fent abroad confidently for ayde: especially to the Rhodians and Acheans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans, Physicon and Cleopatra had fent, a yeare fince : but their Embaffadours lay ftill in Rome. Of the Achesms they defired in particular, that Ligeortas the braue warriour might be fent to them as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne Polybius Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the Acheans readily condescended : and would immediatly 20 haue made performance; if Callierates had not interposed his mischieuous arte. Hee, whether feeking occasion to vaunte his obsequiousnesse to the Romans; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose service the Kings desired; withflood the common voice; which was, That their Nation should, not with such fmall numbers as were requefted, but with all their power, be aiding vnto the Ptolenies. For it was not now (hee faid) convenient time to entangle themselves in any fuch bufinesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans what helpe focuer should be required in the Macedonian warre. And in this fentence, hee with those of his faction oblimately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that

Martius the late Conful had fignified unto him, that the Romans were past all need of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well bee spared, to the ayde of their benefactours, the Agyptian Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any service to the Romans; for as much as the Acheans could, without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand souldiours. All this not with flanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of Callierates. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from Martius; whereby the Acheans were desired to conforme themselves to the Roman Senate, and to labour, as the Senate had 50 done, by fending Embassadors, to set Azypt in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in

a time of greater bulineffe elfewhere, with fuch milde words, that nothing was effeeted. Wherefore it was not likely, that the Acheans should doe any good in the Tetttt

fame kinde. Yet Polybius and his friends durft not gaine-fay the Roman Councell: which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much diffresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was Perfeus ouercome: and then might the Embassador sent from the Roman Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, vnto those Embassadors of Phylcon and Cleopatra; which having stayed more then a whole years in the Citie. brought nothing of their businesse to essect untill now. The Embassadours deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them : though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) Philometor, no leffe than his brother 10 and fifter.

In this Embassage of Ptolemie, now requesting helpe from Rome; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had bin before three or foure yeares last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the Macedoman warre; either he, or Euleus and Leneus (vpon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to fet vpon Antiochus, for Calefyria; but would have interposed himselfe betweene the Romans and Perfeus, as a competent Athitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embaffador was by a friend perswaded, to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts, he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same Antiochw. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, hee might haue seemed to stand in no need of such protestion; he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to faue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and fifter, shewed it selfecuen in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorely cladde; the haire of their heads and beards ouer-growne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entered into the Senate; and there fell groueling and profirate vpon the floare. Their garments were not so meane and mournefull, nor their 30 lookes and countenances fo fad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey flood; they made a pitifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate. befeeching them to have compassion of their estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly and faithfull to the Romans. They faid that the people of Rome had so much heretofore fauoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of fuch account and authoritic, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let Antiochus know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandria, and withdraw his Armie out 40 of Agypt into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time or vsed any delav; then should Ptolemie and Cleopatra be shortly driven out of their Realmes, and make repaire to Rome, with shamefull dishonor to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreame dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchfafed to relieue them.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as Embassadours, to determine and end the warre between those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King Ptolemie, and then Antiochus, and to let them both understand, that unlesse they furceassed and gaue over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to 50 the Senate and people of Rome, whom they found obstinate or vsing delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embassadours, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest

Whilest Popilius and his fellowes were on their way toward . Egypt, Antiochus had transported his Armie ouer Lusine, some fortie myles from Alexandria, So neare was hee to the end of his journey, when the Roman Embassadors met him. After greeting and falutations at their first encounter, Antiochia offered his right hand to Populius: but Populius filled it with a Role of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before hee did anie thing else. Antischus did fo; and having a little while confidered of the bufineffe, hee tolde Popilius, That hee would aduife with his friends, and then give the Embaffadours their answere. But Popilius, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which hee had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him fuch an answere as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King aftonished at this fo rude and violent a Commaundement, after hee had flayed and pawfed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to doe what focuer the Senate shall ordaine, Then Popilius gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the Romans.

Thus Intiochus departed out of Egypt, without anic good issue of his costly Expedition; even in fuch manner as \* Daniel had prophefied long before: Dan. cap. 11. yea, fulfilling eueric particular circumftance, both of returning, and of doing mif-20 chiefe to Ierusalem after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embaffadours, they flayed a while, and fetled the Kingdome of Agypt, leaning it vnto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to raigne over Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus; which they left, as it had beene, in the power of the Egyptian, having first sent away Antiochus Fleet, which had alreadie ginen an ouerthrow to the Egyptian shippes.

ð. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards EVMENES, PRUSIAS, MASANISSA, and COTYS. The end of PERSEVS and his children. The inflabilitie of Kingly Eflates. The Triumphs of PAVLVS, ANICIVS, and OCTAVIVS. With the Conclusion of the Worke.

Y this peremptoric demeanour of Popilius, in doing his Message, and by the readic obedience of King Antiochus to the will of the Senate; wee may perceive how terrible the Romans were growne, through their conquest of Macedon. The same Popilius had been Senate; wee may perceive how terms.

Senate; wee may perceive how terms.

through their conqueft of Macedon. The fame Popilius has used well contented, a yeare before this, to lay afide the roughness of well-contented, a yeare before this, to lay afide the roughness of Actalians and to give good language to the Achaens and Ætelians and to give good language to the Achaens and Ætelians.

leffe power than the King Antiochus . Likewife , Antiochus had with good wordes, and no more than good wordes, dismissed other Embassadours which came from Rome, in fuch fort, as they complained not, much leife vied anie menacing tearmes, though hee performed nothing of their requeft. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as Antiochus.

50 Eumenes fent to Rome his brother Attalus, to gratulate the victorie ouer Perfeus, and to crave helpe or countenance of the Senate against the Gallogreekes, which molested him. Verie welcome was Attalus, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bad him be consident, and request of the Senate

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\* Lin. lib.45.

his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be given him. These hopefull promifes tickled Attalus with fuch ambition, that hee eyther approued. or feemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaymed by the faithfull counfaile of Stratius a Physician; whome Eumenes had fent to Rome of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee delinered the errand about which hee had beene fent; recounted his owne fernices done to the Romans in the late Warre, \* wherewithall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as he could: and finally requefted. That the Townes of Anus and Maronea might be bellowed voon himselfe. \* Bv his omitting to fue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, To that he meant to craue another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious hee was, they not onely graunted all his defire; but in the prefents which they gaue to him (as was their custome to Embaffadours that came with an acceptable meffage) they vied fingular magnificence. Neuertheleffe, Attalus tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had alreadic graunted. This did so highly difplease the Senate, that whilest hee was yet in Italie, they gaue order for the libertie of Anus and Maronea: thereby making vneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not without shame, renoke. And as for the Gallogreekes, which were about to inuade the Kingdome of Pergamus; they fent Embaffa- 20 dours to them, with fuch instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate beeing so manifest: Eumenes thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. Hee might well blame the follie of his fecond voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: fince, by his malice to Perfeus, hee had layed open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne dores. No fooner was he come into Italie, than the Senate was readie to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to vie him as an enemie, that came to visit them in loue: neyther could they, in so doing, haue auoided the note of fingular inconstancie; and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would per- 30 mit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to Rome; and by vertue thereof fent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias King of Bithynia had beene at Rome somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better falhion. Hee had learned to behaue himfelfe as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or defire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and killed the threshold, calling the Fathers his gods and sauiours: as also hee yied to weare a Cappe, after the manner of flaues newly manumifed, professing himselfe an entranchised bondman of the People of Rome. He was indeede naturally a flaue, and one that by fuch abject flatterie kept himselfe 40 fafe; though doing otherwife greater mischiefe than anic wherewith Perseus had beene charged. His errand was, belides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his sonne Wicomedes, whome he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have fome Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, because the graunt would have beene vnjust hee received a cold answere. But concerning the Wardship of his sonne, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Agypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to confider, what effectuall protection the Romans gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboue all other Kings, Mafaniffa held his credit with the Romans good. His quarrels were endlesse with the Carthaginians: which made the friendship of the Romans to him the more assured. In all controuersies they gave judgement

on his side: and whereas hee had inuaded the Countrey of Emporia, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the Romans (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the Curthsginians both to let goe all their hold, and to pay sine hundred Talents to the Namidian, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had Rome good leysure to deusle you the ruine of Carthage: after which, the race of Majanish himselie was shortly by them rooted yp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. Hee sent to Rome one of his sonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer Persons, and offered to come this to their himselie, there to sacrifice for joy vnto Jupiter in the Capitol. His good will was louingly accepted; his sonne rewarded; and hee entreated to say

CHAP. 6. S.12. of the Historie of the World.

Coys the Thracian fent Embassadours, to excuse himselse touching the aide by him guen to Perseus, for that the Macedourn had him bound by hosses; and to entereat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of Perseus, might be set at libertie for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselse to Perseus, by guing hosses, without needs him to be the machine free; with admonition, to carrie himselse better toward the Romans in time following. His King-20 done lay betweene Macedour and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was evod to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for those whappie Kings, Perseus and Genius, they were ledde through Rows, with their children and triends, in the Triumphs of Emplius and Onterius. Perseus had often made fuite to Emplius, that hee might not be put to such disgrace: but hee still received one skornefull answere, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that hee might kill himselfee. And surely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than hee sound, hee would rather have sought his death in Asaesson, than have beene beholding to the courtesse of his infolent enomies for a wretched hie. The issue of the Roman 30 elemencie, whereos Emplius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow King, had beene ledde in claynes through the streets, before the Charlotts of their triumphing Vistors, they were committed.

ted to prison, wherein they remayned without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the Capital, there to doe sacrifice, hee should command the capitues to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miferie of those that were ourcome, might be both together at the vtmost. This last sentence of death was remitted into Person yet set so, that hee had little joy of his life; but eyther famished himselfe, or (for it is diuersly reported) 40 was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sonnes, two died; it is vncertaine how. The youngest called Ackander (onely in name like vnto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferement, a Serube vnder the Roman Officers. In such poucretie ended the Royall House of Macedon: and it ended on the suddaine; though some eightscore yeares after the death of that Monarch, vnto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If Perfus had knowne it before, that his owne fonne fhould one day bee compelled to earne his Jiuing by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is 50 like, that he would not, as in a wantonneffe of Soueraignetic, haue commanded those poore men to be flaine, which had recoured his treasures ont of the sea, by their skill in the seat of diving. He would rather have been veriegentle, and would haue considered, that the greatest oppressions, and the most vudertoden wretches, are all fubject wnto One high Power, gouerning all alike with absolute command.

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But such is our vnhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsaile, Doe as yee would be done vnto, a fentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; wee entertaine that arrogant thought, I will be like to the Most High: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One bath said truly:

Annenal Sat. 10

-- v v -- Et qui volunt occidere quenquam Polle volunt -

Euen they that have no murdrous will. Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vaine desire of abilitie to doe evill without controlle: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. Go p, who best can judge what is expedient, hath graunted fuch power to verie few: among whome alfo, verie few there are, that vie it not to their owne hurt. For who fees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmoft extent, enableth (befides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne somes or nephewes to root up all his progenie? Shall not manie excellent Princes, not with standing their brotherhood, or other neareneffe in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that gouernes one, the most vinworthic of his whole 20 house, yet raigning ouerall? The vntimely death of manie Princes, which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practise of the Turkish Emperours, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereto may be added, That the heire of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King Edward the fecond; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after sollowing, heire apparent to the Crowne of England: which had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exercise the fame upon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the inflabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish 30 the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the cuill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so doe they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceine

and teach, That \* Goo is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaister, that can be deuised, The true Law for fuch Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it of tree Mouplide-downe at their pleasure. narchies.

Chap. 3. 5.4.

Now, concerning the Triumph of L. Amylius Paulus; it was in all points like vnto that of T. Quintius Flaminius: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewife both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the 40 quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by Paulus into the Roman Treasurie, that from thenceforth, vntill the civile Warres, which followed vpon the death of Iulius C.efar, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with anie Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have beene hindered by the fouldiors; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiors herein, and brought them to reason by scuere exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuertheleffe, it pleased Gop to take away from him his two remayning fonnes, that were not given in adoption : of which, the one died fine dayes before the Triumph; the other, three dayes 50 after it. This loffe hee bore wifely : and told the People, That hee hoped to fee the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victoric was requited with his owne private calamitie, in flead of the publike.

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About the finne time, Octavius the Admirall, who had brought Perfeus out of Samothrace; and Anicius the Prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken King Gentrus prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spe-Etacles; together with the confluence of Embaffages from all parts; and Kings, cither visiting the Imperial Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in perfon , were enough to fay vnto Rome, Sume superbiam, Take vpon thee the Maiestic, that thy deferts have purchased.

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m Y}$  this which we have alreadic fetdowne, is feene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer have ended. That of Rome which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted vp, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had, the stormes of ambition shal beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which have beene preserved, and yet remaine among vs; and 20 withall of so many tragicall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, the greatest Lords of the world have beene stirred vp, rather by the defire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and foweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it fo much vexation, and fo many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of Ciness to Pyrrhus proues. And certainly, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the lining, fo is it to the dead of no vie at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this lafting discourse, understood by them 30 which are diffolued; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have

ftolne out of the world without noise; than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression and crueltie, by gining in spoile the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with fo many and fo variable forts of forrowes.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germaines, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the East, but that of the Turke; nor in the Westany Prince that hath spred his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard; who since the time that Ferdinand expelled the 40 Moores out of Gransdo, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many

Kingdomes which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoiled by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as have beene spent by the English, French, and Neatherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing ftreames may be brought backe into their naturall channels and old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one 50 feeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sin-

cere profession thereof, the one to joyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundleffe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which bath been already faid;

That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them the actions, but not the ends, of those great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of GoD, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdome of the world, without speaking a word; which GoD with all the words of his Law, promifes, or threats, doth not infuse. Death which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeued: Go p which hath made him and loues him, is alwayes deferred. I have confidered (faith SALOMON) all the workes that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexation of fairit : but who beleeues it, till Death tells it vs. It was Death, which onening the conscience of Charles the fift, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to restore Nauarre; and King Francisthe first of France, to command that justice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therfore Death alone that can fuddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the inflant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a beggers a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that filles his mouth. He holds a Glaffe before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them 20 fee therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O cloquent, just and mightie Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised : thou hast drawne together all the farre firetched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, His incet.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles it selfe, The first part of the Generall Historie of the World, implying a Second, and Third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewen out; besides many other discouragements, perfwading my filence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspeakable and neuer enough lamented loffe, hath taught mee to fay with I o B, Versaest in Luctum Citha. ramea, & Organum meum in vocem

FINIS.

## To the Reader.



He vie of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to anie length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: fince they cannot, like Annales, yearely set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may ferue as an Index to the prefent Part of this Worke; pointing onto the severall matters, that having fallen out at one time, are farre distoyned in the Relation. Certainely

it is not perfect : neither do: I thinke, that anie can be. For how socuer the yeares of the first Patriarchs may seeme to have beene well-neare compleat, yet in the raignes of the Kings of Iuda and Ifrael, wee finde manie fractions, and the last yeare, or yeares, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in manie other : though not fo precifely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect formes of the yeare, which were in vee among fundrie Nations: causing the \* Summer Moneths, in processe of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding ex- \* See Lib.2. treame confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, chap 3. 5.6. to chuse, out of so manie, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have alreadie gotten authoritie, what may probably be held for truth . All this, and a great deale more, is to be alleazed, in excuse of such error as amore intentine and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serue to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane judgement ) from anie notorious Anachronicisme; which cught to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for some errors of the Presse, in the numbring of yeares, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull deligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the reft, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as

tending wholly to bis owne cafe.

The Titles over the Columnes, have reference to that which followes under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two Titles, or more, are over the head, as Russallar there doe the numbers underneath answere proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Icrusalem were finished in the 319. yeare from the building of Rome, and in the 314 from NABONASSAR. In like manner it is to be understood, That IEHOSOPHAT began his raigne in the 3774. of the IVLIAN Era, in the 3092 of the World, and in the 99 yeare of the Temple. This needes not more illustration; nor indeede so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To anoid prolixitie, I have forborne to infert those yeares, which I finde not figured with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Raigne; some change of Gouernment; some Battaile fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeares wherein SYLVIVS CAPETYS raigned over the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of IEHOSOPHAT, wherein CAPETUS began, unto the 17, wherein SYLVIVS A-VENTINVS Succeeded, and wherein IEHORAM first raigned with IEHOSOPHAT his father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a Page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and fostill onwards, till I had come to the first of AVEN-TINVS, and 17. of IEHOSOPHAT. In fetting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of cueric one, what place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the firely second, fift, seventh, or so forth, in ranke, of those that raigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeare of his raigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of yeares in which he raigned; in the spaces following underneath are those yeares of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeare of anieremarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there is it to be understood, that the Same yeare belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but unto Some one, or more, of

### To the Reader.

his fore goers: as the first year of IEHORAM King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother AHAZIA, and the 22 of his father AHAZIA, SAW WHO Three names are sound no nesseless, as in the 2071, seare of the World, ZIMRI, TIBNIAND OMRI: It is meant, that enerie one of them raigned in some part of the same year; which is reckoned the second of ELA, and the sixth of OMRI: Particularly, under the years of the Expyrian Kings are set down the years of the stope DYNASTIES, which it was thought meet to infert; as skewise, otherwhiles, the day of the moneth upon which NABONASSARS yeare began: which, how it varied from other years, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concerning the Æra, or accompt of yeres, from IPHITVS, who began the Olympiads, from Rome buttle, from NASOAR, and the like; as much as was thought convenient but beene fail, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remains to mostly to more; that under the title of Olympiads is set downe fift the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the seare of that Olympiad, at that CXSV began his raigne in Persia.

in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeare thereof.

Now, for that the yeares of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of NABONAS-SAR, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, Some about Midfummer, and Some at other times : the better to expresse their fenerall beginnings, some pamefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columnes; oppoling part of the one yeare to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one fireight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour haue I spared, as more trouble some than wfefull; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and fince the learned might well be without it. It will onely be necafull to observe, that how soever the Era of the Olympiads be 24, yeares elder than that of Rome, and 29, than that of NABONASSAR, yet the raigne of some King may have begun at such a time of the yeare as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning : the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explane all. Queene Elizabeth began her raigne the 17 of November, in the yeare of our LORD 1558: Shee was crowned; held a Parliament ; brake it up ; threw downe Images ; and reformed manie things in Religion; all in her first yeare: yet not all in that yeare 1558, but the greater part in the yeare following , whether we begin with the first of Lanuarie, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but fo, as the difference is neuer of a whole

The IVLIAN Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, our the yeares of the World, was deviled by that honorable and excellently learned I OSEPH SCALIDER; being accommodated to the IVLIAN yeares, now involvement of Servis Scalider, from the multiplication of 19.3%, and 15, that 16, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeares of an Indiction. Being divided by anie of the first interest the number of the present yeare; or if no fraction remaine, it shows the last yeare of that Cycle to be current. For example: in the 4498, of this Period, when was sought the great battaile of Canna, the Prime or Golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sanne 18, and consequently the Dominical letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the IVLIAN Period, 4498, by 19, for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the Sanne. This IVLIAN Period, 4498, by 19, for the Prime, by 28, for the Cycle of the World, of 82. Resides the former vyes, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeare, than anie other Aira (as From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From the former vaccretaine position.

After a fluid not need to write, as touching the wfe or explication of thefe Tables. Neither was thus much requifite to fuch as are connerfant in workes of this kinde: it suffects if hereby all be made plaine enough to the only ar.

Iulian



# CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE

# YEARES OF THE JULIAN PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

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	1739		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. No-		1			1

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		Iulian. The Vorld,	Enos.	Cai- nan.	Maha laleel,	lared.	Me- thuse- lah.	La- mech.	Noah.	Sem.				
-	Enos died,	1822	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
1	Cainan died.	1917		910	842	775	548	361	179					
-	Mahalaleel died this yeare.	1972			895	830	603	416	234			4		
-	Iared died.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
-	Floud threat- ned, Gene 6 3.	1537					850	663	481					
-		1559					872	685	503	1.Sem. 600				
	Lamech died.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
be tb	Methulclah died this yeare a bittle fore the Flond, Noah entreth into e Arke.C.7.5.8.8. 9. The Floud.	1656					969		600	98				
10	The Floudceaseth, Noah sued out of the Arke.	2339 1657							601	99			altrosportation.	
		Iulian World Floud	Noah.	Sem	1 Ar- phaxa 438	d								
		1659	603	101										
-		1376 1594 37	638	136	36	1. Sa lab. 433								
1		1724 67	668	165	66	31	ber. 464							
		2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	leg.		Kings of Af- fyria.	101			
-		1788	732	230	130	91	6.	31	1.Ken 239	rod. 114				
		1502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	3 3	33	1. Sa- 14g. 230	of E.		
	Vide Lib.2. c.2.§.2.	18,48	792	250	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1. Cham 161		
		2532 1850 193	694	29:	19:	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	bor. 148	1. Te-
-	With and the state of the state	1879	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. Te- rab.
		2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2. Belii 65	83	55	53	24
		1	1	i	1	1	j	)		1	1	1	1	1

	Julian, World,	Noah.	Sem.	Arpha.	Salah.	Heber	. Peleg.	Reu.	A∬y•	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nakor	Terab	Kangs of Sicyon.	
1	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	I 1,Aegya leus, 5:	
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ni- nus,52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	1. En rops 45	
The last yeare f Peleg his life	2678	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	1.18	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah died this yeare.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Egypt. Vide L. L. C.2. § 3.4.5. & c.	2691 1009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Min raim or 0 firu, 26		131	22	1. A bram, 175
	2701 201 <i>9</i> 262		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semi ramis,4	200	11		141	32	11
The last yeare of Reu.	2708 2026 260		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2053 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	t, Teleti us Seletii as	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 1049 292		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	4!
	Iulian. World. Floud.	Sem.	Ar	phaxad.	Sa	lah.	Heber	A∭	iria.	Ægy	pt. Ter	ıb.	Sicyo	, ·	Abram,
	2735 2053 396	495		395	3	60	330	3	5	45	1	75	4 1. Apis,	25.	45
	2743 2061 404	503		403	3	68	338	ı. Nin	5 ias, 38.	53	1	83	9		53
	2760 2078 421	520		430		385	355		8	70	20	0 1	. Thelxi Thelasion,	on or 52.	70
Abram recess s to Promife, Terah dies in Horse [.2.6.1. §.1.2.3.60	2083	525		425	3	90	360		23	75	20	>5	6		75
	Islian. World. Promife.	Sem.	A	rphaxad	. Sa	lah.	Heber.	Ab	ram.	Assyri	a. Æg	ург.	Sicyon		
Abount enters int Cansan: and descena into Egypt. The first of the 430 yeareso; Seruisude.	11-7	526		426	3	91	361	7	16	24	7	6	7		
Abram returne into Canaan-	2005	527		427		392	362		77	2	5 7	7	8		.,
Abram his viller, mer Chedorliomer and asher Kings. L.2.C.1.6.8.9. &c	2093	535		435		400	3 <b>7</b> °		85	33	8	5	16		٠.
Ijmael borne	τ2	537		<b>4</b> 37		402	372		87	35	8	7	18		
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096	538		438		403	373		88	36	8	8	19		

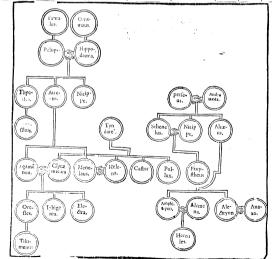
	Inlian. Vorlá. Promife.	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abrah.	a Affyria.	Ægyp	Sicyon.		T
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	1.Arius		22		İ
Haac borne when Abraham was 100 yeare. old compl.: 101. current.	2109	551	416	386	IOI!	11	101	32	1. <i>Ifaac.</i> 180	-
The Lift years of Salah.	2808 2126 42	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	-
	2811 2129 46	.571		-j06	121	1. Arali us, 40.	121	52	2 I	- ;
	1130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. Egy rus, 24.	22	
Saraithe wife of Abraham died this yeare,	2145 6:	587		422	137	17	137	16	37	
Hane tooke Rebecca to wife, when he wis 40. years old complent.	3149 66	-551		426	141	21	141	20	41	
Too list years of Sun.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	. 30	150	29	50	17.1
	Promife.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Isaac.	Incob.	Affyria.	Ægyji	Sicyon.	Argines	
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 :Therina shar, 45		
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Incol	1. Bale 23 , 30	161	6	1 1. Îna- chus, 50	
Abraham died this yeare.	100 1185 28 is	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this yeare.	2869 2187 301	464		79	. 19	19	179	24	19	
The 17. Dynaftie, called of the Sheep- seards, beginning this years lifted 103. corres.	116			91	.31	9 1. Arma- mithres 38	191	36	31	
	1891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1. <b>Leu</b> - cippus 5 ?	41	
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	21 I 2.1		2 1 , Phoro nous , 60	
To fined of Ogyges, a thousand and matte voices before the Olympiads. See Lih.1-chap.7.8.2.	1919 154			129	69	10 t. Biloču Prifac, 31.	229 39	29	19	
	2942 2260 177			152	92	2.5	252 62	52	42	1. losep 110
	2944 1362 170			154	9-1	26	60.	9 1 .Mejja purs, 4.7.	44	3
Sec L.2. Chap.2 \$ 6.	1952 1270 187			162	102	34	3 & 4. Typion. after him lescol.7.72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164		11 1. Bale- 48. 52	3 74	11	54	13

	Iulian. Vorld.			Ifaac.	Iacob.	Affri.	. Forut	Sicyon.	Argines	
	Promife.					3 3)			1	
Ioseph fold into Egypt.	2277 194			169	109	6	1, Orus. 70, 111	16	59	τ8
	2961 2279 196			171	111	\$	3 81	13	1. Apis. 2.5	20
The last years of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12	27	10	29
Ifrael into Egypt.	1980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastic in Egypt, which lasted 348. yeares.	2984 2302 219		-		134	31	26	41	2.4	43
	2991 3309 225				141	3 8	33 8	10 1. Pera- tus. 46		50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38	6	4 1, A gui 70	55
Iacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39	7	2	50
	lulian. World. Pro- mife.	Ioseph.	Aſſ	Syria.	1	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines		
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	3037 2355 272	96		32		79 54	11 1.Plems			
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The left yeare of Ioseph.	3051 2369 286	110		14		93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301			29		108	30	S Persjûr o Origus, 54		
:	2386 303		t.Ma	14 ncaleus,	50	110	32	3		
	3074 2392 809			7	. Se, 117	6 Silvatic Great, 33	38	9		
4	3085 2403 320			18		13	Ortho			
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1	31.07 2425 342			10	- ;	7 Princheficond;14 I 24	23	42		
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	inlian. World.	.,,	45	Faret	Sicyon.	duaine		
	Pro- mif:.	Moses	A∏yria.	Egypt.	311)011.	Argiues		
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	2438 2438	5	3	14	36	6 1.Phor has. 25		
	7121 2439 556	6	4	8 1. Oriu 2.or B# firis. 28. 128	37	2	Athe- nians.	
August of the Control	3148 3466 383	33	17 1. Sparetsu. 40.	28 165	13 1.Mare thins,20	29		
	3151 3469 286	36	4	31	4	32	1 1. Ce- crops. 50	
Moses wifites his brethren the Ifraelue: ; killes an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	1155 2471 300	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Trio- pas. 46.	5	
	;159 2477 394	44	12	9 1.7 hermutis,or Acea cheres.Qu.1: 176	12	5	9	
	171 1489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris,or A- choris. 9. 188.	24	17	2 I	
	;178 2496 413	63	31	8	14 1. <i>M.</i> sra- 1614.20.	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1.Chencres, 16. 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. Ascatades. 40	205	11	34	38	
Moses bis wonders in Egypt.	;195 251; 420	80	8	16	18	41	45	
	Inhan, World Exades		Afsyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Arges.	Asbens.	
The Payloner. Pract delinered out of Synt. Plan arch drawled. The Line guest. The first of the 485 to was from Fixeding to bribbing the Temple.	;196 2514 1	81	9	1. Acherres. 8	19	42	46	
The Flour of Deuca on , and conflagra- tion of Phacton about this time.	2198 2516 3	Se	11	3 3	15 1. Echi- 1001.55	4	48	
	; 201 : 519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1, Crote 1244. 31	t, Cra-	
	1522	89	17	1. Cherres. 15	7	4	4	
	1529	96	24	8 228	14	1:	3 1. Am chitiyö 1:	
	: 219 2537 24	104	32	14 c. Armeus, or Da- naus.5. 136.	22	19	9	
	2540	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Silve- nelus.11	12	

	lulian. World, Exodus	Mısses.	A∬yria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	7223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 : Erifiba .ims. 50	
	3224 2542 20	109	37	15 1. Rameffes 68 241	27	3	2	Trey.
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	1239 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	I 1. Darda- .::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::
	1233 2551 28	113	6	10 250	36	10 1. De-	11	5
The last yeare of Moses.	\$235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	iulian. Vorld. Exedu		A∭ria.	elgypt.	Sicyon.	Argo.	Aibeni.	Trey.
The Ifraelites enter the Land of Promise.	1230 2554 41	1 Io/k 1	9	13	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	Corax	21	3 <b>x</b>	25
	3254 2572 59	1.0ib. 11el 4	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	273 2591 78	20	1. Belochus the fecond. 25	50 290	21	41	.Pandi 111 40.	45
3	;283 2601 88	30	11	60	17 1. Epo- pens. 25.	11 1. Lyn- cens. 41	11	55
	3291 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Alemphis, 40. 200	10	10	20	64
	2611 2611	40	2 I	2 :10	11	11	21	2 Eriflba- iins, 46.
	1612 09	t Ehua 80		3 211	12	12	2 2	2
	2298 2616 102	5	1. Belopares, 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22	31	31	1 6 1. Erečihe us. 50	
100.112	25,18 2636 423	25	21	27	18 Lamedi	<u>L</u>	6	26
	3324 2542 129	31	27	33 ^41	7	1. Aba	12	32
	232b 2646	35	2.2 L.Lamprides, 2.2	37	11	5	16	36
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There. Dynastie : of the Lambes, 19	4 3 3 3 2		T	1 17	·	7		
yeares. See 1.2. chap.26. 5.4.	1650		5	1. Z.ebus, ur Sesbofis, 55	15	9	20	40
	3339 3657 144	46	12	8	22	16	27	I. Tros
Tantelus in Phrygia.	3347 3665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1 Prætus 17	35	9
	2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1,Sicyon 45.	12	46	20
	1678	67	1. Sofares. 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	1363 168 168	70	4	32 32	6		7 1. Cecrops the 2. 40	25
Pelops in Pifa, wiegenene to Pelo- ponnelus.	2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Acri- Sus. 31	2	26
100 . nd Xurius the joines of rection. See L.2. C. 17.8.6.	179	4 1.Debora 3 B.1.40		43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2098 185	7	24 1.Lampares. 30	. 49 49	23	17	18	42
	2387 2705 192	14	8	18 1.Ramfes, 66. 56	30	24	25	49
A tershe death of Actifius, the Ringdows of the Argues a dissidation namy (mail parter, and overgroven by these, Myrran, wheref from Ring atherwise) row Perfeus, others on Peleps, as in the Perfect of the in-		21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Iulian, World, Exodu	Ifrael.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycene	Athens,	Trey.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	t, Ilus 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Enri- fikens. 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	· · 24 8	17	Poly	2	Pandia the 2. 1	
	1410 1718 1115	37	ст 25 г г. Раппін. 4:	24	. 8	9	8	12
	2732 219	1.Ged.	15 5	28 82	12	13	12	16
Pandion chiled out of bis Kingdome, which is re- coured by his forme Aegeus, in few yeares after. Th- million of five Intervenuum, and reckning the yeare in the fortic eight of Aegeus, or the numbering them a	3427 2745 322	14	18 to 1	41 06	.25	26	- 25	2)
part by themfelues, breede autwerable difference in the times of the Athenians following: as of Muestheus, Cacops, and the reft.:	3432 2750 237	19	23 (.	46 101	30	31	9 1. Æg: 11. Z3	34
Ocdipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34 9≠ ±	57	1. Inc. bis, 22	42	12	45
	2447 2765 252	34	n 38 s	61 116	5	v. Thye- les, 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis. 40	11	7	2,3	55
		t Abime	45	2.	12	8	23	s. Lao. nedō 6
	2455 2773 260	2	25 1. Sofamus, 19	3	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 252	7 1. The ls. 22	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	1474 2792 279	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27	22	32	28	43	21
	34 <sup>80</sup>   2798   285	8 t. Iair, 22.	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The fess, 10.	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33	22 1. Pho. Ius., 8.	39	6	33
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44		6 1. Tria- 2211 , 40
•	2493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Annemenes 26 162	1. Adr.:- ilus , 4	47	14	4
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	3497	18	24	5 166	24 1, Poly- 2bides 31	51	18	8
	2819 206	22	28 1.Tautanes, 32.	9 170	5	55	2.2	12

į,	lulian. Vorld. Exodiu	Ijrael,	Assyria.	Ægy	pt.	Sicyon.	Мусепа	Athens.	Troy.
·	307	9 1. Ieph ta, 6.	2	171		6	56	23	13
		10 1. <i>Ib-</i> 2.an, 7.	8 ,	177	- 1	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18		14	64	11 1. Mne. sthe",24.	.21
	3512 2830 317	. 5	12	20 181			1, Aga- memnen 18.	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	2: 18.		19	4	6	26
The marre at Troy beganne this yeare,	3519 2837 324	5	19	1. Theo. 18	ris, 7.	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Ab- don, 8.	25	7 19.	4	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called Of the Diapo- litani, beganne this yeare in Ægypt, and lasted 178. jeares. See L.2. Ch.26. S.4.	2844	2	26	1. Dy	naftie.	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28		3	25 1.Pelaf gns, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408, yeares before the be- ginning of the Olympiads, See Lib.2.ch. 114, §.1.	3529 2847 334	5	29		4	2	18	20	40.Troj taken.
	Worla	From Troy taken.	Ifrael.	A∏yria	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena	Athens,	The King dom of the Latines
	3530 1848 235	I	6	30	5	3	1 Ægy. sthus, 6.	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20	1. Ten tens,40	8	6	4	24	1 1.Æm u, 3.
	3534 2852 229	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demo phon.22.	2
	3536 2854 341	1 7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore-	3	1. Ajča mus, 38
	3548 2866	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zen sippus 22	13	15	13
	3553 2871 258	24	14 1. Eli, 40.	2.1	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2889 37	38	15.	35	42	20	32	13 1.0xyn tes, 12	
	357 289 37	1 44	21	1.Thy neus 20	48	26	38	7	38
	357- 289 37	2 45	22	2	49	27	39	8	t.Syl.I fthum°:

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	lulian. World		,	٠,	:	400		o.		6.1	the King- clom of the
	Exodus	Troy	1 41	rael.		Aljjyria	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Мусспа	Athens,	Latines.
		taken.	!							1	
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeulippus.	1579					1				14	
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	385	ļ :								tes, 8.	
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	2906	59		36		1.6	63		53	I. Mela-	15
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The descent of the Heraclide total Palannanel	411	<u> </u>				<u> </u>	<u></u>	· · · · · ·	menu,	<u> </u>	
The depeat of the Heraclida into Pelopounejus game endsot- kin domo of plucena, and beginning to the Kingdome of Speria Coronia, and Messeus, the Kings whereof I forbeare to infer	3609	0.					1		-		
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nian Kings, after the death of Codrus.	2964		117		14		4	121	1. Mo-	13	l
Sec L.2. C.17. §.10.	451		1_ `	L					lon , 20	1	1
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	2984		137		34	1	2.4	141	t. Aga	33	
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Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See	3673	Tempie		(							
L.2. C.26. 8.5.	1991	i	144	1. 4	Salomo	m, 40.	31	148	8	40	
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out of Agypt.	481		<u></u>								
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,	!ulian, World,	Temple	From Troy taken.	1fr	aci.	AJJ	ria.	Egypt.	Athens:	Latines.	
The 21. Dynastic in Egypt , which la- led 130. yeares.	3704	29	175		32		24	13	3	21	
The lonick migration after the taking of Troy 180, yeares. See L.2, C.17, \$.6.	3709	34	180		37		29	18 6	8	26	
	lulian. World. Temple	Troy.	I,	ida.	Ijr,		A	fyria.	Ægypt.	Athens.	Latines
	3713 3031 38	184	ı. Rek	oboam. 17.	1.lerob	1 0am.22	33	3 	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189		6		5		38	1. Chem mis, 50. 14.	17	35
	,721 ,039 46	192		9	9	,		41	4 18	4 1.Terfîp pus. 41.	38
	723 3041 48	194	1	1	1	t	4	13	) 6 20	3	7 1. Syl. 2 135, 26
	3726 3044 51	197	<u>:</u> 1.	4	14	+	1. Pyri	14 thiades, 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	3048 201		am. 2.	;	8	5		13 27	10	8
	5733 3051 58	204	1. A/2	3 1. 41.	21			8	16 20	13	11
·	57:4 3052 59	205		2	12 1. Nad			9	17	14	12
	735 1053 60	206		3	2 1.Beaft	14.24	1	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17		15			4	3 <b>2</b> 46	29	8 1 <i>Syl. C.</i> pys. 28,
	4750 1074 81	227		24	22		r. Oph	rateus,	29 53	36	8
	3756 3076 82	229	2	5	24 1. El-	ļ ,, 2.		3	41 55	38	10
Of these Israelitish Kings. See L.2. Ch.19. §.5.	3759 -077 84	230		27	, \{ \frac{1}{2}	mi. ni.		4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233		30	€ 0n			7	45 59	1, Phor- bas, 31.	14
	3768 3086 93	239		36		0		13	1. Che- ops. 56. 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241		38	12 1, Aba	3 b. 12.		15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	t. Iche	4 Sophat. 25		5		19	7 71	13	26

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	World. Temple	Troy	Inda.	Ifrael,		Ægypt.	Athens,	Latines,	
	3776 3094 101	247	. 3	7	26 2. Optrata nes, 50	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1 23/1 Care 1807, 13	
Of Ichoram his fundrie beginnings to reigne. See L.2. C.20. S. 1. & 2.	;790 ;108 115	261	17 5 t. Ichoram	21 9 1. Abazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	IO r.Sy/,Tib: renne, B	
	3791 3109 116	262	18	2.2 2 10 1 Telegram, 12,	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	. 20	3	21	26 90	6 1.M.≈ · des, 20.	4	
	3795 3113 120	266	2.2 1. Iehoram ajame, 8.	5	20	23 92	3	6	
Ichof phat dies, and Ichoram reignes, alone.	:798 :116 :123	269	25	8	23	31 95	6	1 I 1. Syl, .A 24 pa, 41.	
	;802 3120 127	273	6 1.Aharia,1	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	;803 3121 128	274	7 1. Atha- lia, 7.	11 1. Iehu, 28.	28	36 100	ıt	6	
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1194540	7	84	43 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L.2. C.22. §.6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 TI	27	12	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56	1. Dieg retus, 28	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	32	49	1 Cephr- nes, 50 1 1	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Orazajesa L. maspu	3 122	4	29	
	3149 156	302	23	1. Iehoahaz, 17	1	8	9	3-4	
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following , I omit.	3151 158	304	35	3	8	10	, I I,	36	
	1839 1157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	t 2 1. δεl Alla- dius, t	
loas reigned with his Father. Lib.2. C.22, §.7.	;845 ;163 170	316	37	13 1. Ieas.	20	22	23	7	
Ioas raignes alone.	1847 3165 173	318	39	1. Ioas. 16.	22	24	25	9	
	848 166 171	319	40 1. Amazia	2	23	25	26	10	La comprehension
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and Committee Programming and Committee Commit	Iulian. World Temple	Troy	Inda,	Ifrael.	A∬yria.	Egypt.	Atl.ens.	Latines.	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	. 5	26		8 1. Phere lus, 19.	13	
	3858 3176 183	3 29	11	12	33	35	8	1 3 1. Sel. A ventions, 37	
	3802 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1. leroboam, 41.	37	39	I 2	5	
	386£ 3186 192	339	21		38 1. Sardana palus. 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ari- ebren 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	t. Myee rinus, 6.	5	16	
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L.2, C.22, §. 11.	;877 3195 202	348	t. Interre- gnum ele- uen yeares.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	s. Bec. chorus, 44.	11	22	
L.2. C.22. §.12.	3205	358	11	26	20. Sar danapa- lus flaine	8	18	29	
L.2. C.33. S.1.0. 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 t. Figs or ignores	27		9	19	30	1 1.Arba ces, 28
h.	3890 3208 315	361	3	29		11	10 1. The sper 27	32	3.
L.2. C.23. S.4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	I I. B.lofus or Parl. 18.	13	3	34	. 5
	3895 3213 220	365	8	34	4	16	6	1.5yl.Pro cas, 23.	8
L.a. C.23. S.T.	1903 1221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. yeares.	12	24	14	9	16
- 1	3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1 Sofar mus. 20
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	I f I. Agamme Ilir, 20.	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	3 1	16	27	39	2	1 5 1 .Syl. Amu lius, 44.	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	23	33	t. Aybi & a terkir Asfo. 6	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the yeare, L.2, C.23, S.1.		396	38	Zacharia fixe	34	2	9	8	10

	tulian, World, Templ.	Troy.			Inda.		Astyria	Egypt.	Athens	L.rtines	Media
	3926 3244 251	397	,		39	, 6 haffum and month. 17 Menahem10	3 5	3	10	9	11
This yeare nearly concurres with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	t. Saba m the Ethio- tan 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphins	Olym- piads.	50	18 1. Peka- bia. 2.	45	8	12 1. Aef ly lw, 13.	20	2.3
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. Ch.23. \$.5.	3938 3256 262	409	ı	I	51	2	47	9	2	2.1	23
	3939 3257 264	410	3	2	52	19 1. Pela Ro melia, 20	48	10	- 3	22	2.!
L.2. Ch.23. §.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	11 1. Iothā 16.	2	2 1.77; lsr P ul \( \sigma 1) far. 27.	11	4	23	5.7
	Iulian. Vorld. Temple	Iphitus	Olym- piads.	Inda.	Ijrael.	A∬yri∴.	Egypt.	Athen	Catins	Media	
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	t, M.	
	3255 3273 280	18	5	16 12 1. Ahaz.	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6	5	1.Inser- regnü 7. reares.	20	30	23	42	1.4	
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	2	2 I	3 <b>r</b>	1 3 1 . Alc		15	
	lulian. World. Temple	Ròme, Nabon	Iphit:	Olym- piads,	Inda.	Ifrael.	Affyri.	Едург	Arke	s Romão	. Medi.
Kome built. Lib. 2. Chep. 24. §. 5. Carops the first governing in Athens for ten yeares: after whom succeeded six chosen	287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1. Ca	1 1 E to 1 193, 5	17
each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annuall.	3900 384 291	5	29	8	12	20 1. Hose.		37	5	5	21
The Era of Nabouassar. L.2. C.25. S.1.	3967 3285 292	0	30	8 2	1 3	2	1. Salmi 1 affar 11 Nabomefi	38	6	6	1 :3
Ezekia began in the very end of this yeare, L.2. C.25. S.I.	3968 3286 293	7	31	8	14 13 53(i4, 29.	3	3	39	7	7	1 ::
This yeare concurres with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8	32	8	15	4	3	40	3	S	24
The beginning of the first Messenian warre. Whereof see L.3. C.27. S.4. It listed 20. yeares.	3971 3289 296	10	34	.9	3	6	5	42	10	15	1 1
Samaria befieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	6	35	9	4	7	6	41		11	

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The captiuitie of the ten Tribes.	3974	13	37	10	6	9	8	45		13	29
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	3976	15		10	8		10	47		15	31
	3294	10	39	3			1. Scent e 116. 7.	47	-	.,	,,
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L.z. C.26. §.7 .	3298		43		12	Kings of the Chaldanns	5	thon.		19	35
	205	14		1 2				3:			
Senacheribs Armie destroyed, and hee flunc. L.2. C.25. \$.2.	3982	2.1	45	12	14		7	3		21	37
(	307	16	''	ī	_ '						
	3983	22		12		t. Merodzó	5 1			22	38
	3301	17	46	2	15	or Merde-	hadden 10	4		2.2	30
	3986	25		13		10-10-10-10-1					4 1. Cardi-
	3204		49	1	18	4	4	7		25	ceas, 13
	211	20		1		ļ					
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This yeare or in the end of the yeare foregoing	3993	32	56	14	25	I . M rolech	11	14		32	8
An Eclipse of C	318	27	,,,	4	->	40.	ı *	14		32	
	Iulian.	Rome.									
	World.	37./	Iphit:	Olym-	Inda.	Chaldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Two Fallet at the 191 and a state to	Temple	Nabon	<u> </u>	15	<u> </u>		-				<del> </del>
Two Eclipses of the Moone, in the se- cond yeare of Mardocempadus.	3312	33	57	1,	26	2	15	33	9		l
	319	28		Т							
	3997	36	-	15			18			I Cura	}
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	3998	37		16	14	·	-		i'	<u></u> -	
14	3316		61		1. Ma-	6	19	37	13	2	1
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	3999	38	62	16	2	7	20	Inter- : regnum	I. Deio	3	
	3317	23	02	2	-	′	20		ccs.53	,	
	4600	39		16	1			2			
	3318		63		3	8	21	t. Numa Pompilius	2	4	l
	225	52		19			Linter	41.			<u> </u>
L.2. C.27. §.2.	4013 3331	54	76	19	16	2 I	reg-	14	15	17	
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	4015	54		20			I. 12.				
	3333	49	78	2	18	23	Princes	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian	340	68		23			15.		!	<del> </del>	-
Warre: which lasted about 18, yeares.	3347	"	92	-,	32	37	r. Pamai	30	31	33	l
L.2. Cb.27. §.4.	354	63	ļ	4			mini, 44.				
	4033	72	96	24	26	2. L. Ben Me	_				1
L.2. Ch.28. §.3.	3351	67	90	4	36	rodzeb , 31	5	34	35	37	
	4035	74	i	25	i	i	1	1	i	2	<u> </u>
	3353		98		38	3	7	36	37	I. Ar-	
	360	69	ļ	2			ļ		ļ	dys,49.	<u> </u>
	4043 3361	82	106	27	46	11	15	1. Tullus	4.5	9	
	368	77	100	2	1 40	''	1,	Hoffilms.	45	,	
	4052	91	Ī	29			Ì	Ī	6	i	İ
	3370	1 00	115	1	55	20	24	10	1. Phrace tes, 24.	18	
	377	86	ļ	13	-		-	-		-	-
	1953 1371	92	116	29	1. 1.	- 11	25	11	2	19	1
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	lulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Ipbit:	Olym.	Inda.	Chaldaa	Ægypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Γ
The Expedition of the Scythians, L. 2. C. 28. §. 3. 6. 4.	4054 3372 279	93 88	117	30 1		3 1.Nabu- la∬ar 35	26	12	3	20	
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30	16 1.lofias, 31		27	13	4	21	
L.2. C.28. S.2.	4073 3391 298	107	136	34	19	20	1.Neco		22	39	
. •	4º75 3393 400	109	138	35	21	22	3	4 Anen Martius,	24	41	
	4076 3394 401	115	139	35	22	23	4	2	7 1. Cyax 20 es 40		
	4084 3402 409	123	147	37	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sady- attes 12	
L.2, C.28. S. 1. & 2.	4085 3403 410	124	148	37 4	3 I 17 Ichealian : months	32	13	11	10	2	
Nabuchodonosor hadreignedone yeare with his Father; which is to be regarded in A- stronomicall observations concerning his time,	3404 411	125	149	38 1	18 1 Jehoiat int	33	14	12	11	3	
Lib.2. C.28. §.6. & C.25. §.1.	4089 3407 414	128	152	38 4	4	4 t. Nabusho donofor the Great, 44	17	15	14	6	
	4090 3408 415	129	153	39	5	2	n.Psam mis,12.	16	15	7	
	4096 3414 421	135	159	40 2	11 9 1,Ichmi 2 menthi 10	8	7	22	21	4 1. Haljat 101, 57.	
Zedekia his iournie to Babylon, L.2. c.28. \$.6.	4099 3417 424	138	162	41	Zedebia ti grares 4	11		5 1. L.Ter quinia;P). fcus, ;3	2.4	4	
	4102 :420 427	141	165	42 1	7	14	i. Apric os Haplica 10	4	27	7	
Ierusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with whose 18. for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this yeare concurres.	4106 ?424 4?1	145	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11	
	lulian. World.	Rame. Nab:	Iph:	Olym- pinds	Captini tic,	Caldaa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Ierufülem destroyed.	4107	146 141	170	43	I	19	6	9	32	12	
Egyp: conquered by Nabuchodonosos L.3. C.1. §.8. & 9.	1429	150	174	44 2	5	- 5 p!	10   barach Ho ra flam, an Kingdom o	4 3	36	16	
	4116	155	179	45	10	28 1	yeares by cerves.	18	8 . Aflya- (33, 35.	31	-
Nabuchodono or lines wilde; and his Kingdome is generated by others for him, during senen yeares L.2. C.1 § 12.	4125 244.2	104	188	47	ra l	37 1. Euilme. rodach, 2.	15	27	10	30	
	+:27 >44e	161	190	48	21	39 1. Niglifar, 5 Kusani 4	17	2.9	12	32	

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ginian in Sicil. L.5. c 1. §.11.	3787	1	532	-	34	3	1,Seleneus (allimicus			1 1	
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